

A Miscellany

by

Cariadoc and Elizabeth

(David Friedman and Elizabeth Cook)

(10th Edition)

Including as Part I

How to Milk an Almond

Stuff an Egg

And Armor a Turnip

A Thousand Years of Recipes

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To the memory of

Marion Walke
Patri Pugliese
Terry Nutter
Mark Keller

Introduction

This is the tenth edition of a collection produced over the past forty years as part of our activity in the Society for Creative Anachronism, an organization of people who do historical recreation from the Middle Ages and Renaissance. It consists of three parts:

Part I contains more than 330 medieval and renaissance recipes, giving for each the original (or translation thereof) and how we do it, along with articles on what ingredients were available when, how to put on a medieval feast, and related matters. The same material in only slightly different form is also available separately as: *How to Milk an Almond, Stuff an Egg, and Armor a Turnip: A Thousand Years of Recipes*.

The articles of Part II include discussions of approaches to historical recreation, lessons on how to create the illusion of a medieval storyteller speaking to a medieval audience, detailed instructions for making armor, period tents, furniture, and a period musical instrument, and much more. In addition, period short stories and anecdotes, mostly medieval Islamic, are used as filler.

Part III contains poetry on a mix of medieval and SCA topics and one story.

Readers who would like to see more of our efforts, including links to the full text of several period cookbooks, will find it at:

<http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Medieval.html>

For more information on the SCA, and to locate the nearest local group, see:

<http://www.sca.org/>

If you would like to discuss any of the issues raised in the articles, exchange recipes, volunteer to translate cookbooks, or correspond with us on any other subject, our address is:

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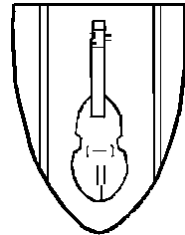


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Part I: Cooking

The sources of these recipes range, with a few exceptions, from the sixth century to the sixteenth. The original, or an English translation of the original, is given in *Apple chancery font*, followed by a list of ingredients with quantities and, usually but not always, additional instructions. For a few of the less readable early English recipes we also give a modernized version of the original text. The only intentional modifications we have made are to modernize the spelling in some recipes and to omit the medical comments which Platina (routinely) and the authors of the Andalusian cookbook (occasionally) include in their recipes.

How well worked out the recipes are varies; some we have been doing for many years, others are the result of one or two tries. Before serving to anyone other than close friends and fellow cooking enthusiasts, try the recipe out at least once and adjust it to taste.

Sources for Recipes

Early Period

Anthimus, *De Observatio Ciborum*, translated by Shirley Howard Weber, published by E. J. Brill Ltd, Leiden 1924. This is a letter on the subject of diet, written in the sixth century by a Byzantine physician to Theoderic, King of the Franks. It includes several recipes.

Apicius, *The Roman Cookery Book*, tr. Barbara Flower and Elisabeth Rosenbaum, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London, 1958. This is a recommended translation and includes the Latin original. The earlier translation by Vehling is not recommended, as he changes the recipes considerably.

English/French 13th-15th c.

Ancient Cookery from *A Collection of the Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary also Receipts in Ancient Cookery*, printed for the Society of

London Antiquaries by John Nichols, 1740. The recipes are from the early 15th century.

Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century (Including the Forme of Cury), edited by Constance B. Hieatt and Sharon Butler, published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1985. Still in print as of 2010.

The Forme of Cury, A Roll of Ancient English Cookery, ed. S. Pegge, printed for the Society of London Antiquaries by John Nichols, 1780. This is English c. 1390; for a later edition see *Curye on Inglysch* above.

Constance B. Hieatt, *An Ordinance of Pottage*, Prospect Books, London, 1988 (15th c. English).

Constance B. Hieatt and Robin F. Jones, *Two Anglo-Norman Culinary Collections Edited from British Library Manuscripts Additional 32085 and Royal 12.C.xii, Speculum* v. 61 n. 4, pp. 859-882, 1986. Referred to below as “Anglo-Norman.”

Le Menagier de Paris, 1395, tr. Janet Hinson (Lady Maioli Bhan); also translated as *The Goodman of Paris*, Power and Coulton, tr., but with only selections from the recipes. Recipes from Power and Coulton are given as “Goodman;” recipes from Hinson are given as “Menagier.” Page references are to volume II of the collection of source material we used to sell. There is also a recent (and apparently complete) translation by Greco and Rose which we have not yet worked with. The Hinson translation is webbed at: www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Menagier/Menagier_Contents.html

A Noble Boke off Cookry Ffor a Prynce Houssolde, ed. Mrs. Alexander Napier, 1882 (c. 1470).

Chiquart, *Du Fait de Cuisine*, 1420, tr. by Elizabeth from the French original published by Terence Scully in *Vallesia* v. 40, pp. 101-231, 1985. There is also a published translation by Scully. Elizabeth's translation is webbed at:

www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/
Cookbooks/Du_Fait_de_Cuisine/
du_fait_de_c_contents.html

Pepys 1047. Published as *Stere Hit Well: Medieval recipes and remedies from Samuel Pepys's Library*. Modern English version by G.A.J. Hodgett. The modern English version is unreliable but the book includes a facsimile of the late fifteenth century original.

Two Fifteenth Century Cookery Books (1430-1450), Thomas Austin Ed., Early English Text Society, Oxford University Press, 1964.

Le Viandier (c. 1392), Taillevent. Our recipes are from a partial translation by Elizabeth Bennett [Mistress Alys Gardynier]; two complete translations have also been published.

English 16th-17th c.

Sir Kenelm Digby, *The Closet of Sir Kenelm Digby, Opened* (published posthumously in 1669). This is slightly out of period, but contains the earliest collection of fermented drink recipes that we know of. <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/16441>

The English Huswife, by Gervase Markham (1615, but Mistress Marion informs us that Markham is a notorious plagiarist, so the material is probably somewhat earlier).

Sir Hugh Platt, *Delights for Ladies*, London, 1609.

A Proper Newe Booke of Cokerye, ed. Catherine Frances Frere, Cambridge, W. Heffer and sons, Ltd., 1913 (16th century).

German

Daz Buoch von Guoter Spise (between 1345 and 1354), tr. Alia Atlas. Webbed at: <http://cs-people.bu.edu/akatlas/Buch/buch.html>

Sabina Welser's Cookbook, tr. from *Das Kochbuch der Sabina Welserin* (c. 1553) by Valoise Armstrong, Little Rock, Arizona, 1998. Webbed at:

www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/
Cookbooks/Sabrina_Welserin.html

Italian, Spanish and Portuguese

Platina, *De Honesta Voluptate*, Venice, L. De Aguila, 1475. Translated by E. B. Andrews, Mallinkrodt 1967. (Both Platina and Kenelm Digby were published as part of the "Mallinkrodt Collection of Food Classics.") Reprinted by Falconwood Press, 1989. Page numbers given herein are from the Falconwood edition. This is the version we have worked from; a new and (I gather) improved translation is Platina, *On Right Pleasure and Good Health*, tr. Mary Ella Milham, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Tempe, Arizona, 1998.

Due Libre B, An Early 15th Century Recipe Collection from Southern Italy. Translated by Rebecca Friedman. Webbed at: http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Due_Libre_B/Due_Libre_B.html

Epuharion, or, The Italian Banquet, London, 1598. Reprinted Falconwood Press, Albany, NY, 1990. This is a late-period English translation of an Italian cookbook with a lot of overlap with Platina, including some of the same sequences of recipes and at least one typo in common.

Messibugio, *Libro Novo* 1557. Translated by Master Basilius (Charles Potter).

Diego Granado, *Libro del arte de cozina*, 1599. A few recipes from this have been translated by Robin Carroll-Mann (Lady Brigid ni Chiarain).

Ruperto de Nola, *Libro de Guisados*, 1529. Translated by Robin Carroll-Mann (Lady Brigid ni Chiarain). Webbed at: <http://www.florilegium.org/files/FOOD-MANUSCRIPTS/Guisados1-art.html>

Um Tratado Da Cozinha Portuguesa Do Seculo XV (A Text on Portuguese Cooking from the Fifteenth Century). Translated by Jane L. Crowley with the assistance of a modern Portuguese text by Professor Antonio Gomes Filho. Referred to as "Portuguese" below.

Islamic and Indian

Ain-I-Akbari (part of the *Akbarnama*) by Abu al-Fazl ibn Mubarak, H. Blochmann tr., edited by D. C. Phillott, Calcutta 1927. An

account of Mughal India, especially Akbar's court, in the late 16th century. It includes ingredient lists (with quantities but without instructions) for thirty dishes and descriptions of how to make bread and arrack. Webbed at: <http://www.archive.org/details/ainiakbari00jarrgoog>

Al-Baghdadi, *A Baghdad Cookery Book* (1226 A.D./623 A.H.), A.J. Arberry, tr., Islamic Culture 1939, and republished in *Medieval Arab Cookery* (see below). There is now a new and probably better translation by Charles Perry, but we have not yet used it.

An Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook of the Thirteenth Century, a translation by Charles Perry of the Arabic edition of Ambrosio Huici Miranda with the assistance of an English translation by Elise Fleming, Stephen Bloch, Habib ibn al-Andalusi and Janet Hinson of the Spanish translation by Ambrosio Huici Miranda, webbed at: http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Andalusian/andalusian_contents.htm.

Referred to below as “Andalusian.” Page references are to volume II of the collection of source material we used to sell.

Annals of the Caliph's Kitchen, Ibn Sayyar al-Warraq, Nawal Nasrallah tr., Brill, Leiden and Boston. A large tenth century cookbook. We also have a few recipes from the same source translated by Charles Perry.

La Cocina Arabigoandaluza, translated from Arabic into Spanish by Fernando de la Granja Santamaria and from Spanish into English by Melody Asplund-Faith. This consists of selections from a much longer Arabic original. It is referred to below as “al-Andalusi.”

Medieval Arab Cookery, Essays and Translations by Maxime Rodinson, A.J. Arberry & Charles Perry, Prospect Books, 1998. Contains, along with much else, *Kitab al Tibakhah: A Fifteenth-Century Cookbook*, Charles Perry, tr., original author Ibn al-Mubarrad. Also *The Description of Familiar Foods*, a cookbook based on al-Baghdadi with additional recipes.

The Ni'matnama Manuscript of the

Sultans of Mandu: The Sultan's Book of Delights, translated by Norah M. Titley, Routledge, 2005. An Indian source c. 1500.

Chinese

Paul D. Buell and Eugene N. Anderson, *A Soup for the Qan: Chinese Dietary Medicine of the Mongol Era as Seen in Hu Szu-Hui's Yin-Shan Cheng-Yao*, Kegan Paul International, London and New York, 2000. A translation of a Chinese/Mongol medical book with extensive commentary, including recipes for both food and medicinals.

Teresa Wang and E.N. Anderson, *Ni Tsan and His 'Cloud Forest Hall Collection of Rules for Drinking and Eating'*, *Petits Propos Culinaires* #60,¹ 1998. See also “Some remarks about the translation of Yun Lintang Yinshi Zhidu Ji” published in *PPC 60* by Francoise Sabban, which has corrections and alternative translations.

Other

The Domostroi: Rules for Russian Households in the Time of Ivan the Terrible, edited and translated by Carolyn Johnston Pouncy, Cornell University Press: Ithaca 1994. A Russian household management manual, most of which is probably from the 16th century, including a few recipes and a good deal of information about food.

Rudolf Grewe, “An Early XIII Century Northern-European Cookbook,” in *Proceedings of A Conference on Current Research in Culinary History: Sources, Topics, and Methods*. Published by the Culinary Historians of Boston, 1986. This is an article attempting to reconstruct the lost original from which several surviving manuscripts, including the one we refer to as “A selection from *An Old Icelandic Medical Miscellany*,” descend.

A Selection From *An Old Icelandic Medical Miscellany*, ed. Henning Larson, Oslo, 1931. For a more recent edition, see Grewe.

¹ *Petits Propos Culinaires* is an international journal on food, food history, cookery and cookery books. See: <http://rdeh.tripod.com/>

Mappae Clavicula: a Little Key to the World of Medieval Techniques, tr. Cyril Stanley Smith and John G. Hawthorne, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, 1974. This is a collection of technical recipes which includes three candy recipes; the manuscript translated here dates to the 12th c. but there are earlier versions with fewer recipes going back to the 9th c.

Ingredients

Asafoetida: Strongly flavored spice available in Indian grocery stores, referred to as “hing” or “heeng”.

Beef Broth: Canned beef broth is usually concentrated; what we use is either that, diluted in an equal quantity of water, or beef broth from beef bouillon—1 cube per cup of water.

Camphor: Edible camphor can sometimes be found in Indian grocery stores; it is very strongly flavored.

Cassia, aka chinese cinnamon: Cassia is what is usually sold as cinnamon in the U.S., as distinguished from “true cinnamon,” aka “ceylon cinnamon.” The two spices have similar but not identical flavors.

Clarified butter, aka ghee: Available in Indian grocery stores; Indian cookbooks often have instructions for making it.

Coriander: Unless described as fresh we interpret it as meaning coriander seed, with the leaf of the same plant labelled “cilantro.”

Date syrup, aka dibs: Can sometimes be found in Middle Eastern grocery stores.

Galingale: A root similar in appearance to ginger, used in Thai cooking and sold in oriental grocery stores, fresh or ground, sometimes as “Galingas.”

Ghee: Clarified Butter.

Gourd aka pumpkin: Modern squashes and pumpkins are from the New World; the problem of identifying the old world equivalent is discussed in the article “Late Period and Out of Period Foods” at p. 143. Our best guess is the opo gourd, often available in Chinese grocery stores in the U.S.

Mastic: A strongly flavored resin; I like

to describe it as dehydrated turpentine. Try Middle Eastern or Indian groceries and use it in very small quantities.

Oranges/orange juice: in Europe and the Middle East before about the 16th century, this would have meant sour oranges. For more on citrus fruit, see p. 139.

Powder fort: A spice mixture mentioned in various period recipes; we have not yet been able to find a description of what spices it contains. What we use is a mixture containing, by weight: 1 part cloves, 1 part mace, 1 part cubebs, 7 parts cinnamon, 7 parts ginger, and 7 parts pepper, all ground. This is a guess, based on very limited evidence; it works for the dishes in which we have tried it.

Poudre douce: A sweet spice mixture. The composition probably varied; we usually use a mix of four parts sugar, 2 parts cinnamon, and 1 part ginger.

Samidh flour: Described in the al-Warraq translation as “the finest variety of white wheat flour.” Charles Perry thinks it may be semolina, but is not sure; that is what we have used. Cake flour is one possible alternative.

Sesame Oil: In Islamic recipes, this is the clear to yellowish sesame oil sold in Middle Eastern grocery stores, which is made from untoasted sesame seeds and has only a slight flavor; something very similar can be found in health food stores. Chinese sesame oil, which is much darker, is made from toasted sesame seeds and is very strongly flavored.

Sumac: A sour red powder, found in Iranian grocery stores (and restaurants).

Tarot: A starchy root that can sometimes be found in Chinese grocery stores.

Tail: Fat from the tail of a fat-tailed sheep, used as a cooking oil in Islamic recipes. Since it is not available at the local butcher, we substitute lamb fat.

Verjuice: Sour juice, usually from unripe grapes. We use sour grape juice from Middle Eastern grocery stores. Dilute vinegar can be used as a substitute; two parts of verjuice seems to be roughly equivalent to one part of vinegar. Verjuice produced for the gourmet trade and priced accordingly has become increasingly common over the last few years.

Wheat Starch (Amidoun): Can be found in Iranian grocery stores.

Other Spices: For cubebs, grains of paradise, and long pepper try a good specialty spice store or merchants at Pennsic; if you cannot find them, substitute pepper. Saunders is ground sandalwood root used as red food coloring. We have heard that World Spice Merchants is a good online source: wsm@worldspice.com; www.worldspice.com

Murri

Islamic recipes frequently contain an ingredient translated as “murri” or “almori.” It was extensively used in early Islamic cooking, rather as soy sauce is in Chinese cooking, and vanished sometime after the fourteenth century. Al-Baghdadi gives the following recipes for making it; if you try one and it works, let me know. According to Charles Perry, the penny-royal in these recipes is a mis-translation and should be budhaj (rotted barley). He gives the following instructions for making budhaj:

“All the recipes concur that budhaj was made from barley flour (or a mixture of barley and wheat) kneaded without leaven or salt. Loaves of this dough were rotted, generally in closed containers for 40 days, and then dried and ground into flour for further rotting into the condiments.”

(First recipe) *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, stirring morning and evening: then strain it into the first murri. Add cinnamon, saffron and some aromatic herbs.*

(Second 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.

As you can see, making murri is an elaborate process, and tasting unsuccessful experiments might be a hazardous one. Charles Perry has experimented with this, and some years ago became the first person in recent centuries, so far as we know, to make murri. He says it tastes a little like soy sauce—which contains, in addition to soy beans, fermented grains.

In addition to the surviving recipes for murri, there are also at least two surviving references to what was apparently a fake murri, a substitute made by a much simpler process. If one cannot have real murri, period fake murri seems like the next best thing. The recipe is as follows:

Byzantine Murri

Kitab Wasf, Sina'ah 52, p. 56, Sina'ah 51, p. 65: Charles Perry tr.

Description of byzantine murri [made] right away: There is taken, upon the name of God the Most High, of honey scorched in a nuqrah [perhaps this word means 'a silver vessel'], three ratls; pounded scorched oven bread, ten loaves; starch, half a ratl; roasted anise, fennel and nigella, two uqiyahs of each; byzantine saffron, an uqiya; celery seed, an uqiyah; syrian carob, half a ratl; fifty peeled walnuts, as much as half a ratl; split quinces, five; salt, half a makkūk dissolved in honey; thirty ratls water; and the rest of the ingredients are thrown on it, and it is boiled on a slow flame until a third of the water is absorbed. Then it is strained well in a clean nosebag of hair. It is taken up in a greased glass or pottery vessel with a narrow top. A little lemon from Takranjiya (? Sina'ah 51 has Bakr Fahr) is thrown on it, and if it suits that a little water is thrown on the dough and it is boiled upon it and strained, it would be a second (infusion). The weights and measurements that are given are Antiochan

and Zahiri [as] in Mayyafariqin.

Note: 1 ratl=12 uqiya=1 pint;

1 Makkūk=7.5-18.8 liters dry measure.

Nigella, aka kalonji or black onion seed, can be found in Indian grocery stores. The following quantities are for $\frac{1}{32}$ of the above recipe.

3 T honey	$\frac{2}{3}$ t nigela
1 T wheat starch	$\frac{1}{4}$ oz carob = 1 T
$\frac{1}{3}$ t celery seed	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz quince
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz bread	$\frac{1}{4}$ oz walnut
$\frac{1}{2}$ c salt in 3 T honey	1 pint water
$\frac{2}{3}$ t fennel	lemon ($\frac{1}{4}$ of one)
$\frac{1}{4}$ t saffron	$\frac{2}{3}$ t anise

Cook the honey in a small frying pan on medium heat, bringing it to a boil then turning off the heat and repeating several times; it will taste scorched. The bread is sliced white bread, toasted in a toaster to be somewhat blackened, then mashed in a mortar. Toast the anise, fennel and nigela in a frying pan or roast under a broiler, then grind in a mortar with celery seed and walnuts. The quince is quartered and cored. Boil all but the lemon together for about 2 hours, then put it in a potato ricer, squeeze out the liquid and add lemon juice to it; this is the murri. The recipe generates about 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c of liquid. You can then add another $\frac{1}{2}$ c of water to the residue, simmer for half an hour to an hour and squeeze out that liquid for the second infusion, which yields about $\frac{1}{3}$ c. A third infusion using $\frac{1}{3}$ c more water yields another $\frac{1}{4}$ c or so.

Units

Exact quantities are sometimes given in Islamic recipes; the units are: 1 ratl = 1 lb = 1 pint; 12 uqiya = 1 ratl; 10 dirham = 1 uqiya; 6 danaq = 1 dirham (information from Arberry's introduction to his translation of al-Bagdadi). So 1 dirham = \sim .13 oz = \sim 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ t of ground spice

Units used in the *Ain I Akbari* are: 1 ser = 2 lb 2 oz, 1 dam = $\frac{1}{10}$ oz, 1 misqal = $\frac{1}{6}$ oz.

Units used in *A Soup for the Qan*:

1 chien = .011 oz, 1 liang = .11 oz, 1 chin =

16 liang = 1.8 oz.

10 ho = 1 sheng = 31.5 cubic inches = \sim 2 c;

1 tou = 10 shang = \sim 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ gallons.

All of these are modern values for the units; the book notes that the sheng was slightly less in the 14th century.

Other Minor Points

We usually interpret "meat" in Islamic recipes as lamb, either leg or chops. Other possibilities are mutton, veal, goat, beef and kid. Pork is forbidden by Islamic law.

The Arberry translation of al-Bagdadi uses "hour" for an Arabic term which, according to Charles Perry, actually means an indefinite length of time. We therefore have not tried to stick literally to the timing given in al-Bagdadi.

A common technique in medieval European recipes is to pass ingredients through a strainer. We generally follow the recipe the first time but thereafter, and especially when preparing large quantities, substitute a food processor. An alternative is to use a potato ricer—a sort of plunger/strainer combination.

Saffron is a common medieval ingredient. We find that it works better if you first extract the color and flavor by crushing the saffron thoroughly into a small quantity of water, then adding the water and saffron to your dish. Cariadoc is not fond of saffron; if you are, you may want to increase our quantities. The few (Islamic) recipes which specify saffron by weight use considerably more than they would if we had written them.

So far as we can tell, the fava or broad bean is the only European/Mediterranean variety of bean commonly available other than lentils and chickpeas. It is therefore what we use in recipes that call for beans.

In interpreting recipes that contain a specific number of eggs, we usually assume that the average medieval egg is somewhat smaller than a modern large egg; we have no evidence for whether this is correct other than how the recipes come out. When we specify a number of eggs in the worked out version of a recipe, they are large eggs.

Our recipes occasionally show an ingredient in brackets. This means either that it is described as optional in the original or that it is something, usually salt, that is not mentioned in the original but that we think should have been—one of our sources says that he doesn't mention salt because everyone knows to put it in—or, occasionally, that it is something in the recipe that we were unable to get and so omitted. Which it is should be clear from context.

In our recipes, spices such as cinnamon or cloves are ground unless stated not to be.

Some of the early English recipes use the thorn (þ), a letter that is no longer used in English. It is pronounced “th.”

Pie Crust Recipes

Our only period English recipe for pie crust is late period (p. 45: “To make short paest for tarte,” from *A Proper Newe Book*); it consists only of a list of ingredients, and we believe is intended as a fancy rather than plain pie crust. There is also a German recipe in Sabina Welserin (p. 49). What we normally use is a simple modern recipe that contains only period ingredients and is made partly with whole wheat flour, on the guess that most period flour was coarser than ours and that the finest white flour would probably not have gone into pie crust. It is:

¾ c white flour	⅓ c salted butter
¼ c whole wheat flour	2 ½ T water

Mix flours, cut butter finely into flour with two knives or a food processor, then mix the water into the flour-butter mixture without crushing the flour and butter together. Makes a single 9" crust.

An alternative, for recipes that specify a crust but do not say what sort, is to simply knead flour and water with a little salt. The result is much tougher than a pastry crust, which has both advantages and disadvantages. The quantities for one 9" pie are:

3 c flour	¼ t salt	about 1 ¼ c water
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Sourdough

A number of our recipes use sourdough as leavening. There are recipes for making your initial batch of sourdough using wild yeast from the air, but we have never done it; we always started with a batch of sourdough from someone else.

You can keep sourdough in the refrigerator for quite a long time, but before using it you will want to spend several days getting the culture back to strength. Start by combining ¼ c sourdough with ½ c water and ½ c flour; leave it covered at room temperature for 24 hours. Take ¼ c of that, combine with ½ c water and ½ c flour, leave it covered for 12 hours. Repeat, again for 12 hours. Finally take ½ c of your now pretty lively sourdough, combine with 1 c water and 1 c flour, leave it for 6 hours, use it in your recipe. If you are going to require more than that, scale up the final stage accordingly. Put whatever sourdough is left into jars to give to all your friends so that they can use sourdough in their cooking too. Or find a good sourdough pancake recipe and use the rest for that. And remember to put some sourdough back into the refrigerator.

Almond Milk

Almond milk is an ingredient common in Medieval European recipes, particularly in Lenten dishes (milk, eggs, and meat broth all being forbidden in Lent). The recipe below is a basic one. For some recipes we make a thicker almond milk with more almonds relative to the amount of water; other recipes say “draw up a good milk of almonds with broth (or wine),” in which case the broth or wine is substituted for the water in making the almond milk.

To make almond milk: Take ¼ c (1 ¾ oz) almonds. Put them in a food processor, run it briefly. Add a little water, run it longer. Continue adding water and running the processor until you have a milky liquid. Strain through several layers of cheesecloth. Put the residue back in the food processor, add a little

more water, and repeat. Continue until the residue produces almost no more milk. Throw out the residue. This should give you about 1 c of almond milk.

To Make Onion Juice

Peel your onions, cut them in pieces (8 pieces for a very large onion), put them in a food processor and reduce them to mush. Put the mush through a clean, wet dish towel (the towel will end up a bit stained). To do that, you pour the onion juice and mush into the middle of the towel, holding up the edges. When the really liquid part has gone through into the bowl underneath, you pull the edges together so that what is left is a ball of onion mush wrapped in a dish towel. Squeeze until the juice is out. You should get just over a cup of juice per pound of onion.

To Make Cilantro Juice

Take cilantro (green coriander, aka chinese parsley, as distinguished from coriander, which is the seed). Grind it in an electric spice grinder or mash it in a mortar and pestle with 2 T water per ounce of coriander; use a food processor if you are making a lot. Squeeze it through a cloth to give about 2 T of cilantro juice from each ounce of cilantro.

Andalusian Meatballs

Recipes from the Islamic cookbooks often call for meatballs or cabobs without telling you how to make them. Here are instructions for making meatballs from two recipes in the anonymous Andalusian cookbook, followed by one possible interpretation.

Take red, tender meat, free of tendons, and pound it as in what preceded about meatballs. Put the pounded meat on a platter and add a bit of the juice of a pounded onion, some oil, murri naqi', pepper, coriander, cumin, and saffron. Add enough egg to envelope the mixture, and knead until it is mixed, and make large meatballs like pieces of meat, then set it aside.

Pound well meat from the two legs, the shoulder and the like. Throw in some sifted flour, a head of garlic peeled and pounded with salt, pepper, cumin, coriander and caraway, and let the pepper predominate, and some good murri, and beat all this well with five eggs or as many as it will bear. Then take coarse fat, as much of this as of the pounded meat or more, and cut up fine and mix with the pounded meat. And if rue is cut into it, good. Then make it into meatballs and fry it; ...

1 lb ground meat	¼ t coriander
6 T flour	1 T murri (p. 5)
1 clove garlic	2 eggs
½ t salt	4 T olive oil or meat fat
½ t pepper	1 t rue
¼ t cumin	

Chop the garlic. Combine all of the ingredients and form into balls about 1" to 1 ½" across; makes roughly 40 of them. Fry until brown on both sides in another 4 T of oil over medium heat, about 5 to 10 minutes. Note that this is only one of many possible variations; feel free to try your own.

Final Advice

The authors of the original recipes knew more about their cuisine than we ever will. If our worked out version appears to disagree with the original, that might mean that we know something about interpreting the original—for instance that an Islamic pound has twelve ounces, not sixteen—that you do not. But it is more likely that we either have made a mistake or were for some reason unable to follow the original. If in doubt, trust the original over our version.

European Dishes

Bread

Brazzattelle of Milk and Sugar

Messibugio, *Libro Novo* 1557

To make fifty brazzattelle of four ounces each you will take fifteen pounds of best flour, three ounces of rose water, three pounds of milk, two pounds of white sugar, 25 eggs, four ounces of butter, and you will knead these things together very well.

Then you will make your brazzattelle according to the method you want to use, and then you will let rise with careful attention, and after it has risen you will boil your water, and then you will place inside the above-mentioned brazzattelle to cook, and when they come to the top you will take out, and then you will put in fresh water, and when you have removed them from within you will put them to cook in the oven, and if you want to put inside anise it is a good deed.

[The recipe does not say what shape to make them in; I think they are probably sweet bagels, but they could be pretzels. This is one sixth of the recipe, using our ounce for the ounce and assuming a twelve ounce pound in order to make the final weight come out right]

7 c flour	1 T rose water
½ c sugar	¾ c milk
[2 ½ T aniseed]	½ lb sourdough (~1 c)
⅔ T butter	3 eggs

Combine flour, sugar, and (optional) aniseeds; cut in the butter. Combine the liquid ingredients, including the sourdough, mix, add to the dry ingredients and knead until you have a smooth dough. Cover with a damp towel, let rise two hours. Divide into 10 equal portions.

Roll each into a cylinder about 10"-12" long, join the ends to form a torus (bagel).

or

Roll each into a cylinder about 18" -24" long, make into a pretzel shape.

Leave it to rise 1 hr 45 minutes or so at room temperature.

Fill a pot at least three inches deep with water. Bring the water to a boil. Put in as many of the *brazzattelle* as you can manage without their sticking together. Boil until they rise to the top, which should start happening in a minute or so; if they are sticking to the bottom, loosen with a spatula (pancake turner). When each *brazzattella* floats to the top take it out, dunk it briefly in a bowl of water, drain. Bake in a 425° oven until brown—about 25 minutes.

(I use sourdough but you could also try it with yeast.)

Rastons

Two Fifteenth Century p. 52

Take fayre Flowre, and þe whyte of Eyroun, and þe yolk, a lytel; þan take Warme Berme, and putte al þes to-gederys, and bete hem to-gederys with þin hond tyl it be schort and þikke y-now, and caste Sugre y-now þer-to, and þenne lat reste a whyle; þan kaste in a fayre place in þe oven, and late bake y-now; and þen with a knyff cutte yt round a-boue in maner of a crowne, and kepe þe crust þat þou kyttyst; and þan pyke al þe cromys with-ynne to-gederys, an pike hem smal with þyn knyff, and saue þe sydys and al þe cruste hole with-owte; and þan caste þer-in clarifiyd Botor, and mille þe cromes and þe botor to-gederes, and keuere it a-gen with þe cruste, þat þou kyttest a-way; þan putte it in þe ovyn agen a lytil tyme; and þan take it out, and serue it forth.

2 ¼ c flour	½ c sugar
2 egg whites	1 egg yolk
½ T dried yeast	1 c clarified butter

(mixed with ½ c water)

After mixing all ingredients except for butter, let the dough rise 45 minutes to an hour. Mold the dough on a greased cookie sheet, let rise a little more. Bake at 350° about 1 hour. Cut off top as described, mix insides of loaf with melted butter, and replace top. Second baking is about 5 minutes at the same temperature.

Para Hazer Tortillon Relleno: To Make a Stuffed Tortillon

Libro del arte de cozina

Knead two pounds of the flower of the flour with six yolks of fresh eggs, and two ounces of rosewater, and one ounce of leaven diluted with tepid water, and four ounces of fresh cow's butter, or pork lard which has no bad odor, and salt, and be stirring said dough for the space of half an hour, and make a thin leaf or pastry and anoint it with melted fat which should not be very hot, and cut the edges around, sprinkle the pastry with four ounces of sugar, and one ounce of cinnamon, and then have a pound of small raisins of Corinth, which have been given a boil in wine, and a pound of dates cooked in the same wine, and cut small, and all of the said things should be mixed together with sugar, cinnamon, and cloves, and nutmeg, and put the said mixture spread over the pastry with some morsels of cow's butter, and beginning with the long end of the pastry, roll it upwards, taking care not to break the dough, and this tortillon or roll must not be rolled more than three turns, so that it will cook better, and it does not have to go very tight. Anoint it on top with fat, not very hot. It will begin to twist by itself at one end which is not very closed, in such a manner that it becomes like a snail. Have the pie pan ready with a pastry of the same dough, somewhat fatty, anointed with melted fat, and put the tortillon lightly upon it without pressing it, and make it cook in the oven, or under a large earthen pot with temperate fire, tending it from time to time by anointing it with melted cow's butter, and being almost cooked, put sugar on top, and rosewater, and serve it hot. The pie pan in which you cook the tortillones must be wide, and must have very low edges.

(Translator's notes: All of the recipes which bear the name "tortillon" have a rolled-up pastry with some kind of filling. If I had to translate the Spanish, I would render it as something like "roll-pastry". The noun "manteca" can mean either butter or lard. I have translated "manteca de vaca" as cow's butter, "manteca de puerco" as pork lard, and undifferentiated "manteca" as fat.)

<i>dough:</i>	<i>filling:</i>
2 lb = 7 c flour	1 lb = 3 ½ c currants
½ c butter	1 lb = 3 ½ c chopped dates
6 egg yolks	3 c wine
4 T rose water	¼ c sugar
2 T dried yeast	½ t cinnamon
1 ¼ c water	¼+ t nutmeg
2 t salt	⅛ t cloves

to use in making loaf:

½ c sugar	~3 T melted butter
3 ½ T cinnamon	1 t rosewater
2 T butter	1 T sugar

Mix flour and salt in a large bowl; mix yeast with warm water, beat egg yolks with rosewater, melt ¼ c butter. Make a well in the center of the flour and pour the liquids into it, stir together with a wooden spoon, then knead for 10-15 minutes until smooth. (The original says half an hour, but the extra quarter hour doesn't seem to make much difference.) Let rise an hour and 20 minutes. To prepare filling, bring wine to a boil, add currants and dates and let boil two minutes; drain and add sugar and spices. When dough has risen, pinch off about an eighth of it and spread it out flat in the bottom of a greased 11" pie pan; spread 1 t melted butter over it. Roll the rest of the dough out on a floured board to a rectangle ~21"x18", spread with 2 t melted butter, and sprinkle on ¼ c sugar and 1 oz (3 T) of cinnamon. Spread the filling on top of that; dot with 2 T of butter in pieces. Roll up from the long side and pinch together to seal, so that the filling won't all ooze out. Coil on top of the piece of dough in the pan and spread another 2 t of melted butter over the top. Let rise another 10 minutes or so and put in a pre-heated oven at 350°. Bake 50 minutes or so, taking out once or twice to spread with more melted butter. After 45 minutes baking, sprinkle with rosewater and sugar, then put back in oven for another 5 minutes.

On Bread

Platina pp. 13-14 (Book 1)

... Therefore I recommend to anyone who is a baker that he use flour from wheat meal, well ground and then passed through a fine seive to sift it; then put it in a bread pan with warm water, to which has been added salt, after the manner of the people of Ferrari in Italy. After adding the right amount of leaven, keep it in a damp place if you can and let it rise. ... The bread should be well baked in an oven, and not on the same day; bread from fresh flour is most nourishing of all, and should be baked slowly.

¾ c sourdough	5 c white flour
2 c warm water	1 T salt
1 c whole wheat flour	

Mix sourdough with warm (not hot!) water and salt. Mix the flours, stir in the liquid, knead it smooth. Form into two or three round loaves and let rise overnight (8-10 hours). Bake at 350° about 50 minutes. Makes 2 loaves, about 8" across, 3"-4" thick, about 1.5 lb, or three smaller loaves. If you prefer a more sour loaf, use more sourdough and/or a longer rising time.

Vegetables

Armored Turnips

Platina p. 147 (Book 8)

Cut up turnips that have been either boiled or cooked under the ashes. Likewise do the same with rich cheese, not too ripe. These should be smaller morsels than the turnips, though. In a pan greased with butter or liquamen, make a layer of cheese first, then a layer of turnips, and so on, all the while pouring in spice and some butter, from time to time. This dish is quickly cooked and should be eaten quickly, too.

1 lb turnips	¼ t ginger
10 oz cheddar cheese	¼ t pepper
2 T butter	1 t sugar
½ t cinnamon	

Boil turnips about 30 minutes, peel and slice. Slice cheese thinner than turnips, with

slices about the same size. Layer turnips, sliced cheese and spices in 9"x5" baking pan, and bake 20 minutes at 350°.

We have modified this recipe in accordance with the more detailed version in Martino's cookbook, which calls for "some sugar, some pepper and some sweet spices." Martino was apparently the source for many of Platina's recipes.

On Preparing Carrots and Parsnips

Platina p. 68 (Book 4)

... The parsnip should be boiled twice, the first liquid thrown away and cooked the second time with lettuce. Then it is put on a plate and dressed with salt, vinegar, coriander, and pepper, and is very fit to serve. ... The carrot is prepared in the same way as the parsnip, but is considered more pleasant when cooked under warm ashes and coals...

1 lb carrots	4 t vinegar
⅔ lb lettuce	½ t coriander
½ t salt	¼ t pepper

Wash carrots, wash and tear up lettuce. Put carrots in boiling water, boil 12 minutes. Drain them. Put carrots and lettuce in boiling water for another 6 minutes. Drain them. Add the rest of the ingredients and mix thoroughly.

Mustard Greens

Anthimus p. 37

Mustard greens are good, boiled in salt and oil. They should be eaten either cooked on the coals or with bacon, and vinegar to suit the taste should be put in while they are cooking.

1 ¼ lb mustard greens	1 t salt
3 T oil	4 slices bacon
4 t vinegar	

Wash mustard greens. Boil stems 2 minutes, then add leaves, boil 6 more minutes and drain. Fry bacon or cook 6 minutes in microwave. Heat oil, add greens and stir, then add salt and cook 5 minutes. Crumble bacon and put over greens with vinegar. Stir it all up and cook another 3 minutes.

Russian Cabbage and Greens

Domostroi pp. 162-3

Chop cabbage, greens, or a mixture of both very fine, then wash them well. Boil or steam them for a long time. On meat days, put in red meat, ham, or a little pork fat; add cream or egg whites and warm the mixture. During a fast, saturate the greens with a little broth, or add some fat and steam it well. Add some groats, salt, and sour cabbage soup; then heat it. Cook kasha the same way: steam it well with lard, oil, or herring in a broth.

Note: the ingredient translated as “sour cabbage soup” turns up elsewhere in the Domostroi in lists of things to brew: “For brewing beer, ale, or sour cabbage soup, take malt or meal and hops. Beer from the first grade makes good sour cabbage soup. You can make vinegar, too, from a good mash.” This suggests that it may really be something like alegar (beer vinegar). We therefore substitute malt vinegar.

Version 1

2 ¾ lb green cabbage (1 head)
¾ lb turnip greens
3 c water
1 ½ lb beef or lamb
6 egg whites
1 c dry buckwheat groats (kasha)
“sour cabbage soup”: 1 T malt vinegar
2 t salt

Version 2

2 lb green cabbage (1 head)
⅝ lb mustard greens
2 ½ c water
1 ¼ lb pork butt roast
½ c cream
⅓ c dry buckwheat groats (kasha)
1 ½ t salt
“sour cabbage soup”: 1 T malt vinegar

Chop cabbage and greens very fine. Bring water to a boil, add cabbage and greens and simmer 30-40 minutes covered. Cut meat into bite-sized chunks. Add meat and simmer another 25 minutes (the time probably

depends on the cut of meat). Add groats, salt and vinegar, and cook another 15 minutes uncovered on moderate heat, until the liquid is almost absorbed. Stir in egg whites or cream, heat for a minute or two, and remove from heat.

These are two possible interpretations of a recipe with lots of alternatives. In particular, it is not clear whether the groats, salt, and “sour cabbage soup” belong only to the fast-day version or to both meat-day and fast-day versions; we have assumed the latter.

Chebolace

Curie on Inglysch p. 99

(*Forme of Cury* no. 9)

Take oynouns and erbes and hewe hem small, and do þerto gode broth; and aray it as þou didest caboches [“seeth...and do þerto saffroun & salt, and force it with powdour douce”]. If þey be in fyssh day, make on the same manere with water and oyle, and if it be not in lent, alye it with yolkes of eyren; and dresse it forþh, and cast þerto powdour douce.

Note: “chibolles” are green onions, so from the title, onions should be a major ingredient.

½ lb onions	1 c beef broth <i>or</i>
<i>greens:</i>	1 c water + 2 T oil
½ oz parsley	10 threads saffron
4 oz mustard greens	½ t salt
4 oz kale	3 egg yolks
4 oz spinach	½ t poudre douce (p. 4)

Cut up onions and greens, mix with broth (or, for the fish day version, water and oil) and saffron and salt, bring to boil and cook uncovered 20 minutes on medium, until most of the broth is boiled away. Separate eggs, mix yolks with some of the broth out of the pot, and add to onions and greens. Heat for about two minutes. Sprinkle on poudre douce and serve.

Caboges

Two Fifteenth Century p. 6 (Good—and easy)

Take fayre caboges, an cutte hem, an pike hem clene and clene washe hem, an parboyle hem in fayre water, an thanne presse hem on a fayre bord; an than choppe hem, and caste hem in a fayre pot with goode fresshe broth, an wyth mery-bonys, and let it boyle: thanne grate fayre brede and caste ther-to, an caste ther-to Safron an salt; or ellys take gode grwel y-mad of freys flesshe, y-draw thorw a straynour, and caste ther-to. An whan thou seruyst yt inne, knocke owt the marw of the bonys, an ley the marwe ij gobettys or iij in a dysshe, as the semyth best, and serue forth.

1 medium head cabbage	6 threads saffron
4 c beef broth	1 T salt
4 lb marrow bones	~ 2 c breadcrumbs

Wash cabbage. Cut it in fourths. Parboil it (i.e. dump into boiling water, leave there a few minutes). Drain. Chop. Squeeze out the water. Put it in a pot with beef broth and marrow bones. Simmer until soft, stirring often enough to keep it from sticking (about 20 minutes). Add saffron, salt, enough bread crumbs to make it very thick. Simmer ten minutes more. Serve.

Cress in Lent with Milk of Almonds

Menagier p. M14

Take your cress and parboil it with a handful of chopped beet leaves, and fry them in oil, then put to boil in milk of almonds; and when it is not Lent, fry in lard and butter until cooked, then moisten with meat stock; or with cheese, and adjust it carefully, for it will brown. Anyway, if you add parsley, it does not have to be blanched.

Lenten version

2 c cress = 1/3 lb	1/2 c almond milk (p. 7)
1/2 c beet leaves	1/4 c parsley = 1/2 oz
1 T olive oil	pinch salt

Fish-day version

2 1/4 c cress = 6 oz	1 1/2 oz brick cheese
1 1/2 c beet leaves	[3 sprigs parsley]
2 T butter	[1/8 t salt]

Meat-day version

2 1/4 c cress = 6 oz	1/2 c meat stock
1 1/2 c (2 oz) beet leaves	[3 sprigs parsley]
2 T lard and/or butter	[1/8 t salt]

Chop the cress and beet leaves. Dump them into boiling water, let the water come back to a boil, then drain them (about 2 minutes total in water). Heat oil or lard or butter in a skillet, add drained greens (and chopped parsley if you are using parsley). Stir fry for about 3 minutes. For Lenten version, add almond milk, let boil with greens about a minute. For fish-day version, add cheese, chopped up, and stir until cheese is melted into the greens. For meat-day version, add meat stock and cook down 2-3 minutes. Add salt, serve.

Notes: Measure greens pressed down in the measuring cup. Use a mild cheese such as brick cheese. Substitute spinach for beet leaves if necessary; the Menagier regards spinach as a kind of beet leaf. We have tried several ratios of cress to beet leaves; all seem to work reasonably well.

Lenten Foyles

Ordinance of Potage p. 38 (no. 9)

Take the same maner of herbes as thu dost to jowtys, and onyons clene paryd. Perboyle hem; presse out the watyr. Do hem yn a potte. Frye reysons in clere oyle that have be fryed yn before, and do therto with a perty of the oyle, and boyle hit up with the mylke of almondys; and put therto sugure & salte.

Note: “jowtys” is another recipe for cooked greens; the one in this cookbook calls for “kawlys [cabbage-type vegetables] & percellye and othir good herbes.”

¼ head cabbage = ¾ lb	⅓ c raisins
1 bunch parsley = 1 ½ oz	1 T oil
¼ lb spinach	2 c almond milk
2 oz turnip greens	(p. 7)
1 oz collard green	1 t sugar
6 oz onions	½ t salt

Wash greens, remove stems, cut up cabbage and onion. Make almond milk. Parboil vegetables 2-3 minutes, drain. Fry raisins in oil until they puff up and turn light brown (a few minutes). Put greens back in pot with raisins, add almond milk. Simmer 10-15 minutes, adding sugar and salt near the end.

Gourd in Juice

Platina p. 123 (Book 7)

Cook a gourd in juice or in water with a few little onions and after it is cut up, pass it through a perforated spoon into a kettle in which there is rich juice, a little verjuice and saffron. Take it from the hearth when it has boiled a little. After it has been set aside and cooled a little, put in a little aged cheese ground up and softened with two egg yolks; or keep stirring it with a spoon so that lumps do not spoil it. After you have put it into saucers, sprinkle with spices.

2 ¾ lb zucchini squash	5 oz Parmesan
4 T verjuice	<i>spices</i> (cinnamon,
or 2 T wine vinegar	ginger or nutmeg)
½ c beef or chicken broth	2 egg yolks
7 threads saffron	½-¾ lb onions

Peel squash, remove seeds, slice; coarsely chop onions. Cook 10 minutes in water to cover. Drain and mash. Mix broth, verjuice, and saffron and add mashed squash. Heat, then add egg yolks and cheese. Sprinkle with one of the spices: cinnamon was considered best.

We have also made this using opo gourds from a Chinese grocery store which we believe are *Lagenaria siceraria*, our best guess at the gourd used in period; see the discussion at p. **Error! Bookmark not defined.** below. The recipe we worked out is: Double the quantity of onions and beef broth, keeping the other proportions as in the version

with squash. Peel the gourd, boil it with whole small onions for an hour, then discard the onions (which seems to be what the original recipe implies). Slice gourd, mash through strainer (or use a potato ricer). Add beef broth and verjuice, heat 15 minutes on low, let cool 10 minutes, add grated cheese and egg yolks. Sprinkle with cinnamon and serve.

Fried Gourd

Platina p. 119 (Book 7)

Scrape off the skin from the gourd and cut it sideways in thin slices. When it is boiled once transfer it from the pot onto the board and leave it there till it has dried out a little. Then roll it in salt and good white flour and fry it in oil; when it is done and put on a platter, pour a garlic sauce over it, with fennel blossoms and breadcrumbs so dissolved in verjuice that it looks thin rather than thick. It would not be amiss to pass this sauce through a strainer. There are those, too, who use only verjuice and fennel bloom. If you like saffron, add saffron.

1 ⅛ lbs gourd (p. 143)	1 t salt
1 c flour	olive oil

Peel gourd and slice very thin, boil in water 7 minutes, spread out and let dry for 40 minutes. Mix flour and salt, dip gourd in it, and fry for ~4 minutes per batch in a pan with at least ¼" hot olive oil. See under sauces for Platina's garlic sauce (p. 66).

On Preparing Lettuce

Platina p. 61

... Sprinkle them with ground salt and a little oil and pour a little more vinegar, and eat it right away. There are those who add a little mint and parsley to this preparation, so that it does not seem too bland; and so that there is not too much chill from the lettuce to harm the stomach, put cooked lettuce, with the water squeezed out, in a dish when you have dressed it with salt and oil and vinegar, and serve it to your guests. There are those who add a bit of cinnamon or pepper well-ground and sifted.

Raw Lettuce

2 c lettuce	2 T vinegar
1 t salt	1 T chopped mint
1 T oil	1 T parsley

Chop up mint and parsley. Put everything together and toss.

Cooked Lettuce

2 c lettuce	¾ T vinegar
1 t salt	1 t cinnamon or pepper
¾ T oil	

Chop the lettuce, dump it in boiling water for two minutes, drain it very thoroughly squeezing out the water, add the other ingredients, serve it.

Moorish Eggplant*(Berenjenas a la Morisca)*

De Nola no. 52

*Peel the eggplants and quarter them, and their skins having been peeled, set them to cook; and when they are well-cooked, remove them from the fire, and then squeeze them between two wooden chopping blocks, so they do not retain water. And then chop them with a knife. And let them go to the pot and let them be gently fried, very well, with good bacon or with sweet oil, because the Moors do not eat bacon. And when they are gently fried, set them to cook in a pot and cast in good fatty broth, and the fat of meat, and grated cheese which is fine, and above all, ground coriander; and then stir it with a *haravillo* like gourds; and when they are nearly cooked, put in egg yolks beaten with verjuice, as if they were gourds.*

2 ¼ lb eggplants	1 ½ c meat broth
2 slices bacon = 3 oz or oil	1 ½ t coriander
2 oz lamb fat	3 egg yolks
2 oz Parmesan	1 T verjuice

Peel and quarter eggplants, put in boiling water, bring back to a boil and simmer for 20 minutes. Remove eggplant from water, press between two cutting boards to remove surplus water, and chop. Fry bacon about 10 minutes, add chopped eggplants, and cook 25 minutes over moderate heat. Chop lamb fat finely and grate cheese; add to eggplant with broth and coriander and cook 10 minutes, stirring frequently. Add egg yolks with verjuice and cook a minute or two until egg yolk is cooked.

Longe Wortes de Pesone*Two Fifteenth Century p. 89*

Take grene pesyn, and wassh hem clene, And cast hem in a potte, and boyle hem til they breke; and then take hem vyppre fro the fire, and putte hem in the broth in an other vessell; And lete hem kele; And drawe hem thorgh a Streynour into a faire potte. And then take oynones in ij. or iij. peces; And take hole wortes, and boyle hem in fayre water; And then take hem vyppre, And ley hem on the faire borde, And kutte hem in .iij. or in .iiij. peces; And caste hem and the oynons into þat potte with the drawen pesen, and late hem boile togidre til they be all tendur, And then take faire oyle and fray, or elles fressh broth of some maner fissh, (if þou maist, oyle a quantite), And caste thereto saffron, and salt a quantite. And lete hem boyle wel togidre til they ben ynogh; and stere hem well euermore, And serue hem forthe.

1 c split peas	¼ c olive oil
1 whole onion = ⅝ lb	(or fish broth)
wortes: ½ lb chard	8 threads saffron
	½ t salt

Wash peas, put in 4 c of water, simmer 50 minutes covered, squash the peas with their liquid through a potato ricer, let cool. Cut up the onion into eighths. Simmer onions covered in 3 c water for 20 minutes. Add chard, cover again, cook 10 minutes more. Remove chard, cut in quarters, combine everything with peas. Add salt, saffron. Bring to simmer and add oil, simmer, stirring constantly, another 10 minutes.

Perre*Two Fifteenth Century p. 83*

Take grene pesyn, and boile hem in a potte; And whan they ben y-broke, drawe the broth a good quantite thorgh a streynour into a potte, And sitte hit on the fire; and take oynons and parcellly, and hewe hem small togidre, And caste hem thereto; And take powder of Canell and peper, and caste thereto, and lete boile; And take vynegr and powder of ginger, and caste thereto; And then take Saffron and salte, a litull quantite, and caste thereto; And take faire peces of paynmain, or elles of such tendur brede, and kutte hit yn fere mosselles, and caste there-to; And then serue hit so forth.

1 lb peas	1 T vinegar
2 ½ c water	¼ t ginger
4 oz onions	3 threads saffron
2 T parsley	¾ t salt
½ t cinnamon	2 slices bread (~ 2 oz)
¼ t pepper	

Simmer peas in water for about 40 minutes. Mash the peas and the broth through a strainer. Add chopped onions, parsley, cinnamon, pepper. Boil for ten minutes. Add vinegar and ginger, salt and saffron. Chop up bread, put it in, boil briefly, serve.

On a more literal reading of the recipe, the peas are being discarded, perhaps to go into some other dish, and only the broth is being used; we have not yet tried it that way.

Grene Pesen Reale*Ancient Cookery p. 470*

Take grene peas clene washen and let hom boyle awhile over the fire, and then poure away al the brothe, and bray a few of hom with parcel and myntes, and in the brayinge alay it with almonde mylke, and draw hit up with the same mylk, and put in the same pot, and let hit boil with hole pesen, and cast thereto sugre and saffron, and in the settinge doune of the pot, if hit be a pot of two galons, take 12 zolkes of eyren and bete hom, and streyne hom, and cast hom into the pot, and stere hit wel, and loke the potage be rennyng; and when it is dressed, straw suger above, and serve hit forth.

almond milk: (p. 7)	1 T sugar
¼ c almonds	6 threads saffron
½ c water	2 beaten egg yolks
1 lb green fresh peas	[⅛ t salt]
2 t fresh parsley	2 T sugar
1 t fresh mint	

Make almond milk and boil peas. When the peas are boiled, mash ½ c of the peas with the parsley and mint, and add almond milk gradually. Put back with peas, add 1 T sugar and saffron, and heat; add egg yolks and salt and remove from heat; sprinkle on 2 T sugar before serving.

Lange Wortys de Chare*Two Fifteenth Century p. 5*

Take beeff and merybonys, and boyle yt in fayre water; þan take fayre wortys and wassche hem clene in water, and parboyle hem in clene water; þan take hem vp of þe water after þe fyrst boilyng, an cut þe leuys a-to or a þre, and caste hem in-to þe beef and boylle to gederys; þan take a lof of whyte brede and grate yt, an caste it on þe pot, an safron & salt, & let it boyle y-now, and serue forth.

1 ½ lb beef shank (meat and bones)	1 ⅔ lb kale
3 c water	1 t salt
⅞ lb mustard greens	12 threads saffron
	¾ c breadcrumbs

Cut meat from bones, trimming off connective tissue and cutting to bite-sized pieces, put in water, bring to a boil and simmer 1 hour and 10 minutes. Wash greens; fill a large pot half full of water, bring to a boil, and parboil greens about 3 minutes. Drain and cut in thirds. Add to meat, bring back to a boil, and cook 20 minutes. Crush saffron into a little of the broth; add bread crumbs, salt and saffron, stir until thickened (another five minutes), and serve.

Note: This is the meat-day version of the recipe; the fish-day version is longe wortys de pesone on page 15.

Fried Broad Beans

Platina p. 115 (book 7)

Put broad beans that have been cooked and softened into a frying pan with soft fat, onions, figs, sage, and several pot herbs, or else fry them well rubbed with oil and, on a wooden tablet or a flat surface, spread this into the form of a cake and sprinkle spices over it.

1 c dried fava beans	1 ½ c spinach
6-8 T lard	1 ½ c parsley
⅔ c figs	1 ½ c mustard greens
½ t salt	<i>For sprinkling on top:</i>
½ t sage	¼ t ginger
½ c+ onions	½ t cinnamon
1 ½ c turnip greens	¼ t pepper

(Greens are measured packed)

Cut the figs in about 8 pieces each. Bring beans to a boil in 2 ½ c water, leave to soak about ½ hour, then simmer another hour until soft. Drain the beans, mix the whole mess together and fry it in the lard for 10 minutes, then serve it forth with spices sprinkled on it. This is also good with substantially less greens.

Makke

Curie on Inglysch p. 115
(*Forme of Cury* no. 76)

Take groundon benes and seef hem wel; take hem vp of the water and cast hem in a mortar. Grynde hem al to doust til þei be white as eny mylke. Chawf a litell rede wyne; cast þeramong in þe gryndyng. Do þerto salt. Leshe it in disshes, þanne take oynouns and mynce hem smale and seef hem in oile til þey be al broun, and florisshe the disshes þerwith, and serue it forth.

1 cup dried beans	1 t salt
½ c red wine	2 large onions

enough oil to fry the onions

Soak the beans overnight then simmer 4-6 hours until tender. Chop up the onions fairly fine. Drain the beans, use a food processor to puree. Heat the wine and add it. Put the beans in each dish, fry the onions and add. Broad

beans (fava beans) would be more authentic than pea beans, but we have not yet tried them in this recipe.

Funges

Curie on Inglysch p. 100
(*Forme of Cury* no. 12)

Take funges and pare hem clene and dyce hem; take leke and shrede hym small and do hym to seef in gode broth. Colour it with saffroun, and do þerinne powdour fort.

½ lb mushrooms	6 threads saffron
1 leek	¼ t powder fort (p. 4)
1 c beef broth	¼ t salt

or chicken broth

Wash the vegetables; slice the leek finely and dice the mushrooms. Add saffron to the broth and bring it to a boil. Add the leek, mushrooms, and powder fort to the broth, simmer 3-4 minutes, remove from the heat, and serve.

We prefer to use beef broth, but it is also good with chicken.

To Make a Tarte of Spinage

Proper Newe Booke, p. 41

Take Spynage and perboyle it tender, then take it up and wrynge oute the water cleane, and chop it very small, and set it uppon the fyre wyth swete butter in a frying panne and season it, and set it in a platter to coole then fyll your tart and so bake it.

20 oz spinach	¼ t salt
¼ lb butter	9" pastry shell
1 t cinnamon	1 T sugar
¼ t mace	

Note: recipes for other pies in this book say “season it up with sugar and cinnamon and sweet butter” or also with mace or just with sugar and butter.

Parboil spinach 3 minutes, rinse in cold water, wring it dry. Fry 2-3 minutes in butter with spices. Cool. Fill shell and bake at 350° for 40 minutes.

**Potage of Onions Which They Call
"Cebollada"**
De Nola no. 46

Take peeled onions which are well washed and clean and cut them in thick slices, and cast them in a pot of boiling water, and then having let them come to a boil once or twice, take them out of the pot and press them between two wooden chopping boards and then fry them gently with good lard or with bacon grease, stirring with a little shovel and moving it about in the frying pan with the aforementioned little shovel which should be of wood. And if the onions dry up, cast in some good fatty mutton broth until the onions are well cooked. And then take almonds which are well peeled and white and grind them well in a mortar and then dissolve them in good mutton broth and pass them through a woollen strainer and then cast the almond milk in the pot with the onions and mix it well, and cook them well until the onions are cooked in the almond milk, and cast good grated cheese from Aragon in the pot, and stir well with a stirrer as if they were gourds, and when they are well mixed with the cheese and you see that it is cooked, prepare dishes, first casting into the pot a pair of egg yolks for each dish, and upon the dishes cast sugar and cinnamon if you wish; and it is good.

2 ½ c lamb broth	2 ½ oz Parmesan
½ c almonds	4 egg yolks
1 lb 10 oz onions	1 t sugar
1 T bacon fat or lard	⅛ t cinnamon

To make the broth, put a quarter to half a pound of lamb trimmings in 4 c water and simmer an hour or so. Blanch almonds. Peel and slice onions. Grate cheese. Separate eggs. Grind almonds fine and use 2 c of the lamb broth to make almond milk from them (p. 7). Bring 4 c of water to a boil; add sliced onions, bring back to a boil, let boil a minute or two and then remove from heat and drain. Squeeze the onions between two wooden boards and drain off the juice. Heat bacon fat, add onions and fry for 10 minutes; add ½ c broth and cook another 5-10 minutes. Add almond milk, simmer about another 10 minutes. Stir in grated cheese; as soon as it is melted, add egg yolks, stir them in and remove from heat. Put

into serving bowl, mix cinnamon and sugar and sprinkle over the top.

Benes Yfryed

Curye on Inglysch p. 141
(*Forme of Cury* no. 189)

Take benes and seep hem almost til þey bersten. Take and wryng out the water clene. Do þerto oynouns ysode and ymynced, and garlec þerwith; frye hem in oile ober in grece, & do þerto powdour douce, & serue it forth.

30 oz fava beans	3 t poudre douce (p. 4)
1 small onion	3 cloves garlic (1 oz)
3 T olive oil	

Drain and wash the beans (canned and so precooked—dried would require soaking and cooking). Chop onion, crush and mince garlic. Simmer onions and garlic in ½ c water for 3 minutes, drain. Heat the frying pan with oil at medium heat, add onions and garlic and beans (will splatter—be careful), cook, stirring frequently, 10 minutes. Then add poudre douce, mix well, cook 2 more minutes, and serve. Remember to keep stirring.

An Excellent Boiled Salad

English Huswife book 2, p. 40

To make an excellent compound boild Sallat: take of Spinage well washt two or three handfulls, and put it into faire water and boile it till it bee exceeding soft and tender as pappe; then put it into a Cullander and draine the water from it, which done, with the backside of your Chopping-knife chop it and bruise it as small as may bee: then put it into a Pipkin with a good lump of sweet butter and boile it over again; then take a good handfull of Currants cleane washt and put to it, and stirre them well together, then put to as much Vinegar as will make it reasonable tart, and then with sugar season it according to the taste of the Master of the house, and so serve it upon sippets.

10 oz spinach	4 T sugar
2 T butter	3 T wine vinegar
⅝ c currants	1 lb of bread to toast

Boil about 4 c water, add spinach, boil about 10 minutes. Remove and drain. Spread the spinach on a cutting board, chop and mash it by striking with the back edge of a large kitchen knife. Put it in a pot with the butter, cook about five minutes, add currants, vinegar, and sugar. Cook a few minutes longer. Serve on slices of toast.

Leek Pottage (*Potaje de Porrada*)
De Nola no. 105

You must take leeks, well-peeled, and washed and cleaned the night before, set them to soak in an earthen bowl filled with water, in the night air; and let them be this way all night until the morning; and then give them a boil, moderately, because they are very difficult to cook; and when they are well-boiled, press them a great deal between two chopping blocks, and gently fry them with the fat of good bacon; and do not cast salt upon them; and when they are well gently fried, set them to cook in a little good broth which is fatty; and then take almond milk and cast it in the pot and cook it until it is quite thick; and when it is thick, taste it for salt, and if it lacks salt cast it in; and then prepare dishes, and [cast] upon them sugar and cinnamon.

3 medium leeks (1 ¼ lb)	⅛ t salt
½ c chicken or beef broth	1 t sugar
2 slices bacon (~ 2 oz)	⅛ c almonds
¼ t cinnamon	⅜ c water

Trim roots and green part from leeks, wash and put to soak overnight.

Make almond milk (p. 7). Cut leeks into 1" pieces. Put into boiling water and cook 15 minutes. Fry bacon in a large frying pan until crisp and remove bacon, leaving fat in pan. Drain leeks and press between two cutting boards to force out the water. Fry the leeks 3 or 4 minutes at medium heat in the bacon fat. Put the broth and the leeks into a pot and bring to a boil, then add the almond milk. Cook 5 minutes; add salt if needed. Mix cinnamon and sugar and sprinkle on top before serving.

A Puree with Leeks

Buoch von Guoter Spise no. 64

A puree with leeks. Take white leek and cut small and mix well with good almond milk and with rice meal and boil that well and do not oversalt.

3 medium leeks	1 ⅛ c water
1 T rice flour	¼ t salt
¼ c almonds	

Make 1 c almond milk (p. 7). Chop white and pale green parts of the leeks and put in a pot with almond milk and rice flour. Cook, stirring often, 18-20 minutes over medium heat. Add salt and serve.

Seafood

Salmon Casserole (*Cazuela de Salmon*)
De Nola no. 182 (Good)

You must take the clean and well-washed salmon; and put it in a casserole with your spices which are: galingale, and a little pepper and ginger and saffron; and all of this well ground, and cast upon the fish with salt, and a little verjuice or orange juice, and let it go to the fire of embers; and then take blanched almonds and raisins and pine nuts and all herbs. That is, moraduj, which is called marjoram, and parsley, and mint; and when the casserole is nearly half-cooked cast all this inside.

2 lb salmon	¼ c blanched almonds
½ t galingale	1 T pine nuts
⅛ t pepper	¼ t ginger
3 T verjuice <i>or</i>	1 T fresh parsley
sour orange juice	1 t fresh mint
¼ t salt	3 T raisins
1 t fresh marjoram	15 threads saffron

Put salmon fillets in heavy pot and sprinkle on spices and verjuice. Cover and put on stove on medium low; as soon as it is at a simmer, turn down to very low heat. Chop the herbs very fine and get the nuts and raisins ready. After 15 minutes, add the remaining ingredients, and cook another 10 minutes. Serve.

Salmon Roste in Sauce
Two Fifteenth Century p. 102

Take a Salmond, and cut him rounde, chyne and all, and rost the peces on a gredire; And take wyne, and powder of Canell, and drawe it forgh a streynour; And take smale myced oynons, and caste þere-to, and lete hem boyle; And þen take vynegre, or vergeous, and powder ginger, and cast there-to; and þen ley the samon in a dissh, and cast þe sirip þeron al hote, & serue it forth.

1 ¾ lb salmon	1 medium onion, 6 oz
¾ c white wine	¼ c red wine vinegar
¾ t cinnamon	¼ t ginger

Chop onion; put onion, wine, and cinnamon in small pot, cook on medium about 20 minutes. Add ginger and vinegar. Simmer. Meanwhile, take salmon steaks, cut into serving sized pieces, place on ungreased baking pan or cookie sheet. Broil for 10 minutes until lightly browned. Turn salmon, making certain pieces are separated, cook another 4 minutes or until done. Serve immediately with sauce over it.

Sturgeon pour Porpeys
Two Fifteenth Century p. 105

Take a sturgeon, turbot or porpoise, and cut it in fair pieces to bake; and then make fair cakes of fair paste, and take powder of pepper, powder of ginger, canel, and salt, and medle these powders and salt together; and take and lay a piece of the fish on a cake and lay the powders underneath the fish, and above enough; and then wet the sides of the paste with fair cold water, and close the sides together, and set him in an oven, and bake him enough.

1 lb filleted fish	½ t pepper
2 c white flour	½ t ginger
1 c whole wheat flour	1 t cinnamon
~ 1 c water	½ T salt

Mix flour together, stir in water, knead to a smooth dough. Divide in 24 portions. Roll out each portion into an oval about 4"x5 ½". Cut a piece of fish about 1 ½"x3"x¾". Mix ginger,

cinnamon, and salt. Take ⅛ t of the mixture, put about half of it on one end of the rolled out piece of dough, put on the piece of fish, put the rest of the spice mixture on the fish. Fold over the other half of the dough and seal the edges, using a wet finger if necessary; it should look like a big ravioli. Put on a baking sheet and bake 20-30 minutes at 325°. Eat.

Variants: Make smaller or larger pasties, as you like; what I describe is simply one way that works. As an alternative to the ravioli shape, roll out the dough in a roughly circular shape, put the fish in the middle, pull the dough up at the edges and join it on top—sort of like a shu mai.

Note: Turbot is a delicate flat fish, related to halibut. We were told that Orange Roughy or Taliapia is similar, that it is not fat and does not taste very fishy. Flesh is "white, firm, flaky and savoury". The porpoise (mammal) is said to be oily.

Chisan

Ancient Cookery p. 448

Take hole roches, or tenchys, or plays, but choppe hem on peces, and frie hem in oyle; and take crusts of bredde, and draw hem with wyn, and vynegur, and bray fyggges, and draw hem therwith; and mynce onyons, and frie hem, and do therto, and blaunched almonds fried, and raisinges of corance, and powder of clowes, and of ginger, and of canell, and let hit boyle, then do thi fissh in a faire vessell, and poure thi sewe above, and serve hit forthe colde.

1 lb fish	pinch ground cloves
1 slice bread	⅛ t ginger
3 T wine	½ t cinnamon
2 T figs	3 T vinegar
1 T minced onion	2 T currants
2 T blanched almonds	

Cut up the fish and fry in oil. Mix bread, wine, vinegar, and chopped or ground figs. Fry minced onion and almonds; add to the sauce, along with remaining ingredients. Put the fish in a dish, cover with the sauce, and serve cold.

To Make Blamaunger in Lenten

*Curye on Inglysch p. 89
(Utilis Coquinario no. 30)*

Tak almound melk & do it in a pot, & tak floure of rys aftere þat þe quantite is of þe melk, or hol rys. & take of þe perche or of a luce & hew it as þou woldest do braun, & if þou fayle þerof tak newe ray & alye it up, & do þerto sugre & oyl of almoundes, or elles oyle dolyff þat is newe, or elles þe gres of a brem; & whan it is soþe, do þe oyle þerto & tak almoundes koruen on foure ifried in oyle & sette in þe disches whan it is dressed, & strew sugre aboue manerlych.

2 c almond milk: (p. 7)	1 T sugar
½ c almonds	1 T almond oil
2 c water	or olive oil
4 T rice flour (or rice)	1 c almonds
1 lb perch	1 T sugar

Make almond milk. Put in a pot, add rice flour and fish, cut up into small cubes. Cook until fish is done, about 10 minutes, add 1 T sugar and oil, cook another minute. Cut almonds in four pieces each and fry. Serve with fried almonds and second T of sugar on top.

Vyaunde de Cyprys in Lent

Two Fifteenth Century p. 28

Take good thik milk of almonds, and do it on a pot; nym the flesh of good crabs, and good salmon, and bray it small, and temper it up with the foresaid milk; boil it, and lye it with flour of rice or amyndoun, and make it chargeaunt; when it is yboiled, do thereto white sugar, a gode quantitie of white vernage pimes [apparently a wine like muscadine] with the wine, pomegranate. When it is ydressed, strew above the grains of pomegranate.

2 oz almonds	3 T sugar
1 c water	4 t Rhine wine
7 oz crabmeat	2 T pomegranate juice
7 oz salmon	pomegranate seeds
2 T rice flour	

Make almond milk (p. 7). Remove skin and bones from salmon, cut salmon and crab

into cubes and shred it. Mix fish and almond milk and cook over medium heat; add sugar, wine, and pomegranate juice after 5 minutes; add rice flour after 10 minutes, cook, stirring, another minute, remove from heat and keep stirring another half minute. Garnish with pomegranate seeds.

Galantine for Carp

Goodman p. 289

Bray saffron, ginger, clove, grains of paradise, long pepper and nutmegs, and moisten with the greasy sewe in which the carp has been cooked, and add thereto verjuice, wine and vinegar and let it be thickened with a little toasted bread, well brayed and colorless (nathelless strained bread maketh the best sauce) and let it all be boiled and poured over the cooked fish, then put onto plates.

1 ½ lb catfish or carp	¼ t cloves
5 threads saffron	2 T broth from fish
¼ t ginger	1 ½ c verjuice
¼ t pepper	2 t red wine
½ t nutmeg	4 T wine vinegar
⅛ t grains of paradise	3 T bread crumbs

Oysters in Bruette

Two Fifteenth Century p. 23

Take an schene oystrys, an kepe þe water þat cometh of hem, an strayne it, and put it in a potte, & Ale þer-to, an a lytil brede þer-to; put Gyngere, Canel, Pouder of Pepir þer-to, Safroun an Salt; an whan it is y-now al-moste, putte on þin Oystrys: loke þat þey ben wyl y-wasshe for þe schulllys: & þan serue forth.

2 slices bread	⅛ t pepper
¾ c liquid from oysters	8 threads of saffron
¾ c ale	¼ t salt
¾ t ginger	1 ¼ c oysters
⅛ t cinnamon	

Mix bread, torn up small, with liquids and heat; add seasonings and simmer until the bread has come apart and the sauce is fairly thick. Add oysters, let simmer until the oysters are done and serve forth.

Soups

A Potage with Turnips

Platina pp. 117-118 (book 7)

Turnips that have been well washed and cut up into nice bits, you cook down in some rich juice. When they have cooked and been mashed, put them near the fire again, in more rich juice, even better than before, if possible; and put in little pieces of salt pork, pepper and saffron. When it has boiled once, then take it and serve it to your guests.

3 lb turnips $\frac{1}{6}$ - $\frac{1}{8}$ t pepper
5 c beef broth 24 threads saffron
6 oz salt pork

Wash turnips and cut off ends and slice $\frac{1}{4}$ "- $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. Combine 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ c of the beef broth with 5 c water, heat it to a boil, then add turnips. Simmer 20 minutes, remove turnips and get rid of broth. Cut salt pork into small pieces, cutting off rind, and fry it until lightly browned, about 8 minutes. Drain. Mash turnips with a potato masher, return to pot with another 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ c of beef broth, salt pork, pepper and saffron; bring to a boil, boil briefly and remove from heat. Produces about 9 c of pottage.

Note: a recipe for potage of peas earlier in the same chapter says to fry morsels of salt flesh, so we do so with the salt pork here.

Rapes in Potage [or Carrots or Parsnips]

Curye on Inglysch p. 99
(*Forme of Cury* no. 7)

Take rapus and make hem clene, and waissch hem clene; quarter hem; perboile hem, take hem vp. Cast hem in a gode broth and seef hem; mynce oynouns and cast herto safroun and salt, and messe it forth with powdour douce. In the self wise make of pastunakes and skyrwittes.

Note: rapes are turnips; pasternakes are either parsnips or carrots; skirrets are, according to the OED, "a species of water parsnip, formerly much cultivated in Europe for its esculent tubers." We have never found

them available.

1 lb turnips, carrots, 6 threads saffron
or parsnips $\frac{3}{4}$ t salt
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb onions 3 t poudre douce (p. 4)
2 c chicken broth

Wash, peel, and quarter turnips (or cut into eighths if they are large), cover with boiling water and parboil for 15 minutes. If you are using carrots or parsnips, clean them and cut them up into large bite-sized pieces and parboil 10 minutes. Mince onions. Drain turnips, carrots, or parsnips, and put them with onions and chicken broth in a pot and bring to a boil. Crush saffron into about 1 t of the broth and add that and the salt to the potage. Cook another 15-20 minutes, until turnips or carrots are soft to a fork and some of the liquid is boiled down. Sprinkle on the poudre douce and serve.

Potage from Meat

Platina p. 116 (book 7) (Good)

Take lean meat and let it boil, then cut it up finely and cook it again for half an hour in rich juice, having first added bread crumbs. Add a little pepper and saffron.

When it has cooled a little, add beaten eggs, grated cheese, parsley, marjoram, finely chopped mint with a little verjuice. Blend them all together in a pot, stirring them slowly with a spoon so that they do not form a ball. The same may be done with livers and lungs.

2 $\frac{1}{3}$ lb stewbeef 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c grated cheese
4 c water $\frac{3}{8}$ c parsley
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ c beef broth 1 t fresh marjoram
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c bread crumbs 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ T fresh mint
 $\frac{3}{4}$ t pepper 6 T verjuice
8 threads saffron [1 t salt (to taste)]
5 eggs

Bring meat and water to a boil and cook 10 minutes; take meat out and cut up small; put back in water with broth, bread crumbs, pepper, and saffron. Simmer $\frac{1}{2}$ hour over low flame, being careful that it does not stick. Mix in remaining ingredients; the herbs should be chopped. Cook, stirring frequently, for about

5 minutes. This makes about 10 cups.

This is a rather meat-rich version; it also works with as little as half this much meat.

The Soup Called Menjoire

Taillevent p. 112

First you need the necessary meat—Peachicks, pheasants or partridges and if you can't get those, plovers, cranes or larks or other small birds; and roast the poultry on a spit and when it is almost cooked, especially for large birds like peachicks, pheasants or partridges, cut them into pieces and fry them in lard in an iron pan and then put them in the soup pot. And to make the soup you need beef stock from a leg of beef, and white bread toasted on a grill, and put the bread to soak and skim the broth and strain through a sieve and then you need cinnamon, ginger, a little cloves, long pepper and grains of paradise and hippocras according to the amount of soup you want to make, and mix the spices and the hippocras together and put in the pot with the poultry and the broth and boil everything together and add a very little vinegar, taking care that it just simmers and add sugar to taste and serve over the toasted crackers with white anise or red or pomegranate powder.

2 lbs chicken pieces	¼ t long pepper
lard to fry in	¼ t grains of paradise
~3 c beef broth	½ c hippocras (p. 64)
4 slices white bread	1 T vinegar
¼ t cinnamon	1 T sugar
¼ t ginger	¼ t ground aniseed
3 whole cloves	

Bake chicken pieces 45 minutes at 350°. You may wish to debone them after they have cooled enough to handle before frying them in lard. Bread is toasted and then soaked until soft, then beaten into the soup along with the spices and hippocras. Add vinegar and sugar. Simmer soup about 45 minutes. Serve over toasted crackers with aniseed sprinkled on.

The hippocras in the recipe might be the spice mixture hippocras is made from rather than hippocras itself, in which case you would use a teaspoon or so—we have not tried that interpretation.

Saffron Broth

Platina p. 103 (book 6)

Put thirty egg yolks, verjuice, the juice of veal or capon, saffron, a little cinnamon together into a bowl and blend. Pass them through a strainer into a pot. Cook it down slowly and stir it continuously with a spoon until it begins to thicken. For then it is taken from the hearth and served to ten guests. While in the dishes, sprinkle with spices.

7 egg yolks	½ t cinnamon
2 T verjuice	⅛ t nutmeg
21 oz chicken broth	¼ t black pepper
10 threads saffron	

Zanzarella

Platina p. 104 (book 6)

Take seven eggs, half a pound of grated cheese, and ground bread all blended together. Put this into the pot where the saffron broth is made, when it begins to boil. When you have stirred it two or three times with a spoon, compose your dishes, for it is quickly done.

Saffron broth (one recipe)	4 eggs
3 cups ground mozzarella	3 slices bread

Variants on Platina Soups

Platina p. 104 (book 6)

Green Broth: Take all that was contained in the first broth [Saffron Broth] except for the saffron and to these things add orach and a little parsley and a few ground sprouts of wheat if there are any green ones at the time. Pass this through a strainer and cook it in the same way as above.

½ c orage	2 T wheat sprouts.
2 T parsley	

Grind them up in a mortar to get the green color. You can use spinach to substitute for the orage.

Green Pottage: You prepare green pottage in the same way as described above [Zanzarella], but instead of saffron, put in herbs which I noted with the green broth.

Cretonnée of New Peas*Menagier* p. M-19

Cook them almost to a puree then remove from the liquid and take fresh cow's milk. And first boil this milk before you put anything in it for it still could turn then first grind ginger to give appetite and saffron to yellow: it is said that if you want to make a liaison with egg yolks pour gently in from above these yolks will yellow it enough and also make the liaison but milk curdles quicker with egg yolks than with a liaison of bread and with saffron to color it. And for this purpose if you use bread it should be white unleavened bread and moisten it in a bowl with milk or meat stock then grind and put it through a sieve and when your bread is sieved and your spices have not been sieved put it all to boil with your peas and when it is all cooked then add your milk and saffron. You can make still another liaison, with the same peas or beans ground then strained; use whichever you please. As for liaison with egg yolks, they must be beaten, strained through a sieve, and poured slowly from above into the milk, after it has boiled well and has been drawn to the back of the fire with the new peas and spices. The surest way is to take a little of the milk and mix with the eggs in the bowl, and then a little more, and again, until the yolks are well mixed with a spoon and plenty of milk, then put into the pot which is away from the fire, and the soup will not curdle. And if the soup is thick, thin with a little meat stock. This done, you should have quartered chicks, veal, or small goose cooked then fried, and in each bowl put two or three morsels and the soup over them.

1 lb = 4 c peas [meat stock]	4 egg yolks or bread and saffron
1 c milk	2 chicken legs
½ t ginger	or veal or goose

Note: Save the water in which you cook the peas—it is useful for making other soups.

Boil peas 10 minutes. Mix 1 c warm milk with 4 egg yolks. Add ginger and salt to the peas, then milk and eggs; thin with meat stock if it is thicker than you want. Makes about 6 cups.

Potage of Beans Boiled*Curie on Inglysch* p. 77
(*Diuersa Seruicia* no. 81)

For to make a potage fene boiles, tak wite benes & seþ hem in water, & bray þe benys in a mortar al to noight; & lat þem seþe in almond mylk & do þerin wyn & hony. & seþ reysouns in wyn & do þerto & after dresse yt forth.

1 c dried fava beans	1 ½ T honey
1 c (5 oz) almonds	¼ c raisins
1 ½ c water	¼ c more wine
⅛ c wine	[½ t salt]

Soak beans overnight in 2 c water, drain. Boil them for 40 minutes in 2 c of water. Drain them, mush them in a mortar. Make 1 c almond milk (p. 7) with almonds and 1 ½ c water and set to boil; throw beans into boiling almond milk, add ⅛ c wine and honey, simmer 1 hour. Simmer the raisins in ¼ c wine for about ten minutes, add them to the pottage a few minutes before it finishes cooking.

Green Broth of Eggs and Cheese*Menagier* p. M-22

Take parsley and a little cheese and sage and a very small amount of saffron, moistened bread, and mix with water left from cooking peas, or stock, grind and strain: And have ground ginger mixed with wine, and put on to boil; then add cheese and eggs poached in water, and let it be a bright green. Item, some do not add bread, but instead of bread use bacon.

3 T parsley	2 c pea stock
½ oz grated cheese	or chicken stock
3 small leaves fresh sage	⅛ t ginger
5 threads saffron	1 T white wine
2 thin slices white bread	1 ¾ oz cheese
or bacon	3 eggs

Grate bread and soak it in stock (either water left from cooking peas or ½ c canned chicken broth + 1 ½ c water). Grind parsley, sage, and saffron in a mortar thoroughly; add

½ oz cheese and soaked bread and grind together. Strain through a strainer; if necessary, put back in mortar what didn't go through, grind again, and strain again. Mix wine and ginger, add to mixture, and bring to a boil over moderate heat; be careful that it does not stick to the bottom. Stir in the rest of the cheese; break eggs into soup, and continue to simmer until eggs are poached.

Note: We have used both Gouda and cheddar cheese; both are good.

Poultry

Icelandic Chicken

Icelandic p. 218 (Good)

One shall cut a young chicken in two and wrap about it whole leaves of salvia, and cut up in it bacon and add salt to suit the taste. Then cover that with dough and bake like bread in the oven.

5 c flour	½ lb bacon
about 1 ¾ c water	3 lb chicken
fresh sage leaves to cover (or 3 T dried sage)	

Make a stiff dough by kneading together flour and water. Roll it out. Cover the dough with sage leaves and the sage leaves with strips of bacon. Cut chicken in half and wrap each half chicken in the dough, sealing it. You now have two packages which contain, starting at the outside, dough, sage, bacon, chicken. Put them in the oven and bake like bread (325° for 2 hours). We find the bacon adds salt enough.

The part of the bread at the bottom is particularly good, because of the bacon fat and chicken fat. You may want to turn the loaves once or twice or baste the top with the drippings.

Roast Chicken

Platina p. 94 (book 6)

You will roast a chicken after it has been well plucked, cleaned and washed; and after roasting it, put it into a dish before it cools off and pour over it either orange juice or verjuice with rosewater, sugar and well-ground cinnamon, and serve it to your guests.

large chicken	2 T sugar
1 ½ T sour orange juice	½ t cinnamon
2 t rosewater	

Note that orange juice at this period would have been from sour oranges.

Chyken in Hochee

Curye on Inglysch p. 105

(*Forme of Cury* no. 36)

Take chyken and scald hem. Take persel and sawge, with oþer erbes; take garlec & grapes, and stoppe the chikenus ful, and seeþ hem in gode broth, so þat þey may esely be boyled þerinne. Messe hem & cast þerto powdour dowce.

3 ½ lb chicken	¾ oz = ~10 cloves garlic
4 T fresh parsley	½ lb red grapes
1 ½ t fresh sage	5 c chicken broth
1 t fresh marjoram	1 ½ t poudre douce (p. 4)
1 ¾ t fresh thyme	

Clean the chicken, chop parsley and sage fine then mix with herbs in a bowl. Herbs are fresh, measured chopped and packed down. Take leaves off the fresh marjoram and thyme and throw out the stems, remove as much stem from parsley as practical. Add garlic cloves whole. Add grapes, and thoroughly but gently mix with the herbs. Stuff the chicken with the herbs, garlic and grapes. Close the bird with a few toothpicks. Place chicken in pot with broth and cook on stove top over moderate heat ½ hour, turn over, another ¼ hour (in covered pot). Serve on platter with poudre douce sprinkled over.

Capons Stwed

Two Fifteenth Century p. 72 (Good)

Take parcelly, Sauge, Isoppe, Rose Mary, and tyme, and breke hit bitwen thi hondes, and stoppe the Capon there-with; colour hym with Safferon, and couche him in a erthen potte, or of brasse, and ley splentes underneth and al about the sides, that the Capon touche no thinge of the potte; strawe good herbes in the potte, and put thereto a pottel of the best wyn that thou may gete, and none other licour; hele the potte with a close led, and stoppe hit aboute with dogh or bater, that no eier come oute; And set hit on the faire charcole, and lete it seeth easly and longe till hit be ynowe. And if hit be an erthen potte, then set hit on the fire whan thou takest hit downe, and lete hit not touche the grounde for breking; And whan the hete is ouer past, take oute the Capon with a prik; then make a sirippe of wyne, Reysons of corance, sugur and safferon, And boile hit a litull; medel powder of Ginger with a litul of the same wyn, and do thereto; then do away the fatte of the sewe of the Capon, And do the Siryppe to the sewe, and powre hit on the capon, and serue it forth.

3 lb chicken	6 threads saffron + 1 t water
<i>First batch of herbs: Second batch of herbs:</i>	
1/3 c fresh parsley	2 T parsley
1 T dried sage	1/2 t sage
1 t dried rosemary	1/2 t rosemary
1 t thyme, ground	1/2 t thyme
2 T hyssop, dried	about 1/2 c flour
1 1/2 c wine	enough water to make a stiff dough

Sauce:

1/2 c wine	10 threads saffron
1/2 c sugar	1/4 c wine
1/2 c currants	1 t powdered ginger

Mix first batch of herbs and stuff chicken with them. Put chicken and wine in a pot with a lid; if you are using a stove top rather than an oven, you may want to put wood pieces or something under the chicken to keep it from sticking. Paint the chicken with water with saffron crushed into it. Sprinkle on second batch of herbs. Mix flour and water into a stiff dough, roll it out into a string, and use it between pot and lid as a seal. Bake at 350° or

simmer on stove top about 1 1/2 hours. Take out, drain, separate out some of the liquid without the fat. Make a thick syrup of wine, sugar, currants, and a pinch of saffron. Boil briefly. Mix another 1/4 c wine with powdered ginger. Combine. Add 1/2 c of the liquid from the chicken to this, heat, pour over capon, serve.

Creteyney

Ordinance of Potage no. 38

Take capons and othir fowlys. Perboile hem; dyse hem. Cast hem yn a pott with cowe mylke & boyle hit therwith. Draw payndmayne with som of the mylke and put togedyr. Take sodyn eyron; hew the white & caste therto. Sesyn hit up with poudyr, sigure, & safferyn & salt, and aley hit up with yolkes of eyron sodyn hard, & frye hem a lytyll. Ley hem in disches; poure the sewe abovyn and floresch hit with anneys in comfite.

5 1/2 lb chicken	“powder”:
4 c milk	1 t pepper
5 slices white bread	1 t cinnamon
5 hard-boiled eggs	1 t ginger
1 T lard or oil	1/2 t salt
1 T sugar	10 threads saffron
candied anise seed	

Quarter chicken, put it in boiling water for 5 to 10 minutes. Drain. Debone and dice the meat. Put it in the milk, simmer 20 minutes until the meat is well cooked. Remove from heat. Cut the bread into small pieces, combine with 1 1/4 c of the milk. Chop egg whites, fry the egg yolks in lard or oil for about 5 minutes. Mash the bread, add egg whites, egg yolk, spices including sugar and salt, using a little milk to extract color and flavor from the saffron, simmer together for about 5 minutes. Serve the chicken with the sauce over it, sprinkling candied anise over that.

Veal, Kid, or Hen in Bokenade*Two Fifteenth Century p. 13*

Take Vele, Kyde, or Henne, an boyle hem in fayre Water, or ellys in fresshe brothe, an smyte hem in pecys, an pyke hem clene; an than draw the same brothe thorwe a straynoure, an caste ther-to Percely, Sawge, Ysope, Maces, Clowys, an let boyle tyl the flesshe be y-now; than sette it from the fyre, and a-lye it vp with raw yolkys of eyroun, and caste ther-to pouder Gyngere, Verjows, Safroun, and Salt, and thanne serue it forth for a gode mete.

meat (½ chicken)	8 egg yolks
2 T fresh parsley	1 t powdered ginger
3 leaves of sage	3 T vinegar
½ T hyssop	5 threads saffron
⅛ t mace	½ t salt
⅛ t cloves	

Boil meat 20 minutes before “smiting in pieces”, another 20 minutes after adding parsley, etc.

Cinnamon Bruet*Menagier p. M-19*

Cut up your poultry or other meat, then cook in water and add wine, and fry; then take raw almonds with the skin on, unpeeled, and a great quantity of cinnamon, and grind up well, and mix with your stock or with beef stock, and put to boil with your meat: then grind ginger, clove, and grain, etc., and let it be thick and yellow-brown.

3 ¼ lb chicken	½ t cloves
6 c water	1 t grains of Paradise
1 ½ c wine	½ t ginger
2 c almonds	[½ t salt]
8 t cinnamon	

Mix wine and water, put in the cut up chicken, bring to a boil, cook half an hour. Remove chicken and fry for about 10 minutes. Grind almonds fine. Add almonds, cinnamon, ginger, cloves and grains to the pot of broth from boiling the chicken, put the pieces of chicken back in, simmer 20 minutes. Remove and bone chicken, return almonds, chicken,

liquid to pot, simmer another ½ hour. Add salt to taste.

Maumenye Ryalle*Two Fifteenth Century p. 22*

Take Vernage, ober strong Wyne of þe beste þat a man may fynde, an putte it on a potte, and caste þer-to a gode quantity of pouder Canelle, and sette it on þe fyre, an gif it an hete; and þanne wrynge it soft þorw a straynour, þat þe draf go nowt owte, and put on a fayre potte, and pyke fayre newe pynys, and wasshe hem clene in Wyn, and caste a gode quantity þer-to, and take whyte Sugre þer-to, as moche as þe lycoure is, and caste þer-to; and draw a few Sawnderys wyth strong wyne þorwe a straynoure, an caste þer-to, and put alle on one potte, and caste þer-to Clowes, a gode quantity, and sette it on þe fyre, and gif it a boyle; þen take Almaundys, and draw them with myghty Wyne; and at þe firste boyle ly it vppe with Ale, and gif it a boyle, and sette it on þe fyre, and caste þer-to tesyd brawn, (of defaute of Pertrich or Capoun) a gode quantity of tryid Gyngere perase, and sesyn it vppe with pouder Gyngere, and Salt and Safroun; and if it is to stonding, a-ly it with Vernage or swete Wyne, and dresse it Flat with þe backe of a Sawcere in þe Vernage or myghty Wyne, and loke þat þou haue Sugre y-nowe, and serue forth hote.

3 lb chicken	1 c sugar
1 c vernage	10 T ground almonds
1 T cinnamon	½ c ale
½ t saunders	1 T fresh ginger
½ c more wine	¼ t powdered ginger
¼ c pine nuts	¼ t salt
½ t cloves	6 threads saffron

Microwave (or boil in very little water) chicken 6 minutes initially to make it easier to bone. Chicken should be boned, skinned, and shredded. Put vernage (or other sweet white wine) and cinnamon into the pot and boil; mix saunders with extra wine and add that and pine nuts, cloves, and sugar to pot; add almonds, let cook while chopping ginger, and add everything else, then boil about 30 minutes uncovered.

Moorish Chicken

Portuguese p. P-3

Cut up a fat hen and cook on a mild flame, with 2 spoons of fat, some bacon slices, lots of coriander, a pinch of parsley, some mint leaves, salt and a large onion.

Cover and let it get golden brown, stirring once in a while. Then cover hen with water and let boil, and season with salt, vinegar, cloves, saffron, black pepper and ginger. When chicken is cooked, pour in 4 beaten yolks. Then take a deep dish, lined with slices of bread, and pour chicken on top.

4 lbs chicken	½ t salt
10 oz onion	2 T vinegar
1 t parsley	¼ t cloves
½ T mint	8 threads saffron
⅓ c cilantro	½ t ginger
2 T lard	½ t pepper
5 strips bacon	4 egg yolks
2 ½ c water	6 slices bread

Dismember chicken (thighs, legs, wings in two pieces, etc.), slice onion, wash and coarsely chop parsley, mint, and cilantro. Melt fat, fry bacon a couple of minutes, put chicken, herbs, salt, and onion into pot and fry uncovered about 10 minutes, cover and cook covered another 20 minutes. Add water, vinegar, additional spices, bring to a boil and cook 45 minutes. Toast bread, arrange toast in bowl. Break egg yolks, stir them in and remove pot from heat, and pour into bowl with toast.

Note that this is a 15th-century Portuguese idea of an Islamic dish: a real Islamic dish would not include bacon!

How You Want to Make a Food of Hens*Daz Buoch von Guoter Spise p. B-7 (#28)*

This is called King's Hens. Take young roasted hens. Cut them in small pieces. Take fresh eggs and beat them. Mix thereto pounded ginger and a little anise. Pour that in a strong pot, which will be hot. With the same herbs, which you add to the eggs, sprinkle therewith the hens and put the hens in the pot. And do thereto saffron and salt to mass. And put them to the fire and let

them bake [at the] same heat with a little fat. Give them out whole. That is called King's Hens.

3 lb chicken	¼ t anise on chicken
2 T fresh ginger	12 threads saffron
¾ t anise	1 t salt
5 eggs	7 T chicken fat
2 t fresh ginger	

Put whole chicken in oven at 350°, bake 1 hour. Let cool, cut into pieces, partially deboning. Cut 2 T ginger up fine and pound with ¾ t anise in mortar. Take a bowl, beat eggs, add ginger, anise, beat together. Heat a pot on the stove, add egg mixture. Put cut up chicken on the egg mixture. Sprinkle chicken with another 2 t ginger and ¼ t anise. Crush saffron into 1 t water, sprinkle saffron and salt over pot. Sprinkle chicken fat (drippings from baking the chicken) overall. Put in oven, bake 30 minutes at 350°.

Mirause of Catalonia

Platina p. 92 (book 6) (Good)

The Catalans are a refined people who in character and customs are hardly unlike the Italians and skillful with food; they have a dish which they call mirause and prepare it thus: capons or pullets or pigeons well cleaned and washed they put together on a spit and turn over the hearth until they are half cooked. Then they remove them and cut them in pieces and put them in a pot. Then they chop almonds that have been toasted under warm ashes and cleaned with some cloth. To this they add some bread crumbs lightly toasted with vinegar and juice and pass all this through a strainer. This is all put in the same pot with cinnamon and ginger and a good amount of sugar and left to boil on the coals with a slow fire until it is done, all the time being stirred with a spoon so that it does not stick to the pot.

3 ¼ lb chicken	½ t ginger
¾ c roasted almonds	1 T sugar
¼ c breadcrumbs	10.5 oz concentrated chicken broth
1 T vinegar	
½ t cinnamon	

Preheat oven to 450°. Put in chicken, reduce temperature to 350°, bake about 45 minutes. Chop almonds fine, mix chopped almonds, breadcrumbs, vinegar, and a little of the chicken broth and run through a food processor until smooth (or squish through a strainer, grind the residue with a mortar and pestle, and then put it through the strainer). Cut up chicken into large pieces, put in pot with sauce, spices, sugar, the juice from roasting the chicken and the rest of the chicken broth and cook about 15 minutes, stirring almost constantly.

Bruette Saake

Two Fifteenth Century p. 27

Take Capoun, skalde hem, draw hem, smyte hem to gobettys, Waysshe hem, do hem in a potte; þenne caste owt þe potte, waysshe hem a-gen on þe potte, and caste þer-to half wyne half Broþe; take Percely, Isope, Waysshe hem, and hew hem smal, and putte on þe potte þer þe Fleysshe is; caste þer-to Clowys, quybibes, Maces, Datys y-tallyd, hol Safroune; do it ouer þe fyre; take Canelle, Gyngere, tempere þin powajes with wyne; caste in-to þe potte Salt þer-to, hele it, and whan it is y-now, serue it forth.

3 lbs frying chicken	½ t mace
2 c broth	¼ c = 3 oz dates
2 c wine	15 threads saffron
4 T fresh parsley	½ t cinnamon
1 ½ T fresh hyssop	½ t ginger
⅛ t cloves	2 t more wine
¼ t cubebs	½ t salt

Cut chicken into separate joints, add broth and wine and set to boil. Chop herbs and grind cubebs in a mortar; add herbs, dates, cloves, cubebs, and mace and cook about 35 minutes uncovered. Mix cinnamon and ginger with remaining wine, add them and salt to chicken, cover and let simmer another 30 minutes. Should be served with bread (or rice, although that is less appropriate for 15th-century England) to sop up the sauce.

Notes: One could also interpret “smyting to gobbetys” as taking the meat off the bones and cutting up; my gobbets are the size of the

thigh or half the breast. I assume the parsley and hyssop are intended to be fresh since they are being washed. Fresh hyssop tastes somewhat like parsley but rather more bitter and spicier; I would suggest, if you can't get it, substituting more fresh parsley rather than dried hyssop, which is pretty tasteless.

Cold Sage Chicken

Goodman p. 277

Take your chicken and quarter it and set to cook in salt and water, then set it to get cold. Then bray ginger, cinnamon powder, grain of Paradise, and cloves and bray them well without straining; then bray bread dipped in chicken broth, parsley (the most), sage, and a little saffron in the leaf and color it green and run it through a strainer (and some there be that run therewith yolk of egg) and moisten with good vinegar, and when it is moistened set it on your chicken and with and on the top of the aforesaid chicken set hard boiled eggs cut into quarters and pour your sauce over it all.

½ chicken, quartered	4 T parsley
¼ t ginger	3 leaves sage
½ t cinnamon	10 threads saffron
¼ t grains of paradise	2 egg yolks
less than ⅛ t cloves	1 T vinegar
3 slices of bread	4 hard boiled eggs

Douce Ame

Form of Cury p. 35

Take good cowmilk and do it in a pot. Take psel., sage, Hissop, savory, and other good herbs. Hew them and do them in the milk and seethe them. Take capons half y-roasted and smite them on pieces and do thereto pine and honey clarified. Salt it and color it with saffron and serve it forth.

2 ¼ c milk	2 lb chicken
¼ c fresh parsley	1 T pine nuts
1 t dried sage	½ T honey
1 t hyssop	¼ t salt
1 t dried savory	a pinch saffron
other herbs to taste	

Bake chicken about 40 minutes at 350°. Simmer in milk about 45 minutes.

Conyng, Hen, or Mallard *Two Fifteenth Century p. 80*

Take conyng, hen or mallard, and roast him almost enough; or else chop him, and fry him in fresh grease; and fry onions minced, and cast altogether into a pot, and cast thereto fresh broth and half wine; cast thereto cloves, maces, powder of pepper, canel; then stepe fair bread with the same broth and draw it through a strainer with vinegre. And when it hath well boiled, cast the liquor thereto, and powder ginger, and vinegre, and season it up, and then thou shall serve it forth.

4 ½ lb duckling,	¼ t mace
or 3 lbs chicken	¼ t pepper
or 3 lb rabbit	1 t cinnamon
lard for frying	6 slices bread
½ lb onions	2 T red wine vinegar
2 c chicken broth	¼ t ginger
1 c wine	[½ t salt]
⅛ t cloves	1 T vinegar

Roast the duck, chicken or rabbit for about an hour and a quarter. Bone the meat, or break it into small pieces. Chop onions and fry them in 2 t of the drippings for about five minutes, until they turn yellow. Add dismembered chicken (or ...), broth, wine, cloves, mace, pepper and cinnamon to the pot, bring to a simmer, and cook twenty minutes.

Meanwhile, tear up the bread, spoon about 1 c of the liquid from the pot over the bread, and let it soak for 3-4 minutes. Add 2 T vinegar, force through a strainer or mash very thoroughly, and add to the pot along with ginger and another T of vinegar. Bring back to a boil, stirring, and serve.

Chicones in Mose *Curye on Inglysch p. 86* *(Utilis Coquinario no. 17)*

To make chicones in mose. Tak blaunched almoundes & grynde hem smale & tempere hem with clene watere, & do hem in a pot & put þerto floure of rys & sugre & salt & safroun, & boyle hem togedere. & ley þe yelkes of harde sothe eyren in disches, & tak rosted chikenes & tak þe lemes &

þe wynges & þe braun, & cut þat ober del on lengthe, & ley it in þe disches with yolkes and take the sauche and hilde hit into the disches & do aboue clowes & serue it forth.

4 lb chicken	1 T sugar
8 eggs	½ t salt
1 c blanched almonds	8 threads saffron
1 c water	8 whole cloves
1 T rice flour	

Roast the chicken for about an hour and 35 minutes, preheating oven to 450° and turning down to 350° when the chicken is put in. While it is baking, put eggs in cold water and bring to a boil; after 15 minutes remove them, separate the yolks and set aside. Grind the almonds fine. Shortly before the chicken is done, combine almonds with water, bring to a boil, stir in the rice flour, sugar, salt and saffron and cook until thickened.

Cut legs and wings off the chicken, remove white meat and cut into strips. Arrange on a platter with the egg yolks on the chicken and pour the sauce over. Put on a few whole cloves for ornament and serve forth.

Garbage *Two Fifteenth Century p. 72*

Take faire Garbage, chikenes hedes, ffete, livers, And gysers, and wassh hem clene; caste hem into a faire potte, And caste fressh broth of Beef, powder of Peper, Canell, Clowes, Maces, Parcely and Sauge myced small; then take brede, stepe hit in þe same brothe, Drawe hit thorgh a streynour, cast thereto, And lete boyle ynowe; caste there-to powder ginger, vergeous, salt, And a litull Safferon, And serve hit forthe.

1 lb chicken livers	½ c fresh parsley, packed
1 lb gizzards	1 t fresh sage
2 ½ c beef broth	3 ½ oz bread
⅛ t pepper	¼ t ginger
½ t cinnamon	3 T verjuice
⅛ t cloves	½ t salt
¼ t mace	10 threads saffron

Cut up gizzards to remove the thin bits of gristle connecting the lumps of meat. Wash

and chop parsley and sage. Put broth, meat, herbs, pepper, cinnamon, mace and cloves into a pot and bring to a boil. Simmer uncovered 1 hour 10 minutes. About 15 minutes before it is done simmering, remove about $\frac{3}{4}$ cup of the broth and tear up the bread into it; let soak briefly and mash thoroughly with a mortar and pestle. Put back into pot, bring back to a boil and cook, stirring, about 5 minutes, add remaining ingredients and cook a couple of minutes, stirring, and serve. Note that the original has chickens' heads and feet, which we have left out because they are not easy to get hold of.

Almond Fricatellae
Platina p. 150 (book 9)

Pass almonds that have been well cleaned and ground through a strainer with milk and rosewater. And to these add the breast of a chicken, boiled and ground separately, and blend in well some meal, two or three egg whites, and sugar. When this has been prepared, as you wish, fry them either in oil or liquamen.

2 oz almonds	$\frac{1}{2}$ c meal
$\frac{3}{8}$ c milk	$\frac{1}{2}$ t salt
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ t rosewater	1 T sugar
1 lb chicken breasts	oil or lard
5 egg whites	

Blanch and grind almonds. Mix with rosewater and some milk. Boil chicken breasts about 10 minutes. Cut up chicken breasts and run them through a blender or food processor, using egg whites and remaining milk if necessary to make them sufficiently liquid to blend. Combine egg whites, almonds, and remaining ingredients. Make into patties or spoon into oil and flatten with a pancake turner. Fry about 1 minute a side in $\frac{1}{2}$ " oil until brown. They are good served with salt sprinkled over them.

For the meal, I use whole wheat (the kind that looks like hard brown rice) ground in an electric coffee grinder (a sort of miniature food processor, also useful for grinding almonds and spices). You can use flour instead, but it does not come out the same.

Meat Dishes

Boiled Meats Ordinary
The English Huswife p. 47

You shall take a racke of mutton cut into peeces, or a leg of mutton cut in peeces: for this meat and these joints, are the best, Although any other joint, or any fresh beefe will likewise make good pottage: and having washt your meat well, put it into a cleane pot with faire water, and set it on the fire: then take violet leaves, endive, succory [chicory?], strawberie leaves, spinage, langdebeefe, marygold flowers, Scallions, and a little persly, and chop them very small together, then take halfe so much oatmeale well beaten as there is herbes, and mix it with the herbes, and chop all very wel together: then when the pot is ready to boile, skumme it very wel and then put in your herbes: And so let it boile with a quicke fire, stirring the meat oft in the pot, till the meat be boild enough, and that the hearbes and water mixt together without any separation, which will be after the consumption of more then a third part: then season them with salt, and serve them up with the meat either with sippets or without.

1 lb mutton or lamb	3 scallions
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ c water	1 t salt
2 T parsley	7 oz oats \cong 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ c
14 oz mixed greens \cong 5 c	

(Greens: endive lettuce, Belgian endive, spinach, ...)

Cut lamb into bite-sized pieces. Put in a pot with water, bring to a simmer. Chop greens, including parsley and scallions, and mix with oatmeal (steel-cut oats, since rolled oats are long out of period). Add the oatmeal and greens to the pot, along with salt. Simmer 45 minutes to 1 hour—perhaps a little longer if you are using mutton.

Variants: If you want the pottage green but without visible herbs, beat the oatmeal and herbs in a stone mortar with a wooden pestle. Strain it, using some warm water from the pot. If you want it without herbs, use lots of onions and more oatmeal than before.

Pottage with Whole Herbs

English Huswife, book 2, p. 48

Take mutton, veal or kid, break the bones but do not cut up the flesh, wash, put in a pot with water. When ready to boil and well skimmed, add a handful or two of small oatmeal. Take whole lettuce, the best inner leaves, whole spinach, whole endive, whole chiccory, whole leaves of colafflorry or the inward parts of white cabbage, with two or three onions. Put all into the pot until done. Season with salt and as much verjuice as will only turn the taste of the pottage; serve up covering meat with whole herbs and adorning the dish with sippets.

1 lb veal	5 flowerettes cauliflower
1 ½ c oatmeal	2 small onions
3 ½ oz lettuce	½ T salt
1 c spinach	2 T verjuice
1 small endive	6 slices of toast
2 oz chicory	

Note: “Oatmeal” should be steelcut/Irish oatmeal, not moden rolled oats.

Cook veal whole about ½ hour in enough water to cover. Add vegetables as soon as the water comes to a boil and is skimmed.

Stwed Mutton

Two Fifteenth Century p. 72

Take faire Mutton that hath ben roste, or elles Capons, or suche oþer flessch, and mynce it faire; put hit into a possenet, or elles bitwen ii siluer disshes; caste thereto faire parcely, And oynons small mynced; then caste there-to wyn, and a litull vynegre or vergeous, powder of peper, Canel, salt and saffron, and lete it stue on þe faire coles, And þen serue hit forthe; if he have no wyne ne vynegre, take Ale, Mustard, and A quantite of vergeous, and do þis in þe stede of vyne or vinegre.

Wine Version

1 ½ lb boned lamb	1 t pepper
¼ c parsley	½ t cinnamon
1 ¼ lb onions	1 t salt
¾ c wine	3 threads saffron
2 T vinegar	½ c water

Beer Version

Substitute 1 c dark beer and ½ t ground mustard for the wine. Substitute 4 T of verjuice for the vinegar if you have it.

Roast the lamb (before boning) at 350° for about 1 hour, then chop it into bite sized pieces. Chop onions fine. Combine all ingredients (and the juices from roasting the lamb) in a covered stew pot; use enough water so that there is just enough liquid to boil the meat in. Simmer it about ½ hour and serve it forth. It is good over rice.

Beef y-Stewed

Two Fifteenth Century p. 6

Take faire beef of the ribs of the forequarters, and smite in fair pieces, and wash the beef into a fair pot; then take the water that the beef was sodden in, and strain it through a strainer and seethe the same water and beef in a pot, and let them boil together; then take canel, cloves, maces, grains of paradise, cubebs and onions y-minced, parsley and sage, and cast thereto, and let them boil together; and then take a loaf of bread, and stepe it with broth and vinegar, and then draw it through a strainer, and let it be still; and when it is near enough, cast the liquor thereto, but not too much, and then let boil once, and cast saffron thereto a quantity; then take salt and vinegar, and cast thereto, and look that it be poynant enough, and serve forth.

1 medium onion = 6 oz	¼ t cloves
¼ c parsley	½ t cinnamon
⅛ t grains of paradise	2 slices bread = 3 oz
⅛ t cubebs	12 threads saffron
1 t fresh sage	1 T vinegar
1 lb beef	1 t salt
¼ t mace	1 t more vinegar

Chop onions and herbs, grind grains of paradise and cubebs. Put beef in a pot, add 1 ½ c water, bring to a boil, add parsley, sage, onion, and spices. Simmer about 45 minutes covered. Tear up bread, put to soak in 1 T vinegar and ⅝ c broth from the meat. After 45 minutes put bread through a strainer (or a food processor); add that, saffron, salt and 1 t vinegar to the meat. Adjust salt and vinegar to your taste, bring back to a boil and serve.

Bruet of Savoy

Du Fait de Cuisine no. 3

And again, another potage, that is a bruert of Savoy: to give understanding to him who will be charged with making this bruert, to take his poultry and the meat according to the quantity which he is told that he should make, and make ready his poultry and set to cook cleanly; and meat according to the quantity of potage which he is told to make, and put to boil with the poultry; and then take a good piece of lean bacon in a good place [a good cut?] and clean it well and properly, and then put it to cook with the aforesaid poultry and meat; and then take sage, parsley, hyssop, and marjoram, and let them be very well washed and cleaned, and make them into a bunch without chopping and all together, and then put them to boil with the said potage and with the meat; and according to the quantity of the said broth take a large quantity of parsley well cleaned and washed, and brayed well and thoroughly in a mortar; and, being well brayed, check that your meat is neither too much or too little cooked and salted; and then according to the quantity of broth have white ginger, grains of paradise, and a little pepper; and put bread without the crust to soak with the said broth so that there is enough to thicken it; and being properly soaked, let it be pounded and brayed with the said parsley and spices, and let it be drawn and strained with the said broth; and put in wine and verjuice according as it is necessary. And all of the things aforesaid should be put in to the point where there is neither too little nor too much. And then, this done, put it to boil in a large, fair, and clean pot. And if it happens that the potage is too green, put in a little saffron, and this will make the green bright. And when it is to be arranged for serving, put your meat on the serving dishes and the broth on top.

2 lbs chicken pieces	¾ c more parsley
1 ¼ lb veal	1 t ground ginger
3 stalks marjoram	1 t grains of paradise
2 stalks parsley	¼ t pepper
1 stalk fresh sage	1 ½ t verjuice
1 stalk hyssop	2 T wine
4 slices bacon	[⅛ t salt]
4 slices white bread	[8 threads saffron]

Tie sage, parsley, hyssop and marjoram with string and put them in a pot; cut up leg quarters, slice veal, add them along with enough water to cover. Cut off about half the

fat from the bacon (or start with lean bacon if you can find it); cut the remainder in small pieces. Simmer for about ½ hour. Drain off broth, put bread in broth; grind up the rest of the spices and the additional ¾ c parsley. Soak the bread in about 1 c broth then add parsley and spices, put through the strainer. Add wine and verjuice, boil about 10 minutes, serve with the sauce over the meat.

Cormarye

Curye on Inglysch p. 109
(*Forme of Cury* no. 54)

Take colyaundre, caraway smale grounden, powdour of peper and garlec ygrounde, in rede wyne; medle alle þise togyder and salt it. Take loynes of pork rawe and fle of the skyn, and pryk it wel with a knyff, and lay it in the sawse. Roost it whan þou wilt, & kepe þat fallith þerfro in the rostyng and seep it in a possynet with faire broth, and serue it forth wiþ þe roost anoon.

1 t caraway	1 ½ c red wine
3 cloves garlic	½ t salt
1 t ground coriander	1 ½-3 lb pork roast
½ t pepper	½ c chicken broth

Grind caraway in a mortar, then grind garlic with it (or use a spice grinder and a garlic press). Combine with coriander, pepper, wine and salt to make a marinade. Stick pork with a knife lots of times. Put pork in marinade and let it marinate over night, turning it once or twice. Heat oven to 450°, put in pork, turn down to 350°, roast until it is done (170° on a meat thermometer), basting with the marinade every ten or fifteen minutes. It should take about an hour and a half to two hours, depending on the size and shape of the roast; for larger roasts the rule is about half an hour/pound (if you use more than a three pound roast, you probably want to scale up the amount of marinade). Collect the drippings from the broth, combine with half their volume of chicken broth, simmer for at least 15 minutes and serve over the pork.

Meat Casserole (Cazuela De Carne)

De Nola no. 124

You must take meat and cut it into pieces the size of a walnut, and gently fry it with the fat of good bacon; and when it is well gently fried, cast in good broth, and cook it in a casserole; and cast in all fine spices, and saffron, and a little orange juice or verjuice, and cook it very well until the meat begins to fall apart and only a little broth remains; and then take three or four eggs beaten with orange juice or verjuice, and cast it into the casserole; and when you wish to eat it, give it four or five stirs with a large spoon, and then it will thicken; and when it is thick, remove it from the fire; and prepare dishes, and cast cinnamon upon each one. However, there are those who do not wish to cast in eggs or spice, but only cinnamon and cloves, and cook them with the meat, as said above, and cast vinegar on it so that it may have flavor; and there are others who put all the meat whole and in one piece, full of cinnamon, and whole cloves, and ground spices in the broth, and this must be turned little by little, so that it does not cook more at one end than the other. And so nothing is necessary but cloves and cinnamon, and those moderately.

[Another recipe from this book says: "all manner of fine spices, which are: good ginger, and good cinnamon, and saffron, and grains of paradise, and nutmeg, and mace..."]

1 ½ lb lamb	¼ t cinnamon at end
1 slice of bacon	<i>fine spices:</i>
1 ½ c chicken broth	⅛ t ginger
15 threads saffron	¼ t grains of paradise
2 T verjuice	⅛ t mace
2 eggs	½ t cinnamon
1 T more verjuice	⅛ t nutmeg

Cut the meat into bite sized pieces. Fry the bacon to render out the fat; fry the meat in the bacon fat (more like simmering because of liquid from the lamb) for about ten minutes. Add broth, fine spices, saffron, and 2 T verjuice, cook for an hour and a quarter until only a little liquid remains. Beat 2 eggs into the additional 1 T verjuice, add to casserole, cook another couple of minutes. Serve with a little more cinnamon sprinkled over.

Cow's Meat

Anthimus p. 11

Cow's meat however, steamed and cooked in a casserole should be eaten, in a gravy. First, it should be put to soak in one water, and then it should cook in a reasonable quantity of fresh water, without adding any water as it cooks, and when the meat is cooked, put in a vessel about a half mouthful of vinegar, and put in the heads of leeks and a little pennyroyal, parsley root, or fennel, and let it cook for an hour; then add honey to half the quantity of the vinegar, or sweeter according to taste. Then let it cook on a slow fire, shaking the pot frequently with the hands, and the sauce will well season the meat. Then grind: pepper fifty grains; costum and spikenard, a half solidus each; cloves, one tremissis. All these grind well in an earthen mortar, add a little wine, and when well ground, put into a vessel and stir well, so that before it is taken from the fire it may warm up a little and put its strength into the gravy. Moreover, where there is honey, or must, or caroenum, put in one of these as it says above, and do not let it cook in a copper kettle, but in an earthen vessel; it makes flavor the better.

1 ¾ lb beef	2 t honey
3 c water	2 T wine
3 leeks	½ t pepper
4 t vinegar	½ t cloves
1 t fennel seed	1 t spikenard
(or pennyroyal or parsley root)	

Cut beef into 1" pieces. Bring beef and water to a boil, turn down heat to low and cook covered 45 minutes. Wash and slice leeks, using only the half starting at the white end. Grind fennel seed and add vinegar, honey, leeks and fennel to stew. Cook uncovered on moderate heat one hour. Grind pepper, cloves, and spikenard (we don't know what "costum" is) together, add wine and grind some more. Put this with stew and cook ten minutes and serve.

As spikenard is related to lavender, we have used lavender when we could not get spikenard.

Fylettes en Galentyne*Two Fifteenth Century p. 8 (Good)*

Take fair pork, the fore quarter, and take off the skin; and put the pork on a fair spit, and roast it half enough; then take it off and smite it in fair pieces, and cast it on a fair pot; then take onions and shred them and peel them, and not too small, and fry in a pan of fair grease; then cast them in the pot to the pork; then take good broth of mutton or of beef, and cast thereto, and cast thereto powder pepper, canel, cloves, and mace, and let them boil well together; then take fair bread, and vinegar, and steep the bread with the same broth, and strain it on blood, with ale, or else with saunders, and salt, and let them boil enough, and serve it forth.

2 lb pork roast	¼ t cloves
2 big onions	¼ t mace
2 T lard	¼ loaf of bread = 4-5 oz
4 c beef broth	¼ c vinegar
¼ t pepper	small pinch of saunders
1 t cinnamon	½ t salt

Put the pork in a 450° oven, turn down to 325°, and roast until about half done—140° on the meat thermometer. Cut it in slices, put it in a pot. Cut up the onions, not too fine, fry in lard until they are limp. Put them in the pot, along with the broth and spices. Bring to a boil and simmer for about half an hour. Meanwhile, soak your bread in vinegar and enough of the broth from the pot to get it thoroughly soggy, add saunders and salt and force it through a strainer (or use a food processor to reduce to mush). Add it and the salt, boil another ten or fifteen minutes.

Alternatives: add ½ c of ale (good), or else use ½ c of blood instead of the saunders, reducing the beef broth by ½ c to compensate.

Brawn en Peurade*Two Fifteenth Century p. 11*

Take Wyne an powder Canel, and draw it þorw a straynour, an sette it on þe fyre, and lette it boyle, an caste þer-to Clowes, Maces, an powder Pepyr; þan take smale Oynonys al hole, an par-boyle hem in hot watere, an caste þer-to, and let hem boyle to-gederys; þan take Brawn, an lesshe

it, but nowt to þinne. An if it sowsyd be, lete it stepe a whyle in hot water tyl it be tendere, þan caste it to þe Sirip; þen take Sawnderys, an Vynegre, an caste þer-to, an lete it boyle alle to-gederys tyl it be y-now; þen take Gyngere, an caste þer-to, an so serue forth; but late it be nowt to þikke ne to þinne, but as potage shulde be.

1 lb small onions (~10)	¾ t pepper
4 c wine	2 ¼ lb pork
½ t cinnamon	½ t saunders
½ t cloves	¼ c vinegar
½ t mace	½ t ginger

Simmer onions in wine with spices (cinnamon, cloves, mace, pepper) for about 15 minutes, then slice meat and add it. Add saunders and vinegar. Cook together at moderate heat about one hour, then add ginger and remove from heat.

Autre Vele en Bokenade*Two Fifteenth Century p. 13*

Take Vele, an Make it clene, and hakke it to gobettys, an sethe it; an take fat brothe, an temper up þine Almaundys þat þou hast y-grounde, an lye it with Flowre of Rys, and do þer-to gode powder of Gyngere, & Galyngale, Canel, Maces, Quybybis, and Oynonys y-mynsyd, & Roysonys of coraunce, & coloure yt wyth Safroun, and put þer-to þin Vele, & serue f.

1 lb stew veal	1 ½ t cinnamon
2 ½ c water	½ t mace
4 oz almonds	½ t cubebs
1 ½ c broth from veal	2 oz onion
2 T rice flour	5 T currants
½ t ginger	8 threads saffron
¼ t galingale	[½ t salt]

Cook veal in water about 20 minutes; grind almonds, mix with the rest of the ingredients in a small pot (including the broth from the veal). Simmer about 20 minutes (veal is also still cooking). Combine sauce and veal.

Mete of Cypree

Curie on Inglisch p. 55
(*Diuersa Cibaria* no. 56)

Vor mete of Cypree. Vurst nim of alemauns, & hwyte of heom one pertie, ah hwyte summe hole & þe ofur do to grinden. Soþþen nim þe hole alemauns & corf heom to quartes; soþþen nim fat broþ & swete of porc ofur of vþur vlehs; tempre þin alemauns & soþþen drauh out þi milke & so þe do hit in an veyre crouhe. Soþþen nim þe braun of chapouns ofur of hennen ofur of porc, & ef noed is let hakken, & soþþen do in a mortar þat hit beo wel igronden, & soþþen nym hit & do hit to þe milke. Soþþen nim blod of cycchen ofur of ofur beste, & soþþen grind hit & do hit to þe vlesche. Soþþen do þe crouhe to þe vure & seoþ hit wel; & soþþen nym gode poudre of spices: gynger, kanel, maces, quibibes, and so zeoþ hit wiþ þilke metee. Soþþen nim wyn & sucre & make me an stronge soupe. Do hit in þilke to zeoþen. Soþþen nym flour of ris & do a quantite þat hit beo wel þikke. Soþþen nim þin alemauns icoruen & frie heom wel in grece; soþþen nim gynger & par yt wel & heuw hit. Soþþen nym þin alemauns yfried & þi gynger to þe dressur, & so do hit to þilke mete, & soþþen nym saffron & colore wel þi mete: & gef þat to gode men vor god mete & riche.

Version with modernized English: For meat of Cyprus. First take of almonds, & blanche of them one part, the white should be whole & the other do to grind. Then take the whole almonds & carve them to quarters; then take fat broth & suet of pork or of other flesh; temper thine almonds & then draw out thy milk & then do it in a fair crock. Then take the meat of capons or of hens or of pork, & if need is let it be hacked, & then do in a mortar that it be well ground, & then take it & do it to the milk. Then take blood of chicken or of other beast, & then grind it & do it to the flesh. Then do the crock to the fire & seethe it well; & then take good powder of spices: ginger, canel, maces, cubebs, and so seethe it with that meat. Then take wine & sugar & make me a strong soup. Do it in that to seethe. Then take flour of rice & do a quantity that it be well thick. Then take thine almonds carved & fry them well in grease; then take ginger & pare it well & hew it. Then take thine almonds

yfried & thy ginger to the dresser, & so do it to this meat, & then take saffron & color well thy meat: & give that to good men for good meat & rich.

1/3 c almonds	1/8 t mace
1 c chicken broth	4 t wine
3/4 lb pork (or chicken)	4 t sugar
[blood]	2 T rice flour
1/4 t cubebs	2 T slivered almonds
1/8 t ginger	2 t lard
1/4 t cinnamon	1/2 T fresh ginger

Grind whole almonds in food processor. Add 1/2 c of the broth, run the food processor, strain out liquid, put back residue; add another 1/4 c broth, repeat; add another 1/4 c, repeat. Grind meat and add to liquid; add blood if you can get it. Put on the heat; grind cubebs and add spices. Cook about 10 minutes, stirring frequently; add wine and sugar. Cook another couple of minutes, add rice flour; cook a minute and remove from heat. While meat is cooking, fry the slivered almonds in grease, cut ginger into very little pieces. When meat is done, sprinkle almonds and ginger over and serve.

See p. 21 for a fish (Lenten) version of this dish.

Froys

Curie on Inglisch p. 65
(*Diuersa Servicia* no. 18)

For to make a froys. Nym veel and seþ yt wel & hak it smal, & grynd bred, peper & saffroun and do þereto & frye yt, & presse yt wel vpon a bord, & dresse yt forþe.

1 lb veal	3/8 t pepper
2 slices bread	[1/2 t salt]
10 threads saffron	2 1/2 T lard for frying

Put veal in pot, cover with water, bring to a boil and cook 15 minutes. Cut it to 1/4" pieces, including fat. Grind bread in food processor, crush saffron into about 1 T of the broth, and mix meat, bread, pepper and salt. Melt lard; fry mixture 4-5 minutes over

moderately high flame until pieces are getting browned. Press out excess lard on cutting board with a spatula and transfer to serving dish.

Froyse out of Lentyn

Two Fifteenth Century p. 45

Take Eyroun & draw þe yolkes & þe whyte þorw a straynoure; þan take fayre Bef or vele, & sethe it tyl it be y-now; þan hew cold ober hote, & melle to-gederys þe eggys, þe Bef, or vele, & caste þer-to Safroun, & Salt, & pouder of Pepir, & melle it to-gederys; þan take a fayre Frying-panne, & sette it ouer þe fyre, & caste þer-on fayre freysshe grece, & make it hot, & caste þe stuf þer-on, & stere it wel in þe panne tyl it come to-gederys wel; cast on þe panne a dysshe & presse it to-gederys, & turne it onys, & þanne serue it forth.

1 ¼ lb beef steak	¾ t pepper
15 threads saffron	¾ t salt
8 eggs	2 oz bacon fat

Cut meat into 2 inch chunks, boil in water 20 minutes. Cut into pea sized pieces. Grind 15 threads of saffron in 2 T warm water. Pass eggs through a strainer or simply beat them. Render out bacon fat, mix everything together, then cook the mixture in a frying pan, stirring frequently until set up, about five minutes. Press it all together and flip it, then invert onto a plate and serve.

Egredouncy

Two Fifteenth Century p. 31

Take Porke or Beef, wheþer þe likey, & leche it þinne þwerte; þen broyle it broun a litel, & þen mynce it lyke Venyson; choppe it in sewe, þen caste it in a potte & do þer-to Freysssh brothe; take Erbis, Onynonys, Percely & Sawge, & ober gode erbis, þen lye it vppe with brede; take Pepir & Safroun, pouder Canel, Vynegre, or Eysel Wyne, Broþe an Salt, & let yet boyle to-gederys, tyll þey ben y-now, & þan serue it forth rennyng.

½ lb pork or beef	¼ c bread crumbs
1 small onion = 2 oz	⅛ t pepper
1 oz fresh parsley	6 threads saffron
5 leaves fresh sage	¼ t cinnamon
[½ t rosemary]	2 T wine vinegar
[¼ t oregano]	⅓ c more beef broth
1 ½ c beef broth	½ t salt

Chop meat and then brown in a frying pan with chopped onions; put with herbs and 1½ c broth and bring to a boil, adding bread crumbs as it comes to a boil; add remaining ingredients and simmer for about five minutes, then remove from heat. Good over rice.

Fricassee of Whatever Meat You Wish

Platina p. 91 (book 6)

You make a fricassee from fowl or whatever meat you choose in this way: in a pot with lard, close to the fire, put meat or birds well cleaned and washed, whether cut up finely or in slices. Stir this often with a spoon so that it does not stick to the side of the pot; when it is nearly cooked, take out most of the lard and put in two egg yolks beaten with verjuice and pour in juice and spices mixed into the pot. To this dish add some saffron so that it is more colorful. Likewise, it will not detract from the enjoyment of it to sprinkle finely chopped parsley over the dish. Then serve it immediately to your guests.

1 lb boneless chicken	⅛ t cloves
2 egg yolks	¼ t cinnamon
2 T verjuice	[¼ t salt]
3 threads saffron	1 T parsley
3 T chicken broth	¼-⅓ c lard
¼ t pepper	

Cut up meat. Beat egg yolks with verjuice. In another small dish, crush saffron into a little of the broth, then add the rest of the broth and spices. Chop parsley. Heat lard. Fry meat about 8 minutes, stirring often, then add egg yolk mixture and broth mixture. Cook another two minutes. Remove from heat and sprinkle parsley on top.

Bourbelier of Wild Pig*Menagier* p. M-23 (Good)

First you must put it in boiling water, and take it out quickly and stick it with cloves; put it on to roast, and baste with a sauce made of spices, that is ginger, cinnamon, clove, grain, long pepper and nutmegs, mixed with verjuice, wine, and vinegar, and without boiling use it to baste; and when it is roasted, it should be boiled up together. And this sauce is called boar's tail, and you will find it later (and there it is thickened with bread: and here, not).

3 lb pork roast	½ t long pepper
60 whole cloves	⅛ t nutmeg
¼ t ginger	½ c verjuice
⅛ t cinnamon	1 c wine
⅛ t cloves	½ c vinegar
¼ t grains of paradise	

Preheat oven to 450°. Briefly immerse the roast in boiling water, drain it, stud it with whole cloves, baste with a mixture of the remaining ingredients, then put into oven. Immediately after putting it in, turn oven down to 350°. Roast meat 1 hour 45 minutes (for this size roast), basting every 15 minutes.

Gourdes in potage*Curie on Inglysch* p. 99*(Forme of Cury* no. 10)

Take yong gowrdes; pare hem and kerue hem on pecys. Cast hem in gode broth, and do þerto a gode pertye of oynouns mynced. Take pork soden; grynde it and alye it þerwith and wip 3olkes of ayren. Do þerto safroun and salt, and messe it forth with powdour douce.

1 lb pork	¾ t salt
3 ¼ lb opo gourd	3 egg yolks
½ lb onions	1 ½ T poudre douce (p. 4)
40 threads saffron	

Cut pork into large chunks (2" or so), put in a pot with 1 c of water, boil for about 15 minutes. Peel and slice and quarter gourd (see p. 143). Put gourds and onions in pot with pork broth. Bring to a boil, simmer 30

minutes (until gourds are soft).

Grind up the pork in a food processor or mash it in a mortar. Stir the pork, saffron, salt and egg yolks into the simmering liquid. Simmer another ten minutes. Combine spices to make your poudre douce, serve with pottage with poudre douce sprinkled over it.

Mortrewys of Flesh*Two Fifteenth Century* p. 14

Take porke, and seþe it wyl; þanne take it vpye and pulle a-way þe swerde [skin], an pyke owt þe bonys, and hakke it and grynd it smal; þenne take þe sylf brothe, & temper it with ale; þen take fayre gratyd brede, & do þer-to, and seþe it, an coloure it with saffroun, & lye it with 3olks of eyroun, and make it euen salt, & caste powder gyngere, a-bouyn on þe dysshie.

1 lb+ pork roast	3 egg yolks
1 c ale (or beer)	1 t salt
⅔ c bread crumbs	1 t ginger
3 threads of saffron	

Simmer a small pork roast for 45 minutes. Take it out. Separate the meat from the bones and fat. Chop it up small—if you have a large mortar mush it in that. Mix 2 c of the broth from the pork with ale and bread crumbs. Boil it, add saffron, mix in egg yolks to thicken. Add salt. Pour over the meat. Sprinkle powdered ginger over all and serve.

Picadinho de Carne de Vaca: Beef Hash

Portuguese p. P-2

Wash tender beef and chop fine. Next add cloves, saffron, pepper, ginger, minced green herbs, onion juice, vinegar and salt. Saute it all in oil and let cook until water dries up. Serve on slices of bread.

2 lb beef	¼ c parsley
¼ t cloves	4 t onion juice
20 threads saffron	2 T wine vinegar
1 t pepper	¾ t salt
1 t ginger	2 T oil
4 t cilantro	6 slices bread
2 t mint	

Chop meat to a little coarser than hamburger, using a food processor; mix everything but oil and bread. The herbs chosen are those mentioned commonly in other recipes in this cookbook. Heat oil over moderately high heat in a large frying pan and add beef mixture; cook about 20 minutes, stirring constantly until water comes out of the meat, then occasionally until water dries up. We considered it done when it still looked moist but there was no longer standing liquid. Serve over bread or toast; also good on rice.

Brawune Fryez

Two Fifteenth Century p. 43

Take Brawune, and kytte it þinne; þan take þe yolkes of Eyroun, and sum of þe whyte þer-with; þan take mengyd Flowre, an draw þe Eyroun þorw a straynoure; þen take a gode quantyte of Sugre, Saferoun, and Salt, and caste þer-to, and take a fayre panne with Fressche gres, and set ouer þe fyre; and whan þe grece is hote, take þe Brawn, an putte in bature, and turne it wyl þer-yn, an þan putte it on þe panne with þe grece, and late frye to-gederys a lytil whyle; þan take it yppe in-to a fayre dyssche, and caste Sugre þer-on and þan serue forth.

10 oz pork	2 threads saffron
2 egg yolks	¼ t salt
2 eggs	oil or lard to fry
½ c flour	~ 2 t sugar on top
1 T sugar	

Slice meat thin (¼" or less). Beat eggs and egg yolks and combine with flour, sugar, saffron and salt to make a batter, crushing the saffron into ½ t water before mixing it in. Melt lard and heat over moderate heat. Dip strips of meat into the batter on both sides and fry until brown, about half a minute to a minute on each side (it is hard to give exact time since that depends on the heat of the lard). Sprinkle sugar on top and serve.

Alows de Beef or de Motoun

Two Fifteenth Century p. 40

Take fayre Bef of þe quyschons, and motoun of þe bottes, and kytte in þe maner of Stekys; þan take raw Percely, and Oynonys smal y-scredded, and yolkyes of Eyroun soþe hard, and Marow or swette, and hew alle þes to-geder smal; þan caste þer-on poudere of Gyngere and Saffroun, and tolle hem to-gederys with þin hond, and lay hem on þe Stekys al a-brode, and caste Salt þer-to; þen rolle to-gederys, and putte hem on a round spete, and roste hem til þey ben y-now; þan lay hem in a dysshe, and pore þer-on Vynegre and a lityl verious, and powder Pepir þer-on y-now, and Gyngere, and Canelle, and a fewe yolkyes of hard Eyroun y-kremyd þer-on; and serue forth.

½ c parsley	½ lb lamb or beef
¼ c onion	¼ t more ginger
3 hard-boiled egg yolks	¼ c vinegar
1 T lamb fat or marrow	pinch pepper
¼ t ginger	[salt to taste]
4 threads saffron	¼ t cinnamon

Mix chopped parsley, finely chopped onions, 2 egg yolks, and fat or marrow; chop it all together and add ginger and saffron. Slice the meat ¼" thick; slices should be about 6" by 2". Spread with parsley, etc. mixture, roll up on skewers or toothpicks, broil about 10-12 minutes until brown. Mix sauce with the remaining ingredients and pour over. Makes 6-8 rolls 2" long and 1" to 1 ½" in diameter.

The Flesh of Veal

Platina p. 94 (book 6)

From the haunch of veal take the lean meat and slice it into long thin slices; stroke them with the back of the knife so that they do not break; right away sprinkle them with salt and ground fennel, then on the meat spread marjoram and parsley, with finely diced lard, and sprinkle aromatic herbs over the slices and immediately roll them up and put them on a spit near the fire, taking care that they do not dry out too much. When they are cooked serve them immediately to your guests.

3 T parsley	1 t fennel seed, ground
2 t fresh marjoram	¾ lb lean veal
2 T fresh basil	1 T lard
1 t salt	¼ t dry thyme

Chop parsley, marjoram and basil coarsely. Sprinkle salt and fennel onto the meat slices, dot with lard, sprinkle on remaining herbs. Roll meat up in the direction that the fibers run, since otherwise it will tear, and secure it with toothpicks or skewers. Bake 40 minutes at 350°.

Corat

Curie on Inglysch p. 100
(*Forme of Cury* no. 14)

Take the noumbles of calf, swyne, or of shepe; perboile hem and kerue hem to dyce. Cast hem in gode broth and do þerto erbes, grene chybolles smale yhwewe; seef it tendre, and lye with yolkes of eyren. Do þerto verious, safroun, powdour douce and salt, and serue it forth.

1 lb calf heart	8 egg yolks
2 ½ c beef broth	¼ c verjuice
4 oz spinach	12 threads saffron
6 oz scallions	1 T poudre douce (p. 4)
4 oz turnip greens	1 t salt

Parboil heart in 4 c water: bring water to boil, add heart, bring back to boil, total time about 4 minutes. Drain. Cut heart in ½"-1" cubes. Put with broth and chopped washed greens, simmer about 20 minutes. Stir in beaten egg yolks, turn off heat. Add verjuice, saffron (crushed into a little water), poudre douce, salt, and serve it forth.

Numbles means innards. We suspect the title of the recipe is derived from the French word for "heart" and therefore use heart, but it is also good made with kidney.

Chopped Liver

Du Fait de Cuisine no. 61

For the chopped liver: he who has the charge of the chopped liver should take kids' livers—and if there are not enough of those of kids use those of veal—and clean and wash them very well, then put them to cook well and properly; and, being cooked,

let him take them out onto fair and clean boards and, being drained, chop them very fine and, being well chopped, let him arrange that he has fair lard well and properly melted in fair and clean pans, then put in to fry the said chopped liver and sauté it well and properly. And then arrange that he has a great deal of eggs and break them into fair dishes and beat them all together; and put in spices, that is white ginger, grains of paradise, saffron, and salt in good proportion, then put all of this gently into the said pans with the said liver which is being fried while continually stirring and mixing with a good spoon in the pans until it is well cooked and dried out and beginning to brown. And then when this comes to the sideboard arrange the aforesaid heads [reference to preceding recipe in the original] on fair serving dishes, and on each dish next to the heads put and arrange the aforesaid chopped liver.

½ lb calf liver	8 threads saffron, ground
3 eggs	¼ t salt
¼ t ginger	2 T lard
¼ t grains of paradise	

Simmer liver for about 5 minutes, drain, then chop very fine. Beat the eggs, add spices. Melt the lard, add liver and eggs, stir constantly until cooked.

Meat, Cheese and Egg Pies

Tart on Ember Day

Ancient Cookery p. 448 (Good)

Parboil onions, and sage, and parsley and hew them small, then take good fat cheese, and bray it, and do thereto eggs, and temper it up therewith, and do thereto butter and sugar, and raisyns of corince, and powder of ginger, and of canel, medel all this well together, and do it in a coffin, and bake it uncovered, and serve it forth.

1 lb onions	3 T melted butter
7 oz cheese	1 T sugar
⅓ c parsley	4 T currants
2 T chopped fresh sage	¼ t ginger
(or 1 ½ t dried)	1 t cinnamon
4 eggs	9" pie crust

Parboil the onions and sage 5 minutes, drain and chop. Grate cheese. Mix everything and put in pie crust. We have used several kinds of cheese, all of which work in this recipe.

Spinach Tart

Goodman p. 278 –“A Tart” (Good)

To make a tart, take four handfules of beet leaves, two handfules of parsley, a handfull of chervil, a sprig of fennel and two handfules of spinach, and pick them over and wash them in cold water, then cut them up very small; then bray with two sorts of cheese, to wit a hard and a medium, and then add eggs thereto, yolks and whites, and bray them in the cheese; then put the herbs into the mortar and bray all together and also put therein some fine powder. Or instead of this have ready brayed in the mortar two heads of ginger and onto this bray your cheese, eggs and herbs and then cast old cheese scraped or grated onto the herbs and take it to the oven and then have your tart made and eat it hot.

½ lb spinach	6 oz Parmesan
and/or beet greens	6 oz mozzarella
½ cup fresh parsley	5 eggs
2 T dried	½ t ginger
or ¼ c fresh chervil	[½ t salt]
1 or 2 leaves fresh fennel,	9" pie crust
or 1 t fennel seed, ground	

Chop greens, chop or grate cheese and mix filling in a bowl. Make pie crust and bake at 400° for about 10 minutes. Put filling in crust and bake about 40 minutes at 350°. We usually substitute spinach for beet leaves, dried chervil for fresh, and fennel seed for fresh fennel leaves because of availability.

Malaches of Pork

Curye on Inglysch p. 134
(*Form of Cury* no. 162)

Hewe pork al to pecys and medle it with ayren & chese igrated. Do þerto powdour fort, safroun & pynes with salt. Make a crust in a trap; bake it wel þerinne, and serue it forth.

13 oz boneless pork	¾ t powder fort (p. 4)
½ lb Parmesan	¼ c pine nuts
3 eggs	½ t salt
8 threads saffron	

Cut up the pork raw into ½"-¼" cubes. Grate cheese and mix with eggs in a bowl. Crush saffron into a teaspoon or so of water. Combine everything. Make a 9" pie crust, prebake about 10 minutes at 350°. Put filling in crust and bake at 350° for 45-50 minutes.

We have also used mozzarella and cheddar for the cheese, but Parmesan is better.

Mushroom Pastries

Menagier p. M-25

Mushrooms of one night are the best, and are small and red inside, closed above; and they should be peeled, then wash in hot water and parboil; if you wish to put them in pastry add oil, cheese, and powdered spices.

Fine Powder of Spices (Menagier p. M-40): Take an ounce and a drachm of white ginger, a quarter-ounce of hand-picked cinnamon, half a quarter-ounce each of grains and cloves, and a quarter-ounce of rock sugar, and grind to powder.

1 lb mushrooms	¼ t cinnamon
9 oz Parmesan	⅛ t grains of paradise
1 T olive oil	⅛ t cloves
1 t ginger	¼ t sugar

Slice mushrooms and parboil (put into boiling water and cook two minutes); drain. Grate or chop cheese. Grind grains of paradise and mix up spices. Mix mushrooms, ⅔ of cheese, spices and oil. Put mixture into crust, put remaining cheese over. Makes scant 9" pie. Bake about 20-25 minutes at 350°.

To Make a Chicken Tart
Due Libri di Cucina B: no. 42

If you want to make a pie of chickens, one can do it in four ways. Take them and dismember them and fry them in lard and get boiled shoulder meat beaten very well and good cheese with it and good finest spices and eggs that you need, and put the chickens and these things together, and make the pie, and annoint it of the top with yolks of egg with saffron, and to all these things one must give salt.

3 c flour	1/8 t cloves
1 c water	1/8 t pepper
1/4 t salt	1/4 t cinnamon
2 1/2 oz Parmesan	1/8 t galingale
3/4 lb pork shoulder	1/4 t ginger
1 lb chicken	2 egg yolks
3 T lard	10 threads saffron
4 eggs	1/4 t salt
1/8 t nutmeg	

Knead together flour, water and salt, roll out to about a 10" circle, use it to line a 9" greased pie pan. With a fork prick the shell on the bottom and along the bottom edge so as to minimize lifting from steam underneath. Bake 25 minutes at 350°.

Cut pork into several chunks, boil in 2 c water for about half an hour. Drain it.

Dismember the chicken to the smallest coherent pieces, fry in the lard at medium high for 5-10 minutes until brown. Put into the pie crust.

Grate the cheese, mash the pork in a large mortar then combine it with eggs, spices, cheese and salt. Use this to fill in the pie crust under and between the pieces of chicken—the endoring will look better on chicken than on the mashed pork mixture. Grind the saffron in a small mortar, add egg yolks, stir together so the saffron colors the egg yolks, use to paint the top of the tart.

Bake 1/2 hour at 350°. Serve.

If you use boneless chicken quarters you can cut the pie without running into chicken bones, but that doesn't seem to be how the original was done. It may have used a bigger pie and smaller chickens, which would reduce

the problem. Or the pie might have been eaten out of the crust rather than cut in wedges.

Chawettys
Two Fifteenth Century p. 48

Take buttys of Vele, and mynce hem smal, or Porke, and put on a potte; take Wyne, and caste ber-to powder of Gyngere, Pepir, and Safroun, and Salt, and a lytel verpous, and do hem in a cofyn with yolks of Eyroun, and kutte Datys and Roysonys of Coraunce, Clowys, Maces, and þen ceuere þin cofyn, and lat it bake tyl it be y-now.

1 1/2 lb pork or veal	5 threads saffron
double 9" pie crust	3/4 t salt
3/8 c dates	1 t verjuice
3/8 c currants	3/4 c red wine
1/2 t mace	1/4 t cloves
3/4 t ginger	9 egg yolks
3/4 t pepper	

Cut the meat up fine (1/2" cubes or so). Simmer it in 1 1/2 c of water for about 20 minutes. Make pie crust, fill with meat, chopped dates and currants. Mix spices, wine, verjuice and egg yolks and pour over. Put on a top crust. Bake in a 350° oven for 50 minutes, then 400° for 20 minutes or until the crust looks done.

For Tarts owte of Lente
Pepys 1047 p. 27

Take nesche chese and pare hit and grynd hit yn a mortar and breke egges and do therto and then put yn butter and creme and mess all well to gethur put not to moche buttr ther yn if the chese be fatte make a coffyn of dowe and close hit above with dowe and collor hit above with the yolkes of eggs and bake hit well and sue hit furth.

7 1/2 oz soft cheese	1 c cream
3 eggs	double 9" pie crust
1 T butter	1 egg yolk

Mix ingredients (we used havarti for the cheese), put in a pie shell, cover, brush top with egg yolk, bake 45 minutes at 375°; allow to cool before serving.

Nourroys Pies (or Lorez Pies?)

Taillevant

Take meat well cooked and hashed fine, pine nuts, currants and cottage cheese chopped fine, and a little sugar and a little salt.

To make little Lorez pies, like great pies or those above, and fry them, and don't let them be too large, and whoever wishes to make "lettuces" or "little ears," must make rounds of pastry, the one larger than the other, and fry in deep fat until they are as hard as if cooked on the hearth; and if you wish, gild them with gold leaf or silver leaf or saffron.

3 c chopped cooked pork	2 T sugar
2 T pine nuts	½ t salt
1 ½ c currants	double 9" pastry
4 oz farmer's cheese	

Make as a 2 crust pie, bake 45 minutes at 350°, 10 minutes at 400°. Or make small ones and fry them (we haven't tried that).

Malaches Whyte

Curye on Inglysch p. 133
(*Form of Cury* no. 160)

Take ayren and wryng hem thurgh a cloth. Take powdour fort, brede igrated, & saffron, & cast þerto a gode quantite of buttur with a litull salt. Medle all yfere. Make a foyle in a trap & bake it wel þerinne, and serue it forth.

8 threads saffron	5 eggs
1 c bread crumbs	¾ c whole wheat flour
¼ t salt	¾ c white flour
1 ½ t powder fort	another ¼ t salt
(p. 4)	¼ c water
½ c butter	

Grind the saffron with a few of the bread crumbs in a mortar. Mix that with the rest of the bread crumbs, ¼ t salt, powder fort and melted butter. In another bowl, force eggs through cheese cloth, then add them to the bread crumb mix. Make a pie crust by mixing flours and ¼ t salt, stirring in ¼ c water and kneading smooth. Roll it out and put it in a 9" pie shell, put in the filling, bake about 30

minutes at 350°.

(Forcing the eggs through the cheese cloth produces something like very slightly beaten eggs; the white and the yolk are not as well mixed as if you applied an egg beater for thirty seconds.)

Crustade

Two Fifteenth Century p. 50

Take veal, and smite in little pieces into a pot, and wash it fair; then take fair water, and let it boil together with parsley, sage, savory, and hyssop small enough and hew; and when it is on boiling, take powder pepper, canel, cloves, maces, saffron, and let them boil together, and a good deal of wine therewith. When the flesh is y-boiled, take it from the broth all clean, and let the broth cool; and when it is cold, take eyroun, the white and the yolks, and cast through a strainer, and put them into the broth, so many that the broth be stiff enough; then make fair coffins, and couch 3 pieces or 4 of the flesh in a coffin; then take dates, and cut them, and cast thereto; then take powder ginger, and a little verjuice, and put into the broth and salt; and than put the broth on the coffins, bake a little with the flesh ere thou put thyne liquor thereon, and let all bake together till it be enough; then take it out, and serve them forth.

1 lb veal	a pinch of saffron
½ T parsley	¼ c wine
¼ t sage	2 eggs
¼ t savory	9" pie crust
¼ t hyssop	½ lb of dates
¼ t pepper	¼ t ginger
½ T cinnamon	½ T verjuice
¼ t cloves	~ ¼ t salt
¼ t mace	

Boil veal and herbs and spices for 1 to 1 ½ hours. Boil spices with wine. Let the veal broth cool; separate it from the meat. Add beaten eggs to about ½ c of the broth to stiffen it. Make a pie crust. Put in meat. Cut up dates and put them in. Add ginger and verjuice to broth, also salt. Bake until it hardens. Add wine with spices and eggs. Bake about 30 minutes at 325°.

Another Crust with Tame Creatures

Platina pp. 90-91 (book 6)

If you want to put pigeons and any other birds in a crust, first let them boil; when they are almost cooked, take them out of the pot. Then cut them into nice pieces and fry them in a pan with a goodly amount of lard. Next put them in a deep dish or an earthen pot that has been well greased, and where a crust has been rolled out on the bottom. To this dish you may add plums and cherries or sour fruit without going wrong. Then take verjuice and eight eggs, more or less depending on the number of guests, if there are a few, with a little juice, beaten with a spoon; to this add parsley, marjoram, and finely cut mint, which can be blended after being cut up, and put all this near the fire, but far from the flame. It must be a slow heat so that this does not boil over. All the while, it should be stirred with a spoon until it sticks to the spoon because of its thickness. Finally pour this sauce into the pastry crust and put it near the fire and when it seems to have cooked enough, serve it to your guests.

3 chicken leg quarters	½ t marjoram
3 T lard	2 t mint
½ lb plums	5 eggs
or sour cherries	2 T verjuice
one 9" pie crust	¼ c chicken broth
4 T parsley	½ t salt

Boil chicken 20 minutes. Cut the meat off the bones and fry in lard for 5 minutes. Cut the plums up finely and put in the crust with the meat. Wash and chop herbs, and mix eggs, verjuice, broth, herbs and salt, and cook this at a low heat for about 10 minutes (until thick) and add to crust. (Platina comments elsewhere that he doesn't always bother to mention salt, so we have added it here.) When it is all assembled, bake at 400° for 15 minutes, then at 350° for 25 minutes.

Pork Doucetty

Two Fifteenth Century p. 55 (Good)

Take pork, and hack it small, and eyroun y-mellyd together, and a little milk, and melle him together with honey and pepper, and bake him in a coffin, and serve forth.

½ to ⅔ lb of pork chops	2 t honey
6 eggs	pinch of pepper
3 T milk	1 9" pie crust

Cook pork in the oven or boil it about 20 minutes. Make a pie crust, prick it, and put it in a 400° degree oven for about 10 minutes. Mix remaining ingredients. Cut pork into small pieces and add to mixture. Put it in the pie crust and bake at 350° for about 40 minutes.

Koken van Honer

Grewe 13th century

One should make a pastry shell of dough, and cut up into it a chicken, and add bacon [speck], cut as peas, pepper and cumin and egg yolks well beaten with saffron, and take the shell and bake it in an oven. It is called "koken van honer."

1 ½ lb chicken	⅛ t pepper
(or ¾ lb boneless)	¼ t cumin
9" pie shell	6 egg yolks
3 pieces of bacon	4 threads saffron

Bone and cut up chicken, put in pie shell; add bacon cut small; sprinkle on spices. Beat egg yolks with saffron and pour over. Bake 45 minutes at 350°.

Flampoyntes Bake

Two Fifteenth Century p. 53

Take fayre Buttes of Porke, and seþe hem in fayre Watere, and clene pyke a-way þe bonys and þe Synewes, and hew hem and grynd hem in a mortere, and temper with þe Whyte of Eyroun, and Sugre, and powder of Pepir, and Gyngere, and Salt; þan take neyssche Cruddis [soft curds], grynd hem, and draw þorw a straynoure; and caste þer-to Aneys, Salt, powder Gyngere, Sugre; and þan take þe Stuffe of þe Porke, and putte it on euelong cofyn of fayre past; and take a feþer, and endore þe Stuffe in þe cofyn with þe cruddys; and whan it is bake, take Pynes, and clowys, and plante þe cofyn a-boue, a rew of on, and rew of a-nother; and þan serue forth.

2 lbs pork chops	½ t anise seed
7 egg whites	⅛ t salt
4 t sugar	¼ t ginger
¼ t pepper	1 ½ t sugar
¾-1 t ginger	1 9" pie crust
¾ t salt	1 T whole cloves
1 c cottage cheese	2 T pine nuts

Bring one quart water to a boil, add meat, boil 15 minutes covered. Drain and let meat cool. Cut the meat up, removing bones and fat. Chop fine and grind in food processor. Add egg whites, sugar, pepper, ginger, salt, mix well. Blend cheese in food processor and put into separate bowl; grind anise seed in mortar and add anise, salt, ginger and sugar to cheese. Put meat in unbaked pie crust, spread cheese mixture above it. Decorate with cloves and pine nuts. Bake at 350° 50 minutes to 1 hour. 1 t of ginger in the meat was liked by some people and considered too much by others; adjust to your taste.

Crustade Gentyle

Two Fifteenth Century p. 55

Take a Cofyn y-bake; þan grynd Porke or Vele smal with harde yolks of Eyroun; þan lye it with Almaunde Milke, & make hem stondyng; take Marow of bonys, & ley on þe cofynee, & fylle hem fulle with þin comade, & serue f[orth].

1 c white flour	1 lb ground pork
½ c whole wheat flour	⅙ c almonds
⅜ c water	⅙ c water
3 eggs	~2 ½ lb marrow bones
½ t salt	

Knead flours and water to a smooth dough, roll out, and use to line 9" pie pan. Bake at 350° for 20 minutes. Hard boil eggs and add egg yolks and salt to the ground pork. Make about ⅔ c almond milk (see p. 7), add to pork mixture, and stir to a uniform consistency. Force the marrow out of the marrow bones—you should end up with about 4 oz of marrow—lay it in chunks about the pie crust, and fill up with the pork mixture. Bake at 350° for 1 hour.

Herbelade

Two Fifteenth Century p. 54

Take Buttes of Porke, and smyte hem in pecys, and sette it ouer the fyre; and sethe hem in fayre Watere; and whan it is y-sothe y-now, ley it on a fayre bord, and pyke owt alle the bonys, and hew it smal, and put it in a fayre bolle; than take ysop, Sawge, Percely a gode quantite, and hew it smal, and putte it in a fayre vesselle; than take a lytel of the brothe, that the porke was sothin in, and draw thorw a straynoure, and caste to the Erbys, and gif it a boyle; thenne take owt the Erbys with a Skymoure fro the brothe, and caste hem to the porke in the bolle; than mynce Datys smal, and caste hem ther-to, and Roysonys of Coraunce, and pynes, and drawe thorw a straynoure yolkes of Eyroun ther-to, and Sugre, and poudre Gyngere, and Salt, and coloure it a lytel with Saffroune; and toyle yt with thin hond al thes to-gederys; than make fayre round cofyns, and harde hem a lytel in the ovyn; than take hem owt, and with a dysse in thin hond, fylle hem fulle of the Stuffe; than sette hem ther-in a-gen; and lat hem bake y-now, and serue forth.

3 pork chops	⅓ c pine nuts
3 c fresh parsley	5 egg yolks
1 t dried leaf sage	1 T sugar
2 T hyssop	½ t powdered ginger
½ c chopped dates	½ t salt
½ c currants	9" pastry shell

Boil pork chops until cooked (about 20 minutes), take out, remove the bones and cut up the meat. Chop parsley, boil herbs in the pork broth. Mix pork, cooked herbs, and remaining ingredients in bowl. Make pie crust and bake 10 minutes to harden. Put filling in the pie crust. Bake 30 minutes at 375°.

To Make Short Paest for Tarte

A Proper Newe Book p. 37

Take fyne floure and a curscy of fayre water and a dysche of swete butter and a lyttel saffron, and the yolkes of two egges and make it thynne and as tender as ye maye.

1 c flour	6 threads saffron
5 t water	2 egg yolks
5-6 T very soft butter	

Cut butter into flour, then crush saffron into 1 t of water; mix that and the rest of the water with the egg yolks and stir it into the flour-butter mixture.

To Make a Tarte of Beans

A Proper Newe Book of Cookery p. 37

Take beanes and boyle them tender in fayre water, then take theym oute and breake them in a mortar and strayne them with the yolckes of foure egges, curde made of mylke, then ceason it up with suger and halfe a dysche of butter and a lytle synamon and bake it.

½ lb (1 ¼ c) dry fava beans	4 T sugar
4 egg yolks	6 T butter
½ c curds (cottage cheese)	4 t cinnamon

crust (from short paest for tarte, p. 45)

Put beans in 2 ½ c of water, bring to boil, turn off and let sit, covered, 70 minutes. Add another cup of water, boil about 50 minutes, until soft. Drain beans and mush in food processor. Cool bean paste so it won't cook the yolks. Mix in yolks; add cottage cheese (do not drain); add sugar, butter (soft or in small bits) and cinnamon, then mush it all together to a thick liquid.

Make crust according to the previous recipe. Roll smooth and place in 9" pie plate. Crimp edge. Pour into raw crust and bake at 350° for about 50 minutes (top cracks). Cool before eating.

This would probably be good with fresh fava beans, but we have not tried it that way.

Desserts, Appetizers, Etc.

Prince-Bisket

Hugh Platt p. 14

Take one pound of very fine flower, and one pound of fine sugar, and eight egges, and two spoonfuls of Rose water, and one ounce of Carroway seeds, and beat it all to batter one whole houre: for the more you beat it, the better your bread is: then bake it in coffins, of white plate, being basted with a little butter before you put in your batter, and so keep it.

4 c flour (1 lb)	2 t rose water
2 c sugar (1 lb)	4 t caraway seeds
5 eggs	

Beat all ingredients together one whole hour (or do a fourth of a recipe at a time in a food processor, processing it for several minutes or until the blades stall); there is a visible change in texture at that point. Spoon out onto a greased cookie sheet as 3" biscuits and bake about 30 minutes at 325°. You end up with biscuits which keep forever, but get harder and harder over time.

Excellent Small Cakes

Digby p. 221

Take three pound of very fine flower well dried by the fire, and put to it a pound and a half of loaf sugar sifted in a very fine sieve and dried; 3 pounds of currants well washed, and dried in a cloth and set by the fire; when your flour is well mixed with the sugar and currants, you must put in it a pound and a half of unmelted butter, ten spoonfuls of cream, with the yolks of three newlaid eggs beat with it, one nutmeg; and if you please, three spoonfuls of sack. When you have wrought your paste well, you must put it in a cloth, and set it in a dish before the fire, till it be through warm. Then make them up in little cakes, and prick them full of holes; you must bake them in a quick oven unclosed. Afterwards ice them over with sugar. The cakes should be about the bigness of a hand breadth and thin; of the size of the sugar cakes sold at Barnet.

Scaled down version:

3 c flour	2 ½ T cream
¾ c sugar	1 egg yolk
2 ½ c currants	¼ t nutmeg
¾ lb butter	2 t sack

(This assumes that “spoonful” = T)

Mix flour, sugar, and currants, then cut butter into the mixture as one would for piecrust. Add cream, egg yolk, nutmeg, and sack (we used sherry). Knead together, warm it. Bake cakes about 20 minutes at 350°.

Icing: about ⅓ c sugar and enough water so you can spread it.

To Make an Excellent Cake

Digby p. 219 (Good)

To a peck of fine flour take six pounds of fresh butter, which must be tenderly melted, ten pounds of currants, of cloves and mace, ½ an ounce of each, an ounce of cinnamon, ½ an ounce of nutmegs, four ounces of sugar, one pint of sack mixed with a quart at least of thick barm of ale (as soon as it is settled to have the thick fall to the bottom, which will be when it is about two days old), half a pint of rosewater; ½ a quarter of an ounce of saffron. Then make your paste, strewing the spices, finely beaten, upon the flour: then put the melted butter (but even just melted) to it; then the barm, and other liquours: and put it into the oven well heated presently. For the better baking of it, put it in a hoop, and let it stand in the oven one hour and a half. You ice the cake with the whites of two eggs, a small quantity of rosewater, and some sugar.

Scaled down to one sixteenth of the original

2 c flour	¼ c yeast residue from beer
¼ t cloves	(or 1 t yeast in 3 T water)
¼ t mace	8 threads saffron
½ t cinnamon	1 T rosewater
¼ t nutmeg	2 T sack (or sherry)
½ T sugar	2 c currants
¾ lb butter	

icing:

⅛ egg white (about 2 t)	
¼ t rosewater	2 T sugar

Mix flour, spices, and sugar. Melt butter, mix up yeast mixture, and crush the saffron in the rosewater to extract the color. When the butter is melted, stir it into the flour mixture, then add sack, yeast mixture, and rosewater-saffron mixture. Stir this until smooth, then stir in currants. Bake at 350° in a greased 10" round pan or a 7"x11" rectangular pan for 40 minutes. Remove from pan and spread with a thin layer of icing. We usually cut it up into bar cookies.

Pastry Which They Call Canisiones

Platina p. 144 (book 8)

When you have rolled out your pastry made of meal with sugar and rosewater and formed it like a crust, put into it the same mixture as the one I said in the section on marzapan [Take almonds that have soaked in fresh water for a day and night and when you have cleaned them as carefully as can be, grind them up, sprinkling them with fresh water so that they do not make oil. And if you want the best, add as much finest sugar as almonds. When all this has been well ground and dissolved in rosewater...]; this time, it should be formed like rolls and cooked in the oven as I said before, with a gentle flame.

<i>pastry:</i>	<i>filling:</i>
2 c flour	¾ c almonds, soaked
¼ c sugar	½ c sugar
2 t rosewater	1 t rosewater
~10 T water	2 t water

Mix pastry ingredients and knead to a dry but not stiff dough. Divide in half, roll each half out to about 12" across. Coarsely grind the filling together. Spread thinly onto pastry, leaving ½" margin around the edges, and roll up like a jelly roll; seal seams tightly to avoid leakage. Bake 40 minutes at 350°. Slice when warm; crumbles when cool.

This makes two rolls about 12 inches long. Best when fresh; they dry out by the next day. Note the similarity between this recipe and the Islamic pastry khushkananaj, p. 116.

To Make Iumbolls

Hugh Platt p. 12

Take ½ a pound of almonds being beaten to paste with a short cake being grated, and two eggs, two ounces of caraway seeds, being beaten, and the juice of a lemon: and being brought into paste, roll it into round strings: then cast it into knots, and so bake it in an oven and when they are baked, ice them with rose water and sugar, and the white of an egg being beaten together, then take a feather and gild them, then put them again into the oven, and let them stand in a little while, and they will be iced clean over with a white ice: and so box them up and you may keep them all the year.

¼ lb almonds	1 egg
1 oz shortbread	1 t rose water
1 oz caraway seeds	½ c sugar
½ lemon, juiced	½ egg white

Grind almond fine in food processor, crush shortbread cookies with mortar and pestle, grind caraway seeds briefly in spice grinder and mix these three ingredients. Beat lemon juice and egg together and add to dry ingredients. Mix and roll into ¼" diameter strings and lay on greased cookie sheet in knots. Bake at 375° for 25 minutes. Mix up icing and put onto cookies; put back in hot oven with heat turned off for 5 minutes

Quinces in Pastry

Du Fait de Cuisine no. 70

Again, quinces in pastry: and to give understanding to him who should prepare them let him arrange that he has his fair and good quinces and then let him clean them well and properly and then make a narrow hole on top and remove the seeds and what they are wrapped in, and let him take care that he does not break through on the bottom or anywhere else; and, this being done, put them to boil in a fair and clean cauldron or pot in fair water and, being thus cooked, take them out onto fair and clean boards to drain and put them upside down without cutting them up. And then let him go to the pastry-cooks and order from them the little crusts of the said pastries to put into each of the said little crusts three quinces or four or more. And

when the said little crusts are made fill the holes in the said quinces with very good sugar, then arrange them in the said little crusts and cover and put to cook in the oven; and, being cooked enough, let them be served.

3 quinces	⅝ c sugar	[⅛ t ginger]
<i>pie crust:</i>		
1 ¼ c flour	3 ½ T water	6 ½ T butter

Core the quinces without cutting through to the bottom. Simmer them in water about 15 minutes. Make pie crust, divide in half, roll out bottom crust and put in 7" pie pan. Set quinces upright on top of the bottom crust, fill with sugar, put top crust over them. Bake at 450° for 15 minutes, then at 350° for 35 minutes.

Note: there is a similar recipe in *Two Fifteenth Century Cookery Books*, p. 51. The differences are that the quinces are peeled, they may be replaced by warden pears, there is a little powdered ginger in with the sugar, and the sugar may be replaced by honey with pepper and ginger.

Tartys in Applis

Curye on Inglysch p. 78

(*Diuersa Seruicia* no. 82)

For to make tartys in applis, tak gode applys & gode spycis & figys & reysons & perys, & wan þey arn wel ybrayed colour wyþ saffroun wel & do yt in a cofyn, & do yt forth to bake wel.

2 c flour	½ cup raisins
~⅔ c water	⅔ t cinnamon
1 large apple	½ t nutmeg
1 large pear	¼ t ginger
1 c figs	5 threads saffron

Knead water into the flour until you have a dough that can be rolled out; use it to line a 9" pie pan. Peel, core and chop the apples and pears; chop the figs. Put all of the fruit and spices into a food processor and process to a homogeneous but not liquid texture. Pour the mixture into the pie crust and bake at 350° for 45 minutes.

A Tarte of Strawberries

A Proper Newe Book p. 39

Take and strain them with the yolks of four eggs, and a little white bread grated, then season it up with sugar and sweet butter and so bake it.

2 c strawberries	1/3 c sugar
4 egg yolks	4 T butter, melted
1/2 c bread crumbs	8" pie shell

Force strawberries through a strainer or run through a blender, then mix with everything else. Bake crust for 10 minutes, then put filling into the crust and bake at 375° for 20 minutes. You may make the crust using the recipe for Short Paest (page 45), which is from the same source.

A Tart with Plums, Which can be Dried or Fresh

Sabina Welserin no. 70

Let them cook beforehand in wine and strain them and take eggs, cinnamon and sugar. Bake the dough for the tart. That is made like so: take two eggs and beat them. Afterwards stir flour therein until it becomes a thick dough. Pour it on the table and work it well, until it is ready. After that take somewhat more than half the dough and roll it into a flat cake as wide as you would have your tart. Afterwards pour the plums on it and roll out after that the other crust and cut it up, however you would like it, and put it on top over the tart and press it together well and let it bake. So one makes the dough for a tart.

3/4 lb prunes	1 T sugar
1 1/2 c red wine	1 t cinnamon
4 eggs	1 1/4 c flour

Simmer the prunes in the wine for about 40 minutes until they are quite soft. Remove the pits, force them through a strainer. Add two eggs, sugar, cinnamon.

Beat two more eggs well with a fork, then beat and gradually stir in about 1 1/4 c flour. Knead the dough smooth; you may need to add a few drops of water at the end. Divide

in two slightly unequal portions. Roll out the larger to fit a 9" pie pan. Roll the smaller not quite as large, cut into strips. Pour the prune goo onto the larger crust, cover with a lattice made from the strips. Bake at 325° for about 40 minutes.

An Apple Tart

Sabina Welserin no. 74

Peel the apples and take the cores cleanly out and chop them small, put two or three egg yolks with them and let butter melt in a pan and pour it on the apples and put cinnamon, sugar and ginger thereon and let it bake. Roast them first in butter before you chop them.

2 lb apples	1/4 t ginger
5 T butter	1 t cinnamon
3 egg yolks	2 eggs
1/4 c sugar	1 1/4 c flour

Peel, quarter and core apples; unless they are small, cut each quarter in half lengthwise. Melt 1 T butter in large frying pan and fry apple pieces 10 minutes at medium to medium high, stirring frequently. Make crust as in the previous recipe. Chop apples (about 1/2" by 1/4" pieces.) Put apples in a bowl and mix with egg yolks. Melt the remaining 4 T of butter and stir it in along with sugar and spices. Take 2/3 of the dough, roll it and stretch it out until it is large enough to line a 9" pie pan. Put filling in, then roll and stretch out the rest of the dough and cut for some kind of ornamental top crust—I made a lattice crust. Bake at 325° for 40-50 minutes, at which point the crust should be browning.

A Flaune of Almayne

Ancient Cookery p. 452 (Good)

First take raisins of Courance, or else other fresh raisins, and good ripe pears, or else good apples, and pick out the cores of them, and pare them, and grind them, and the raisins in a mortar, and do then to them a little sweet cream of milk, and strain them through a clean strainer, and take ten eggs, or as many more as will suffice, and beat them well together, both the white and the yolk, and draw it through a strainer, and grate fair white bread, and do thereto a good quantity, and more sweet cream, and do thereto, and all this together; and take saffron, and powder of ginger, and canel, and do thereto, and a little salt, and a quantity of fair, sweet butter, and make a fair coffin or two, or as many as needs, and bake them a little in an oven, and do this batter in them, and bake them as you would bake flaunes, or crustades, and when they are baked enough, sprinkle with canel and white sugar. This is a good manner of Crustade.

2/3 c raisins	1/4 t ginger
3 pears or apples	1/2 t cinnamon
1/2 c whipping cream	1/2 t salt
3 eggs, beaten	5 T butter
4 T breadcrumbs	9" pie crust
pinch of saffron	1 T sugar + 1 t cinnamon

A blender works well as a substitute for a mortar to mash the apples and raisins; mix the liquids in with the apples and raisins before blending. Bake at 375° for about an hour. Sprinkle on cinnamon sugar.

Torta of Herbs in the Month of May

Platina p. 136 (book 8) (Good)

Cut up and grind the same amount of cheese as I said in the first and second tortae ["a pound and a half of best fresh cheese"]. When you have ground this up, add juice from bleta, a little marjoram, a little more sage, a bit of mint, and a good bit of parsley; when all this has been ground in a mortar, add the beaten whites of 15 or 16 eggs and half a pound of liquamen or fresh butter, and mix. There are those who put in some leaves of parsley and marjoram that have been cut up but not ground, and half a pound [surely

a typo for half an ounce, as in the previous recipes in this cookbook] of white ginger and eight ounces of sugar. When all of these have been mixed together, put this in a pot or deep dish that has been well greased on the coals at a distance from the flame so that it does not absorb the smoke; and stir it continually and let it boil until it thickens. When it is nearly done transfer it into another pot with the crust and cover it with your lid until it is all cooked with a gentle flame. When it is done and put on a plate, sprinkle it with best sugar and rose water.

[Notes: earlier torta recipes refer to a pastry crust rolled thin and both top and bottom crusts. "Blette—Name given in some parts of France to white beet or chard." *Larousse Gastronomique*.]

3/4 lb Monterey Jack	double 9" pie crust
3/8 c spinach or chard	[1/4 c parsley]
1/4 t marjoram	[2 t marjoram]
1/2 t sage	[1/4 oz ginger]
1 t fresh mint	[1/2 c sugar]
1/2 c fresh parsley	1 T sugar
5 egg whites	1/4 t rosewater
1/4 lb butter	

Grate cheese. Spinach or chard (measured unchopped) is chopped and ground in a mortar with a T of water to provide spinach juice. Mix the juice with the marjoram, sage, mint, and 1/2 c parsley—all fresh if available, and remove the stems from the parsley—and grind in mortar or food processor; mix with grated cheese. Beat egg whites lightly, melt butter and add; put in pie crust and cover with top crust. Adding additional chopped but not ground parsley and marjoram is an option; sugar and ginger, for a dessert pie, are another option (ginger seems to mean fresh ginger root, which should be finely chopped). Bake at 400° for 10 minutes, then at 350° for about another 40 minutes, then sprinkle with mixed sugar and rosewater.

Torta from Gourds

Platina p. 136 (book 8)

Grind up gourds that have been well cleaned as you are accustomed to do with cheese. Then let them boil a little, either in rich juice or in milk. When they are half-cooked and have been passed through a strainer into a bowl, add as much cheese as I said before [a pound and a half]. Take half a pound of belly or fat udder boiled and cut up or, instead of this, if you wish, take the same amount of either butter or liquamen, add half a pound of sugar, a little ginger, some cinnamon, six eggs, two ladles of milk, a little saffron, and blend thoroughly. Put this preparation in a greased pan or in a pastry shell and cook it over a slow fire. There are those who add strips of leaves, which they call lagana, instead of the upper crust. When it is cooked and set on a plate, sprinkle it with sugar and rosewater.

½ lb gourd (see p. 143)	½ t ground ginger
½ c milk	½ t cinnamon
8 oz cheddar cheese	6 threads saffron
2 oz butter	double 9" pastry shell
¼ c sugar	2 T sugar
1 egg	1 T rosewater
½ c milk	

Grind gourd finely with a grater and boil in ½ c milk for six minutes on low heat while being stirred; drain in strainer and throw away liquid, then force cooked gourd through strainer. Grate or cut up cheese; mix with gourd, butter, sugar, egg, another ½ c milk, ginger, cinnamon, and saffron. Put in pie shell and cover with top crust. Bake in 350° oven for 65 minutes; at this point it is bubbly and needs to set for a while. Sprinkle top with sugar and rosewater. Makes one 9 inch pie.

Torta from Red Chickpeas

Platina p. 142 (book 8)

Grind up red chickpeas that have been well cooked with their own juice and with a little rosewater. When they have been ground, pass them through a strainer into a bowl. Add a pound of almonds so ground up that it is not a chore to pass them through the strainer, two ounces of raisins, three or four figs ground up at the same time. And besides this, add an ounce of pine kernels coarsely ground, and as much sugar

and rosewater as you need, and just so much cinnamon and ginger; and blend. Put the mixture on the bottom. There are those who add starch or pike eggs, so that this torta is more firm; when it is cooked, put it almost above the fire to make it more colored. It should be thin and sprinkled with sugar and rosewater.

1 lb almonds	¾ c water
1 oz pine nuts	1 t cinnamon
15 oz can chickpeas	½ t ginger
2 oz raisins	pastry for 2 9" pie crusts
4 figs	[starch or pike eggs]
½ c sugar	2 t more sugar
⅛ c rosewater	1 t more rosewater

Grind almonds finely, but not to dust. Chop pine nuts coarsely. Grind chickpeas in a food processor with the liquid from the can, then grind raisins and figs. Stir these and the sugar, rosewater, extra water, cinnamon, and ginger together. The pie crust can be rolled out and put on a 10"x15" cookie sheet or it can be made into two 9" pie shells. The filling is spread on top; it will be thicker if made as two pies. Mix extra sugar and rosewater together and sprinkle on top. Bake 30 to 40 minutes for the cookie-sheet version, or 50-60 minutes for the pie version, in a 375° oven until golden brown.

To Make a Custarde

Proper Newe Booke p. 23

A Custarde the coffyn must be fyrste hardened in the oven, and then take a quart of creame and fyve or syxe yolkes of egges, and beate them well together, and put them into the creame, and put in Suger and small Raysyns and Dates sliced, and put into the coffyn butter or els marrowe, but on the fyshe daiés put in butter.

1 pie crust	¼ c sugar
¼ c dates	⅓ c raisins
3 egg yolks	3 t butter (or marrow)
2 c cream	

Make pie crust and pre-bake for 10-15 minutes at 400°. Chop dates. Beat the egg yolks, add cream, sugar, raisins and dates and pour into pie crust. Dot pie with butter. Bake at 350° for 1 hour 15 minutes.

To Make Cheesecakes

Digby p. 214

Take 12 quarts of milk warm from the cow, turn it with a good spoonfull of runnet. Break it well, and put it in a large strainer, in which rowl it up and down, that all the whey may run out into a little tub; when all that will is run out, wring out more. Then break the curds well; then wring it again, and more whey will come. Thus break and wring till no more come. Then work the curds exceedingly with your hand in a tray, till they become a short uniform paste. Then put to it the yolks of 8 new laid eggs, and two whites, and a pound of butter. Work all this long together. In the long working (at the several times) consisteth the making them good. Then season them to your taste with sugar finely beaten; and put in some cloves and mace in subtle powder. Then lay them thick in coffins of fine paste and bake them.

Judging by the cottage cheese recipe in *Joy of Cooking*, 12 quarts of milk would yield about 4.5 lbs of cottage cheese. It sounds as though either creamed cottage cheese or fresh cheese corresponds to what Digby is making. The following quantities are for half of Digby's quantity, with an adjustment for egg sizes.

2 lbs creamed cottage cheese	½ c sugar
1 egg yolk	¼ t cloves
2 large eggs	¼ t mace
½ lb of butter	2 9" pie crusts

Cook at 350° for 70 minutes. Let cool 1 hour before serving.

Custard Tart

Platina p. 147 (book 8)

Make a little crust as I said in the section on rolls. Put in two egg yolks that have been well beaten, milk, cinnamon and sugar, and stir it near the hearth until it thickens.

½ t cinnamon	4 egg yolks
½ c sugar	9" pie crust
2 c milk	

Mix cinnamon and sugar together, mix in

milk, add yolks and beat well, pour into pre-baked tart shell. Bake at 375° 50-60 minutes. To make little tarts, make half again the amount of crust and make into about 15 little tart shells by pressing the dough down into muffin tins. Bake about 10-15 minutes in 400° oven, then pour in filling and bake about 40 minutes at 375°.

Darioles

Ancient Cookery p. 37

Take cream of almonds, or of cow milk, and eggs, and beat them well together; and make small coffins, and do it therein; and do thereto sugar and good powders, or else take good fat cheese and eggs, and make them of divers colors, green, red, or yellow, and bake them and serve them forth.

pastry for 2 9" pie crusts	colorings:
1 ⅓ c milk and cream	6 threads saffron
⅓ c sugar	2 T parsley
2 eggs	¾ t saunders
⅓ t salt	

Make pastry into tart shells in muffin tins and bake about 10 minutes. Make filling, divide in three and color one part with saffron, extracting the color with 1 t of water, one with saunders, and one with parsley juice—parsley mashed and strained with 2 t water. Pour into tart shells and bake. The recipe makes 15 tarts.

Tart de Bry

Forme of Cury p. 74

Take a crust inch deep in a trap. Take yolks of ayren raw and cheese ruayn and medle it and the yolks together and do thereto powder ginger, sugar, saffron, and salt. Do it in a trap, bake it and serve it forth.

Note: according to the Oxford English Dictionary, ruen cheese is a kind of soft cheese.

1 lb 3 oz Brie cheese	3 T sugar
6 egg yolks	⅜ t ginger
8 threads saffron	¼ t salt
1 t water	9" pie crust

Mash cheese and egg yolks together. Crush saffron into water to draw out the color, then mix that and the sugar, ginger and salt with the cheese. Put in crust and bake 50 minutes at 350°. Cool before eating.

White Torta

Platina p. 135 (book 8)

Prepare a pound and a half of best fresh cheese, chopped especially fine. Add twelve or fifteen egg whites, half a pound of sugar, half an ounce of white ginger, half a pound of pork liquamen and as much fresh butter. Blend in as much milk as you need. When you have blended this, put it into a pastry crust rolled thin and put it all in a pan and set it to bake on the hearth with a gentle flame. Then, to give it color, put coals on the lid. When it is cooked and taken from the pan, sprinkle ground sugar over it, with rosewater.

1 lb fresh ricotta	1/3 oz fresh ginger
8 egg whites	1/2 c milk
1/4 lb butter	10" pastry shell
1/4 lb lard	~2 t sugar
2/3 c sugar	1 t rosewater

Beat egg whites to soft peaks. Soften butter and lard together at room temperature. Fold together cheese and egg whites, then add sugar, minced ginger, lard and butter. Mix until fairly uniform. Add milk, fill shell. Bake at 325° for 40 minutes. When oil separates, it is done. Put under broiler to brown top lightly. Sprinkle sugar and rosewater, spread on with spoon bottom. Cool until set.

This is a little less butter and lard than Platina suggests, but we found it too fatty using his quantities. Our interpretation of “add egg whites” is pretty free—it would be worth trying to follow the recipe more literally.

Flathonys

Two Fifteenth Century p. 73 (Good)

Take mylke, and yolkes of egges, and ale, and drawe hem thorgh a straynour, with white sugar or blak; And melt faire butter, and put thereto salt, and make faire coffyns, and put hem into a

Nowne [oven] til thei be a litull hard; then take a pile, and a dissh fastned there-on, and fill the coffyns therewith of the seid stuffe and late hem bake a while. And then take hem oute, and serue hem forthe, and caste Sugar ynogh on hem.

9" pie shell	1/4 c sugar
1/2 c milk	4 T butter
4 egg yolks	1 t salt
1/3 c ale	

Bake a pie shell. Beat together milk, egg yolks, ale, sugar. Melt butter, add salt, beat into the liquid, trying to keep the butter from separating out (the hard part). Pour into the pie shell, bake at 350° about 20-30 minutes. Sprinkle on sugar (about 1 T) after the flathon is reasonably solid.

Creme Boylede

Two Fifteenth Century p. 8

Take creme or mylke, and brede of paynemayn, or ellys of tendre brede, and breke it on the creme, or elles in the mylke, an set it on the fyre tyl it be warme hot; and thorw a straynour throwe it, and put it into a fayre potte, an sette it on the fyre, an stere euermore: an whan it is almost y-boyled, take fayre yolkes of eyron, an draw hem thorw a straynour and caste hem ther-to, and let hem stonde ouer the fyre tyl it boyle almost, an till it be skysfully thikke; than caste a ladel-ful, or more or lasse, of boter ther-to, an a good quantite of whyte sugre, and a litel salt, an than dresse it on a dysshe in maner of mortrewys.

5-10 slices white bread	6 T melted butter
1 quart light cream	1/2 c sugar
8 lightly beaten egg yolks	1 t salt

Tear up bread and soak it in the cream. Heat until hot to the touch but not boiling. Pass through a coarse sieve or mash thoroughly. Heat again, stirring constantly. When almost boiling, stir in egg yolks. Keep heating, stirring, not boiling, until it thickens. Stir in butter, sugar, salt. Serve in bowls.

Milkemete*Two Fifteenth Century p. 106*

Take faire mylke and floure, and draue hem þorgh a streynour, and sette hem ouer the fire, and lete hem boyle awhile; And then take hem vppe, and lete hem kele awhile/ And þen take rawe yolkes of eyren and drawe hem thorgh a streynour, and caste thereto a litull salt, And set it ouer the fire til hit be som-what thik, And lete hit nogt fully boyle, and stere it right well euermore. And put it in a dissh al abrode, And serue it forth fore a gode potage in one maner; And then take Sugur a good quantite, And caste there-to, and serue it forth.

3 c milk	¼ t salt
¾ c flour	4 T sugar
4 egg yolks	

Mix milk and flour thoroughly, trying to remove lumps, and force through a strainer; dissolve the lumps that didn't go through in some of the milk and repeat. Bring it to a low simmer on medium to medium low heat (about 10 minutes) and simmer about 5 minutes, stirring constantly with a whisk. Remove from heat, let cool ½ hour to 125°. Beat egg yolks with salt, add to pot and stir in thoroughly with a whisk. Heat about ten minutes, bringing it to near a boil. Add sugar and serve.

Papyns*Two Fifteenth Century p. 9*

Take fayre Mylke and Flowre, an drawe it þorw a straynoure, an set it ouer þe fyre, an let it boyle a-whyle; þan take it owt an let it kele; þan take yolkys of eyroun y-draw þorwe a straynour, an caste ther-to; þan take sugre a gode quantyte, and caste þer-to, an a lytil salt, an sette it on þe fyre tyl it be sum-what þikke, but let it nowt boyle fullyche, an stere it wyl, an putte it on a dysshe alle a-brode, and serue forth rennyng.

2 c milk	¾ c sugar
4 T flour	⅛ t salt
4 egg yolks	

Beat together the milk and flour; keep it over a very low flame about 5 minutes until it will coat a clean spoon. Add egg yolks, sugar and salt and put over a medium flame, stirring constantly for about ½ hour (until it thickens).

Principal Dish (Manjar Principal)

De Nola no. 13

For a half dozen dishes, take a half azumbre of strained milk and six egg yolks and four ounces of grated aged cheese, and just as much of grated hard bread; and thoroughly mix the cheese and the grated bread with the egg yolks and beat it very well, and thin it with a little milk; and then take a half pound of sugar and remove two ounces of that sugar to grind with the cinnamon to cast on the dishes; and the other portion that remains will be six ounces that you will cast into the milk; and set it to heat on your coals away from the fire; and when it is hot, remove it from the fire, and cast the abovementioned beaten eggs into it, stirring it constantly in one direction until it is good and thick; and sample it for taste; and if it is good, set it aside to rest while the meal is prepared, and dish it out with your sugar and cinnamon on top.

(azumbre: approximately two liters.)

4 oz Parmesan cheese	4 c milk
4 oz bread crumbs	1 c sugar
6 egg yolks	2 t cinnamon

Grate cheese into bowl, stir in bread crumbs and egg yolks. Stir in ½ c milk, set aside.

Put 3 ½ c milk and ¾ c sugar in sauce pan and cook at just below boiling, stirring frequently for about 15 minutes. Remove from the heat, stir in the egg mixture stirring in one direction only. If it doesn't thicken, put back on a low heat, stirring constantly until it does. Remove from heat, let cool.

Serve with cinnamon sugar (¼ c sugar, 2 t cinnamon).

Slow Or Smooth Dish
(Manjar Lento o Suave)
 De Nola no. 14

For half a dozen dishes, take a half *azumbre* of strained milk, and half a dozen egg yolks, and beat them well, and thin them with a little milk; and set the other milk to heat alone by itself on a fire of coals away from the fire; and when it is hot, remove it from the fire, and cast the beaten egg yolks into it, and three or four ounces of sugar, and return it to the coals; and if you wish to give it color, cast in a little saffron, and then return it to the coals, stirring it constantly in one direction until it is thick so that it seems good to you; and then sample it for taste; and if it is good, set it aside from the fire to rest, and grind sugar and cinnamon to cast upon the dishes.

[*Azumbre*: approximately two liters.]

4 c milk	[6 threads saffron]
6 egg yolks	1 T sugar
$\frac{3}{8}$ c sugar	1 t cinnamon

Beat egg yolks with 2 T of the milk. Heat the rest of the milk for about 10 minutes over medium heat then remove from heat. Stir egg yolk mixture and sugar into the milk, crush saffron (optional) into a little of the milk mixture and add. Put back on medium heat and cook about 45 minutes, stirring, until thick. Remove from heat and let cool. Sprinkle on additional sugar and cinnamon and serve.

Pipefarces
 Goodman p. 286

Take the yolks of eggs and flour and salt and a little wine and beat them well together and cheese cut into strips and then roll the strips of cheese in the paste and fry them in an iron pan with fat therein. One does likewise with beef marrow.

8 egg yolks	~1 $\frac{1}{2}$ T wine
2 T flour	$\frac{1}{2}$ pound cheese
$\frac{1}{2}$ t salt	oil to fry

Use enough wine to make a thick paste. Works better with hard cheese such as cheddar.

A Fritur pat Hatte Emeles
Curye on Inglysch p. 53
 (*Diuersa Ciberia* no. 46)

*Nym sucre, salt, & alemauns & bred, & grind am togedre; & sohþen do of ayren. & sohþen nim grece opur botere opur oyle, and sohþen nim a dihs, & smeore heom; & sohþen nym bliue [quickly, according to the editor of *Curye on Inglysch*], & cose wiþ sucre drue: & þis beoþ þin cyueles in leynten ase in opur time.*

1 c bread crumbs	4 eggs
$\frac{1}{2}$ c sugar	butter or oil
$\frac{1}{8}$ t salt	more sugar
1 c almonds	

Grind bread, sugar, salt and almonds together. Mix eggs and add to dry mixture. Put $\frac{1}{2}$ inch of oil in skillet. Deep fry, turn fritter over, remove, drain on paper towel. Put on plate and sprinkle with sugar. Makes 36 1" diameter fritters.

Frytour of Erbes
Curye on Inglysch p. 132
 (*Form of Cury* no. 156)

Take gode erbys; grynde hem and medle hem with flour and water, & a lytel yest, and salt, and frye hem in oyle. And ete hem with clere hony.

$\frac{1}{4}$ t yeast	1 T oregano
2 $\frac{1}{4}$ c water	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ t sage
$\frac{1}{8}$ t salt	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ t thyme
3 c flour	oil to fry in
6 T parsley	honey

Dissolve yeast in $\frac{1}{2}$ c water, add salt to flour; when yeast is foamy, add yeast and the rest of the flour to the water. Let sit while herbs are chopped and ground; note that quantities of herbs are after chopping. Divide batter in 4, add one kind of herb to each; or add four times as much of any one of the herbs to the whole batter. Fry in $\frac{1}{4}$ " deep oil by half tablespoonfuls. Makes about 3 dozen 2.5" fritters. Serve with honey.

Lente Frytoures*Two Fifteenth Century p. 96 (Good)*

Take good flour, ale yeast, saffron and salt, and beat all together as thick as other manner fritters of flesh; and then take apples, and pare them, and cut them in manner of fritters, and wet them in the batter up and down, and fry them in oil, and cast them in a dish, and cast sugar thereon enough, and serve them forth hot.

5 apples	6 threads saffron
2 ⅓ c flour	2 t salt
1 ½ c water	oil for frying
2 T yeast	sugar sprinkled over

Pare apples and slice into sixteenths. Beat together everything else, dip apple pieces in the batter and fry them in a deep skillet with about ¾" of oil.

Note: The ale yeast would presumably be berme, skimmed from fermenting ale, and would provide the necessary liquid for the batter. I use water plus dried yeast instead; you can also replace the water with ale.

Losenges Fryes*Two Fifteenth Century p. 97*

Take flour, water, saffron, sugar and salt, and make fine paste thereof, and fair thin cakes; and cut them like losenges and fry them in fine oil, and serve them forth hot in a dish in lenten time.

a pinch of saffron	½ t salt
½ c water	oil for frying
½ c sugar	2 ¼ c flour

Crush saffron in water to extract color and flavor, put in a bowl and mix in sugar and salt, add flour and mix lightly until moistened. Heat about 1 inch of oil in a frying pan. Roll out dough to about ¼ inch thick or a little thinner. Cut in small diamonds, fry a few at a time since they cook very quickly.

Fricella from Apples*Platina p. 150 (book 9)*

Morsels of apple that have been cleaned and cored, you fry in liquamen or a little oil, and spread them on a board so that they dry. Then roll them in a preparation such as we described earlier and fry again.

Preparation described earlier: to grated cheese, aged as well as fresh, add a little meal, some egg whites, some milk, a bit more sugar, and grind all this together in the same mortar.

3 green cooking apples	2 egg whites
oil to fry in	5 T milk
¼ cup grated cheddar cheese	1 T sugar
1 cup flour (or meal—p. 31)	

Frytour Blaunched*Curye on Inglysch p. 132**(Form of Cury no. 153)*

Take almaundes blaunched, and grynde hem al to doust withouten eny lycour. Do þerto poudour of gyngeuer, sugur, and salt; do þise in a thynne foile. Close it þerinne fast, and frye it in oile; clarifie hony with wyne, & bake it þerwith.

½ lb blanched almonds	~ ¾ c water
½ t ginger	oil
1 T sugar	⅔ c honey
¼ t salt	¼ c Rhine wine
3 c flour	

Grind almonds thoroughly: ½ lb = 1 ½ c whole = 2 c ground. Stir together with ginger, sugar and salt. Mix flour with enough water to make a slightly sticky dough. Roll out dough very thin and cut into 2 ¼" squares. Place a teaspoon of ground almond mix on each dough square. Fold corners to center and seal. Fry in ½"-1" of oil in a frying pan until brown, drain on paper towels, then place in baking pan. Heat honey and wine together; pour over fritters and bake at 350° for 10 minutes. Makes about 100.

Puffy Fricatellae
Platina p. 153 (book 9)

Flour with salt, water and sugar and spread it into a dough that is not too hard, but thin. Then cut them into shape with something for that purpose or with the opening of a ladle. And when you fry them, they puff up, but nothing is inside them.

1 c flour
2 T sugar
¼ t salt

¾-½ c water
oil (for frying)

Mix flour with sugar, salt, and water. Knead smooth. Roll out dough to ~¼" thickness and cut into circles 1"-2" in diameter—a small wine cup or similar object can be used to cut them. Put frying pan to heat on medium high with about ½" of oil; put in pieces of dough until they puff up and turn brown, and then flip over, frying about 2 minute on a side. Drain and serve.

Fritter of Milk
Form of Cury p. 68

Take of curds and press out the whey. Do thereto sugar, white of eyroun. Fry them. Do thereto and lay on sugur and mess forth.

1 c dry curd cottage cheese
3 T sugar

4 egg whites
more sugar

Mix together cottage cheese, sugar and egg whites. Drop by tablespoonfuls into hot oil, fry about 1 minute on each side (light to dark brown). Drain on paper towels, sprinkle with the additional sugar, serve. Should make about 40 fritters.

Rice Fricatellae
Platina p. 151 (book 9)

Spread rice that has been well cooked on a flat surface to rid it of excess moisture; mash it if you wish. Add a sufficient quantity of ground almonds and moisten with rosewater and the juice from the cooked-down rice. Next, into these things, blend flour and sugar. When they have been mixed, fry them in oil, as you wish.

½ c rice
¾ c unblanched almonds
1 t rosewater

½ c flour
¼ c sugar
¾ c olive oil

Simmer rice in 2 c water about 30 minutes. Drain, keeping the water that comes out. Put the lid back on, let it steam another five or ten minutes. Spread it out, mash with a fork. Grind almonds medium fine (not to flour but to very small crunchies). Mix with rosewater and ¼ c of the leftover rice juice. Add flour and sugar. Mix it all together to a uniform consistency. Form into patties 2"-3" across, ½" thick. Fry over medium high heat, starting with ¼ c oil and adding more as necessary. After frying one side, turn it over and press down on it with the pancake turner, thus making it a little thinner. Makes about 25 fricatellae.

Longe Frutours
Two Fifteenth Century p. 73

Take Mylke And make faire croddes there-of in maner of chese al tendur, and take oute þe way clene; then put hit in a faire boll, And take yolkes of egges, and white, and menge floure, and caste thereto a good quantite, and drawe hit þorgh a streynoure into a faire vessell; then put hit in a faire pan, and fry hit a litull in faire grece, but lete not boyle; then take it oute, and ley on a faire borde, and kutte it in faire smale peces as thou list, And putte hem ayen into the panne til thei be browne; And then caste Sugur on hem, and serue hem forth.

1 cup cottage cheese
2 eggs
1 c flour

6-8 T butter or oil
2 T sugar

Mix cottage cheese, egg, and flour in a bowl. Heat butter or oil in a large skillet over medium-high heat, put half the mixture in the skillet, pat to about ¼" thick. Cook about two minutes until it will hold together, flip, cook another two minutes, remove from pan to a cutting board. Slice into pieces, return to pan and fry until browned—about three minutes a side. Remove from pan, sprinkle with sugar, serve.

Golden Morsels
Platina p. 148 (book 8)

Toast white bread crumbs, soak them in rosewater with beaten eggs and ground sugar. Take them out, fry them in a pan with butter or liquamen [chicken or pork fat], spread out so they do not touch each other. When fried, put in dishes and sprinkle with sugar, rosewater, and saffron.

The version of this recipe in Martino's cookbook, on which Platina apparently based his recipes, starts out: *Have some slices of white bread pared that does not have crust and make the slices be four [or square], a little toasted so much that every part be colored from the fire. ...*

10 eggs	16 threads saffron
5 T sugar	1 t more rosewater
2 t rosewater (or more)	1 c more sugar
1 lb white bread	1/8 lb butter or lard

Beat eggs. Beat in sugar and rosewater. Cut crust off the bread, slice thin, put into egg mixture and let soak. Crush saffron into remaining rosewater, mix with remaining sugar and set aside. Melt butter or lard in frying pan; when hot enough (test with small piece of bread stuff) put chunks of bread stuff into lard and fry until just browned on both sides. Drain briefly on paper towels, put into dish and sprinkle with sugar and rosewater mixture.

Mincebek [or, funnel cakes]

Anglo-Norman no. 4 p. 863

(Elizabeth's translation, guided by the Hieatt and Jones translation)

And another dish, which has the name mincebek. Take amydon [wheat starch] and grind it in a mortar, and if you do not have this, take fine white flour; and take almond milk or tepid water, and put in it a little yeast or a little sourdough; and then temper it; and take a bowl and make a hole in the middle, and pour the mincebek through the hole into oil or into grease; and then take sugar and make a syrup to boil; and dip[?] the mincebek in it, and put some on top [or, put salt on it]; and then serve them.

1/4 c sourdough	oil for frying
2 c water for dough	1/2 c water for syrup
1 c white flour	2 c sugar
1 c whole wheat flour	

Mix sourdough and water, stir into the mixed flour, stirring until pretty smooth. Let rise about 4 hours. Heat oil in frying pan. For syrup, bring water to a boil, add sugar and cover. When the sugar is dissolved and the syrup again clear, it is ready. Pour some of the batter into a funnel and dribble around into oil at a medium heat, then fry until brown, turning at least once. Each mincebek comes out of the oil onto a paper towel to drain briefly, then is dipped (tongs are useful) into the syrup, then onto the plate to serve.

Cryspes

Two Fifteenth Century p. 44 (Good)

Take white of eyroun, milk, and flour, and a little berme, and beat it together, and draw it through a strainer, so that it be running, and not too stiff, and cast suger thereto, and salt; then take a chafer full of fresh grease boiling, and put thine hand in the batter, and let thine batter run down by thy fingers into the chafer; and when it is run together on the chafer, and is enough, take and nym a skimmer, and take it up, and let all the grease run out, and put it on a fair dish, and cast thereon sugar enough, and serve forth.

4 egg whites	1 T dried yeast
2/3 c milk	3 T sugar
1 c flour	1/2 t salt

Take egg white, milk, and flour and a little yeast and beat it together, being careful not to let the flour make lumps. Add sugar and salt. Pour into a pan of hot oil, so that they puff up and brown, turn them, drain them, sprinkle on sugar and serve them.

To make it more like a funnel cake than a pancake, which seems to fit the description better, I use a slotted spoon; the batter runs through the slots into the hot grease. Of course, you could always let thine batter run down by thine fingers instead—but make sure no one is watching.

Ryschewys Closed and Fried

Two Fifteenth Century p. 45

Take figs, and grind them small in a mortar with a little oil, and grind with them cloves and maces; and then take it up into a vessel, and cast thereto pines, saunders and raisons of corinth and minced dates, powdered pepper, canel, salt, saffron; then take fine paste of flour and water, sugar, saffron and salt, and make fair cakes thereof; then roll thine stuff in thine hand and couch it in the cakes and cut it, and fold them in ryshews, and fry them up in oil; and serve forth hot.

25 figs	1 t cinnamon
2 t oil	¼ t salt
1 t cloves	4 threads saffron
1 t maces	<i>pastry:</i>
¼ c pine nuts	2 c flour
¼ t saunders	½ c water
⅓ c currants	1 T sugar
5 ½ oz dates	⅛ t salt
⅛ t pepper	1 thread saffron

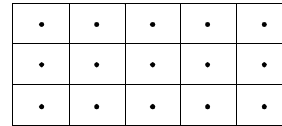
Cuskynoles

Curye on Inglysch p. 52
(*Diuersa Cibaria* no. 45)

Make a past tempred wif ayren, & soþþen nim peoren & applen, figes & reysins, alemaundes & dates; bet am togedere & do god poudre of gode spesces wifinnen. & in leynten make þi past wif milke of alemaundes. & rolle þi past on a bord, & soþþen hew hit on moni perties, & vche an pertie beo of þe leyntþe of a paume & an half & of þreo vyngres of brede. & smeor þy past al of one dole, & soþþen do þi fassure wifinnen. Vchan kake is portiooun. & soþþen veld togedere oþe zeolue manere, ase þeos fugurre is imad: & soþþe boille in veir water, & soþþen rost on an greudil; & soþþen adresse.

Modernized English: Make a paste tempered with eggs, & so then take pears & apples, figs & raisins, almonds & dates; beat them together & do good powder of good spices within. & in Lent make thy paste with milk of almonds. & roll thy paste on a board, & so then hew it in many parts, & each part be of the length of a palm & a half & of three fingers of breadth. & smear thy paste all on one half, & so then do thy filling within. Each cake is a portion. & so then fold together of

the same manner, as this figure is made: [see below] & so then boil in fair water, & so then roast on a griddle; & so then dress.



¾ c water	3 oz unblanched almonds
4 ½ c flour	3 oz pitted dates
3 beaten eggs	1 ½ t cinnamon
5 oz apple	½ t ginger
5 oz pear	⅔ t cloves
3 oz figs	1 ½ t nutmeg
4 oz raisins	

Stir cold water into the flour, then stir in egg, stir and knead until smooth. Wash and core the apple and pear. Put them, along with the remaining ingredients, into a food processor and process to a uniform mush. Roll out dough as six 12"x15" sheets. Cut each sheet into 10 6"x3" pieces. Either:

Version 1: Spread 1 T of filling on all of one piece, put another piece over it (sandwich—dough, filling, dough). Using the back of a reasonably thick knife, press the edges and the lines, to give the 3x5 pattern shown.

Version 2: An earlier version of this recipe (*Two Anglo-Norman Culinary Collections*) shows the figure as a 3x3 grid. That fits the text more closely. You cut pieces about 3"x6", spread 1 ½ to 2 t of filling on half of one piece, fold them to 3"x3" with the filling inside, then press a tic-tac-toe pattern with the back of your knife, giving a 3x3 grid of miniature ravioli.

Either version should about use up the filling, but I don't promise it will come out exactly even. If there is extra filling, make more dough.

Boil about 4 minutes, then broil at medium distance about 4 minutes a side, watching to be sure they do not burn.

Lenten version of the dough

1 ¾ c almond milk to 4 c. flour. After being worked together, knead the paste four or five minutes until it is springy and elastic and smooth.

Good Membrillate Which Is A Pottage Of Quinces

Buen Membrillate Que Es Potaje De Membrillos
De Nola no. 106

You must take as many quinces as you wish to make dishes, and quarter them, and remove the core and the pips from them, and pare off the skin; and when they are well-peeled, wash them with tepid water; then remove them from that water and set them to cook in cold water; and when they begin to get mushy, then they are cooked; and remove them from the kettle and grind them well in a mortar; and blend them with a little of that same water of theirs, and strain them through a woolen cloth; and then take three pounds of unpeeled almonds, but only wash them in cold water, or tepid which would be better, and grind them well in a mortar; and when they are well-ground, strain them through a woolen cloth, having been blended with tepid water (and if it is a meat day, blend it with meat broth); and cast the milk in with the quinces; and then cast into the pot all manner of fine spices, which are: good ginger, and good cinnamon, and saffron, and grains of paradise, and nutmeg, and mace, and if it is a meat day, you will cast in two egg yolks for each dish; and if it is a fish day, it is not needful; and when it is quite thick, prepare dishes, and [cast] upon them sugar and cinnamon.

5 quinces	3 egg yolks
¼ c almonds	1 T sugar
1 c lamb broth	½ t cinnamon
1 t spice mixture*	

Peel, quarter, core quinces, wash, put to cook in cold water, bring to a boil, simmer, total cooking time about 20 minutes. Mash, adding 1 T of the water they cooked in, and force through cheese cloth.

Grind almonds, use with ⅓ c lamb broth to make ½ c almond milk (p. 7). Combine with the quince mush. Add 1 t of the spice mixture (see below) and egg yolks. Stir together, cook for about 5 minutes. Sprinkle sugar and cinnamon over at the end.

Spice mixture: 1 part ginger, 3 parts cinnamon, 1 part grains of paradise (measured before grinding), ½ part nutmeg, ½ part mace.

Strawberye

Two Fifteenth Century p. 29

Take Strawberryes, and waysshe hem in tyme of yere in gode red wyne; þan strayne þorwe a cloþe, and do hem in a potte with gode Almaunde mylke, a-lay it with Amyndoun ofer with þe flowre of Rys, and make it chargeaunt and lat it boyle, and do þer-in Roysonys of coraunce, Safroun, Pepir, Sugre grete plente, pouder Gyngere, Canel, Galyngale; poynte it with Vynegre, and a lytil whyte grece put þer-to; colour it with Alkenade, and droppe it a-bowte, plante it with graymys of Pomegarnad, and þan serue it forth.

1 pint strawberries	¼ c sugar
¼ c red wine	¼ t ginger
1 ¾ c almond milk: (p. 7)	¼ t cinnamon
½ c almonds	⅛ t galingale
1 ½ c water	¼ t vinegar
4 T wheat starch	¾ t lard
¾ c currants	[alkanet]
8 threads saffron	pomegranate
⅛ t pepper	seeds

Wash strawberries in water, then mix with wine and force through wire strainer using a pestle. Mix with almond milk and wheat starch, then boil about 10 minutes, until thick enough to stick to the spoon. Add currants, then remaining ingredients as it cooks. Make sure the spices are ready when you start boiling it. We used not very sweet strawberries; one might use less sugar or more vinegar if they were sweeter.

Gaylede

Two Fifteenth Century p. 22

Take almond milk and flour of rice, and do thereto sugar or honey, and powdered ginger and galingale; then take figs and carve them a-two or raisins whole or hard wastel diced and color it with saunders, and seethe it and dress it in.

almond milk (p. 7):	2 t ginger
1 c ground almonds	1 t galingale
1 c water	1 c halved figs
1 c rice flour	1 ½ c raisins
6 T honey	a pinch of saunders

Chare de Wardone*Two Fifteenth Century p. 88*

Take peer Wardons, and seth hem in wine or water; And then take hem vype, and grinde hem in a mortar, and drawe hem thorgh a streynoure with the licour; And put hem in a potte with Sugur, or elles with clarefiede hony and canell ynowe, And lete hem boile; And then take hit from the fire, And lete kele, and caste there-to rawe yolkes of eyren, til hit be thik, and caste thereto powder of ginger ynowe; And serue hit forth in maner of Ryse. And if hit be in lenton tyme, leve the yolkes of eyren, And lete the remnaunt boyle so longe, til it be so thikk as though hit were y-tempered with yolkes of eyren, in maner as A man setheþ charge de quyns; And then serue hit forth in maner of Rys.

1 ½ lb pears	1 ½ T honey
¾ c white wine	¼ t ginger
½ t cinnamon	4 egg yolks

Peel and core pears and chop into ½" pieces. We used Bartletts; we don't know what wardons are like. Simmer in the wine for 35 minutes. Remove from liquid, grind with a mortar and pestle, force through a strainer. Return to pan, add cinnamon and honey, bring to boil, simmer for a bit and remove from heat. Let cool somewhat and then stir in ginger and egg yolks. Serve.

A Good Filling*Daz Buoch von Guoter Spise p. B-4 (#12)*

This is how you want to make a food. Trim fine pears and divide in four. And lay them in a pot and cover the pot and coat it with dough, so that the vapor can (not?) get out. Then cover the pot with a broad cover and lay there about glowing coals and let it slowly bake. So take then the pears out [of the fire?] and add clean honey therein, as much as the pear is, and boil it together so that it becomes thick and give it out. So you can make also from apples and from quinces but one should add pepper enough thereto.

4 large apples	¼ cup water
⅛ teaspoon pepper	~2 ½ c honey
½ cup flour	

Peel and core the apples (or pears or quinces), cut in quarters, put them in a baking dish, sprinkle with pepper. Knead together flour and water to make the dough, make it into a strip, put it on the edge of the dish and jam the lid down onto it to seal the lid on the baking dish. Bake at 350° for 45 minutes. Remove from heat, mix with honey (which should be the same volume as the apples) in a clean pot. Simmer it for ½ hour until it begins to thicken a little.

It is not clear how this was meant to be eaten; it is very good as a spread, sweet and strong.

Taylours*Two Fifteenth Century p. 94*

Take almondes, and grynde hem raw in a mortar, and temper hit with wyne and a litul water; And drawe hit þorgh a streynoure into a good stiff mylke into a potte; and caste thereto myced Dates, Clowes, Maces, Pouder of Peper, Canel, saffron a good quantite, and salt; and sette hem ouere the fire, And lete all boyle togidre awhile; And alay hit up with floure of Ryse, or elles grated brede, and caste there-on pouder ginger in þe dissh.

⅓ c almonds	pinch black pepper
¾ c chardonnay	¼ t cinnamon
¾ c water	4 threads saffron
⅓ c each of currants, raisins, and dates	pinch salt
~¼ t cloves	⅓ c bread crumbs (or rice flour)
~¼ t mace	⅓ t powdered ginger

Make up almond milk with wine and water (see p. 7). In a medium pot put dried fruit, all spices but ginger, and the almond milk. Bring to a boil over moderate high heat and cook 5 minutes, add bread crumbs, remove from heat and stir. Sprinkle ginger on top. This has a very thick pudding consistency.

To make Marmelade of Quinces or**Damsons**

Platt no. 31 p. 19

When you have boyled your Quinces or Damsons sufficiently, straine them; then dry the pulp in a pan on the fire; and when you see that there is no water in it, but that it beginneth to be stiffe, then mix two pound of sugar with three pound of pulpe; this marmelade will bee white marmelade; and if you desire to haue it looke with an high colour: put your sugar and your pulp together so soone as your pulp is drawne, and let them both boile together, and so it will look of the colour of ordinary marmeade, like vnto a stewed warden; but if you dry your pulp first, it will look white, and take lesse sugar: you shall know when it is thick enough, by putting a little into a sawcer, letting it coole before you box it.

2 ½ lbs quinces

2 ¼ c sugar

Peel, core and slice the quinces. Put in pot with water to cover, bring to a boil and simmer covered for 40 minutes. Drain off the water and force the quinces through a strainer. Combine quince pulp with sugar and heat on high about 2 minutes until it starts to simmer. Turn down to medium low and cook for 1 ½ hours stirring almost continually. Towards the end the mixture will visibly hang together more; test by putting a bit of it on a cold plate to see if it gets stiff. Put in a container and let cool; it will end up solid enough to be cut in chunks. Refrigerate if you do not intend to eat it in the next few days. This is a fairly basic quince paste recipe and tastes rather bland. (This is the “high color” version, not the “white marmelade” version.)

Tostee*Curie on Inglysch* p. 119(Form of *Curie* no. 96)

Take wyne and hony and found it togyder and skym it clene, and seef it long. Do þerto powdour of gynger, peper and salt. Tost brede and lay the sewe þerto; kerue pecys of gynger and flour it þerwith, and messe it forth.

½ c wine

⅛ t salt

½ c honey

8 slices toast

¼ t ground ginger

⅓ oz candied ginger

⅛ t pepper

Mix wine and honey, simmer over moderate heat 20-25 minutes; remove from heat and mix in powdered ginger, pepper, and salt. Make toast, spread honey mixture on it and put slivers of ginger on top.

Gingerbrede*Curie on Inglysch* p. 154

(Goud Kokery no. 18) (Good)

To make gingerbrede. Take goode honey & clarifie it on þe fere, & take fayre paynemayn or wastel brede & grate it, & caste it into þe boylenge hony, & stere it well togyder faste with a sklyse þat it bren not to þe vessell. & þanne take it down and put þerin ginger, longe pepper & saundes, & tempere it vp with þin handes; & than put hem to a flatt boyste & strawe þeron suger, & pick þerin clowes rounde aboute by þe egge and in þe mydes, yf it plece you, &c.

1 c honey

¼ t saunders

1 ½-1 ¾ c breadcrumbs

1 T sugar

1 t ginger

30-40 whole cloves

¼ t long pepper

[or 5 t sugar, pinch powdered cloves]

Bring honey to a boil, simmer two or three minutes, stir in breadcrumbs with a spatula until uniformly mixed. Remove from heat, stir in ginger, pepper, and saunders. (If you can't get long pepper, substitute ordinary black pepper.) When it is cool enough to handle, knead it to get spices thoroughly mixed. Put it in a box, cookie tin, or the like, squish it flat and thin, sprinkle with sugar and stick cloves ornamentally over the surface. Leave it to let the clove flavor sink in; do not eat the cloves.

An alternative way of doing it is to roll into small balls, roll in sugar mixed with a pinch of cloves; we like to flatten them a little to avoid confusion with hais (p. 124). This is suitable if you are making them today and eating them tomorrow.

Payn Ragoun

Curye on Inglysch p. 113
(*Forme of Cury* no. 68)

Take hony and sugur cipre and clarifie it togydre, and boile it with esy fyre, and kepe it wel fro brennyng. And whan it hath yboiled a while, take vp a drope herof wif þy fyngur and do it in a litel water, and loke if it hong togydre; and take it fro the fyre and do þerto pynes the triddendele & powdour gyngueuer, and stere it togydre til it bigynne to thik, and cast it on a wete table; lesh it and serue it forth with fryed mete, on flessch dayes or on fysshe dayes.

1 c honey	1 c pine nuts
1 c sugar	2-3 t ginger

Mix honey and sugar, cook over low heat, stirring frequently, until temperature reaches 270°, stirring constantly once it is over 250°; about ½ hour. Test by dropping small amount of syrup into water to see if it holds shape. Remove from heat, add pine nuts and ginger. Spread onto wet marble slab. Let cool until it can be cut into pieces, then serve. Result is very stretchy, almost like taffy.

Pynade

Curye on Inglysch p. 79
(*Diuersa Seruicia* no. 91)

For to make a pynade, tak hony and rotys of radich & grynd yt smal in a mortar, & do to þat hony a quantite of broun sugur. Tak powder of peper & safroun & almandys, & do al togedere. Boyl hem long & held yt on a wet bord & let yt kele, & messe yt & do yt forth.

4 radishes = 2 ½ oz	½ c brown sugar
½ c honey	½ t pepper
1 c slivered almonds	10 threads saffron

Cut radish up small, put it in the spice grinder or a mortar with ¼ c honey and grind small. Slightly crush the almonds. Mix all ingredients in a small pot. Simmer, stirring, until candy thermometer reaches between 250° and 270°. Dump out in spoonfuls onto a greased marble slab or a wet cutting board—the latter works if you have gotten up to 270°

but sticks at 250°. Let it cool.

I got it to 270° without serious scorching by stirring continuously near the end. When it cools fully, the 250° is firm but chewable, the 270° between chewable and crunchy.

On Pine Kernels

Platina p. 42 (book 3)

They are often eaten with raisins and are thought to arouse hidden passions; and they have the same virtue when candied in sugar. Noble and rich persons often have this as a first or last course. Sugar is melted, and pine kernels, covered with it, are put into a pan and moulded in the shape of a roll. To make the confection even more magnificent and delightful, it is often covered with thin gold leaf.

½ c = 2 ¾ oz pine nuts	½ c sugar
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Heat the sugar in a frying pan about 10 min, until it carmelizes to a light brown, stirring as necessary. Stir in the pine nuts. Shape roughly into long, thin shapes with a spoon and/or spatula. When it is cool enough to touch but still soft, roll them between your wet hands to get cylinders. This is a guess at what he means by "the shape of a roll" and could easily be wrong—you could try to find a pan that would provide the shape instead.

The Recipe for Sesame Candy

Mappae Clavicula p. 71

The recipe for sesame candy. Put white pure honey near a moderate fire in a tinned pan and stir it unceasingly with a spatula. Place it alternately near the fire and away from the fire, and while it is being stirred more extensively, repeatedly put it near and away from the fire, stirring it without interruption until it becomes thick and viscous. When it is sufficiently thickened, pour it out on a slab of marble and let it cool for a little. Afterwards, hang it on an iron bolt and pull it out very thinly and fold it back, doing this frequently until it turns white as it should. Then twist and shape it on the marble, gather it up and serve it properly.

1 c honey	¾ c sesame seeds
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Cook the honey, using a candy thermometer, removing it from the heat whenever it starts boiling too hard. About an hour gets it to 250°, about 20 minutes more to 270°. At either of those temperatures it works, but ends up soft rather than crisp. At about 280° it becomes crisp—the problem is to keep it from scorching.

When you reach the desired temperature, pour it out on a buttered marble slab (or equivalent). Sprinkle on toasted sesame seeds if you like them (note that the original has sesame seeds only in the title!). Let it cool about 5 minutes, until you can handle it with your bare hands and it is no longer liquid. Then pull it with your hands like taffy (i.e. pull, fold, pull, fold, etc.). You will find that as you pull it it turns to a silky pale gold color.

Drinks

Hippocras

Goodman p. 299

To make powdered hippocras, take a quarter of very fine cinnamon selected by tasting it, and half a quarter of fine flour of cinnamon, an ounce of selected string ginger, fine and white, and an ounce of grain of Paradise, a sixth of nutmegs and galingale together, and bray them all together. And when you would make your hippocras, take a good half ounce of this powder and two quarters of sugar and mix them with a quart of wine, by Paris measure. And note that the powder and the sugar mixed together is the Duke's powder.

4 oz stick cinnamon 1 oz ginger
2 oz cinnamon 1 oz grains of paradise
“A sixth” (probably of a pound: 2 ⅓ oz)
of nutmegs and galingale together

Grind them all together. To make hippocras add ½ ounce of the powder and ½ lb (1 cup) of sugar to 2 quarts of boiling wine (the quart used to measure wine in Paris c. 1393 was about 2 modern U.S. quarts, the pound and ounce about the same as ours). Strain through a sleeve of Hippocrates (a tube

of cloth, closed at one end).

Weak Honey Drink (More commonly called Small Mead)

Digby p. 107

Take nine pints of warm fountain water, and dissolve in it one pint of pure White-honey, by laving it therein, till it be dissolved. Then boil it gently, skimming it all the while, till all the scum be perfectly scummed off; and after that boil it a little longer, peradventure a quarter of an hour. In all it will require two or three hours boiling, so that at last one third part may be consumed. About a quarter of an hour before you cease boiling, and take it from the fire, put to it a little spoonful of cleansed and sliced Ginger; and almost half as much of the thin yellow rind of Orange, when you are even ready to take it from the fire, so as the Orange boil only one walm in it. Then pour it into a well-glased strong deep great Gally-pot, and let it stand so, till it be almost cold, that it be scarce Luke-warm. Then put to it a little silver-spoonful of pure Ale-yest, and work it together with a Ladle to make it ferment: as soon as it beginneth to do so, cover it close with a fit cover, and put a thick dubbled woollen cloth about it. Cast all things so that this may be done when you are going to bed. Next morning when you rise, you will find the barm gathered all together in the middle; scum it clean off with a silver-spoon and a feather, and bottle up the Liquor, stopping it very close. It will be ready to drink in two or three days; but it will keep well a month or two. It will be from the first very quick and pleasant.

9 pints water 1 pint honey = 1 ½ lb
1 T fresh ginger ½ T fresh orange peel
½ t yeast

Dissolve the honey in the water in a large pot and bring to a boil. Let it boil down to ⅔ the original volume (6 ⅔ pints), skimming periodically. This will take about 2 ½ to 3 hours; by the end it should be clear. About 15 minutes before it is done, add the ginger, sliced and peeled. Peel an orange to get only the yellow part, not the white; a potato peeler works well for this. At the end of the boiling, add the orange peel, let it boil a minute or so,

and remove from the heat. Let the mead cool to lukewarm, then add the yeast. The original recipe appears to use a top fermenting ale yeast, but dried bread yeast works. Cover and let sit 24-36 hours. Bottle it, using sturdy bottles; the fermentation builds up considerable pressure. Refrigerate after three or four days. Beware of exploding bottles. The mead will be drinkable in a week, but better if you leave it longer.

This recipe is modified from the original by lengthening the time of fermentation before bottling. This change is intended to reduce the incidence of broken bottles. 2 liter plastic soda bottles are unaesthetic, but they are safer than glass.

Caudell

Two Fifteenth Century p. 96

Take faire tryed yolkes of eyren, and cast in a potte; and take good ale, or elles good wyn, a quantite, and sette it ouer þe fire. And whan hit is at boyling, take it fro the fire, and caste þere-to saffron, salt, Sugur; and ceson hit vype, and serue hit forth hote.

7 egg yolks	2 pinches salt
2 c ale or wine	1 T sugar
6 threads saffron	

Put egg yolks and ale in a pot and heat to boiling, stirring constantly; remove from heat, add seasonings, and serve.

Sauces

Savoury Tosted or Melted Cheese

Digby p. 228

Cut pieces of quick, fat, rich, well tasted cheese, (as the best of Brye, Cheshire, &c. or sharp thick Cream-Cheese) into a dish of thick beaten melted Butter, that hath served for Sparages or the like, or pease, or other boyled Sallet, or ragout of meat, or gravy of Mutton: and, if you will, Chop some of the Asparages among it, or slices of Gambon of Bacon, or fresh-collops, or Onions, or Sibboulets [green onions], or Anchovis, and set all this to

melt upon a Chafing-dish of Coals, and stir all well together, to Incorporate them; and when all is of an equal consistence, strew some gross White-Pepper on it, and eat it with tosts or crusts of White-bread. You may scorch it at the top with a hot Fire-Shovel.

½ lb butter	⅛ lb Brie
½ lb cream cheese	¼ t white pepper

Melt the butter. Cut up the cheese and stir it into the butter over low heat. You will probably want to use a whisk to blend the two together and keep the sauce from separating (which it is very much inclined to do). When you have a uniform, creamy sauce you are done. You may serve it over asparagus or other vegetables, or over toast; if you want to brown the top, put it under the broiling unit in your stove for a minute or so. Experiment with some of the variations suggested in the original.

Jance

Du Fait du Cuisine no. 46

Now it remains to be known with what sauce one should eat the pilgrim capons: the pilgrim capons should be eaten with the jance, and to advise the sauce-maker who should make it take good almonds and blanch and clean them very well and bray them very well; and take the inside of white bread according to the quantity which he needs, and let him have the best white wine which he can get in which he should put his bread to soak, and with verjuice; and when his almonds are well brayed put in a little garlic to bray with them; and take white ginger and grains of paradise according to the quantity of sauce which he needs, and strain all this together and draw it up with the said white wine and a little verjuice and salt also, and put it to boil in a fair and clean pot.

2 c white bread	3 cloves garlic
1 c white wine	½ t ginger
2 t verjuice	½ t grains of paradise
or 1 t vinegar	2 c white wine
6 oz almonds	½ t salt

Crumble bread, soak with 1 c wine and verjuice; blanch and grind almonds (or start with blanched almonds), then grind garlic with them. Add ground spices, mix with bread, force through a strainer, put into a pot with additional wine and salt, bring to a boil and cook over low heat about ten minutes. Makes about 3 cups.

Note: the “pilgrim capons” mentioned are roasted capons with lampreys, with which this sauce was intended to be served.

Cameline Sauce

Goodman p. 286

Note that at Tourney to make cameline they bray ginger, cinnamon and saffron and half a nutmeg moistened with wine, then take it out of the mortar; then have white bread crumbs, not toasted but moistened in cold water and brayed in the mortar, moisten them with wine and strain them, then boil all together and put in brown sugar last of all; and that is winter cameline. And in summer they do the same but it is not boiled.

	<u>Sweet</u>	<u>Spicy</u>	<u>Sweet & spicy</u>
ginger	1 t	1 t	1 t
cinnamon	1 t	1 t	1 t
saffron	10 threads	10 thrds	10 thrds
nutmeg	1 whole	½ whole	½ whole
wine	2 T	½ c	½ c
bread crumbs	3 T	2 T	2 T
brown sugar	2 T	1 t	1 T
cold water	2 c	1 c	1 c

We tried several versions of the winter cameline sauce and liked all of them. Grind smoothly until well ground, add bread crumbs, grind smooth, add water and wine, bring it to a boil, simmer until thickened and add the brown sugar.

Mirrauste de Manzanas — Mirrauste of Apples

De Nola no. 243

You must take the sweetest apples and peel off their skin, and quarter them. And remove the core and the pips, and then set a pot to boil with as much water as you know will be necessary. And

when the water boils, cast in the apples and then take well toasted almonds and grind them well in a mortar. Dissolve them with the broth from the apples, and strain them through a woollen cloth with crustless bread soaked in said apple broth. And strain everything quite thick, and after straining it cast in a good deal of ground cinnamon and sugar. And then send it to the fire to cook and when the sauce boils remove it from the fire. And cast in the apples which remain, well drained of the broth, but see that the apples should not be scalded, so that you can prepare dishes of them, and when they are made cast sugar and cinnamon on top.

(This is a Lenten version of Mirrauste, a sauce served with roast birds.)

1 ½ lb apples	3 slices white bread
2 ½ c water	¾ t cinnamon
½ c roasted almonds	2 T+2 t sugar

Peel apples, quarter, core. Bring water to a boil, add apples, bring back to a boil and cook about 10 minutes until soft to a fork but not starting to fall apart. Grind almonds fine in food processor, remove crusts from bread. When apples are cooked, remove them from broth and put aside. Soak bread in ¾ c apple broth; regrind almonds with another ½ c apple broth, mix with bread. Force it through metal strainer. Mix ½ t cinnamon with 2 T sugar and add them. Heat to a boil, stirring to keep it from sticking. Remove from heat, add apples, mix remaining cinnamon and sugar and sprinkle over, serve.

A Garlic Sauce with Walnuts or Almonds

Platina p. 133 (book 8)

To almonds or walnuts that have been coarsely ground add as much cleaned garlic as you like and likewise, as need be, grind them up well, sprinkling them all the while so they do not make oil. When they are ground up put in white breadcrumbs softened in juice of meat or fish, and grind again. And if it seems too stiff it can be softened easily in the same juice. [See next recipe.]

A More Colored Garlic Sauce

Platina p. 133 (book 8)

Prepare this in the same way as above. But do not moisten it in water or juice, but in must of dark grapes, squeezed by hand and cooked down for half an hour. The same can be done with juice of cherries.

1/8 c walnuts	1 1/2 c grape juice
1/2 T garlic	4-6 t vinegar
1/4 c bread crumbs	1/4 c water

Boil down the grape juice for must.

Another Pottage Of Coriander Called The Third

Otro Potaje De Culantro Llamado Tercio

De Nola no. 30

You must take green coriander, and cut it finely, and grind it in a mortar together with dry coriander, and then take toasted almonds and toasted hazelnuts, and grind them separately in a mortar; and when they are well-ground, mix them with the almonds, and resume grinding everything together; and when it is well-ground, strain it through a woolen cloth, and set it to cook in the pot; and cast in all fine spices with saffron, and vinegar, and sugar; and set it to cook with little fire just until it is a little thickened; and remove it from the fire, and prepare dishes, and upon them cast sugar and cinnamon.

1/2 c hazelnuts	4 threads saffron
4 oz cilantro	1 T sugar
1/2 c roasted almonds	2 T white wine vinegar
1/2 t ground coriander	2 T more sugar
1/2 c water	2 t cinnamon
1/2 t de Nola fine spices (p. 34)	

Toast hazelnuts, dry-frying them in a frying pan 5 minutes or so, and peel off skins. Wash cilantro and remove the stems. Grind almonds and hazelnuts separately in a food processor or a mortar.

Chop cilantro finely and add ground coriander. Put in nuts. Process in a food processor to a thick paste. Add 1/2 c of water

and rub through a wire mesh strainer.

Add spices, sugar and vinegar, and cook on low about 10 minutes until it thickens enough to hold its shape when scooped up. Mix remaining sugar and cinnamon and sprinkle on top when you serve it.

(We don't know if this would be served by itself or possibly as a sauce; it might work well as a side dish with red meat. Or it might have been intended as a Lenten dish.)

Mustard

Menagier p. M-36

If you wish to provide for keeping mustard a long time do it at wine-harvest in sweet must. And some say that the must should be boiled. Item, if you want to make mustard hastily in a village, grind some mustard-seed in a mortar and soak in vinegar, and strain; and if you want to make it ready the sooner, put it in a pot in front of the fire. Item, and if you wish to make it properly and at leisure, put the mustard-seed to soak overnight in good vinegar, then have it ground fine in a mill, and then little by little moisten it with good vinegar: and if you have some spices left over from making jelly, broth, hippocras or sauces, they may be ground up with it, and then leave it until it is ready.

4 t mustard seed	1/4 t hippocras spices (p. 64)
1/2 c vinegar	

Soak the mustard seed overnight in 5 T of the vinegar, then grind with the rest.

Blank Desure

Curye on Inglysch p. 76

(Diursa Servicia no. 78)

For to make blank desure, tak þe yolkes of egges sodyn & temper it wiþ mylk of a kow. & do þerto comyn & saffroun & flowre of ris or wastel bred myed, & grynd in a mortar & temper it vp wyþ þe milk; & mak it boyle & do þerto wit of egges coruyn smal. & tak fat chese & kerf þerto wan þe licour is boylyd, & serue it forth.

6 eggs	1/4 c breadcrumbs
1/4 t ground cumin	or 1 T rice flour
12 threads saffron	3/4 c milk
1/2 lb fat cheese (Swiss or ...)	

Boil eggs until hard, about 12 minutes. Run cold water over them to cool, then peel and take egg yolks out. Mash yolks in a mortar with some of the milk until smooth. Add cumin and saffron threads and grind some more, being careful to crush the saffron in. Add breadcrumbs and the rest of the milk. Chop egg whites small and grate cheese or cut it into little bits. Put egg yolk mixture into a pot and heat at medium, stirring constantly until it just starts to boil; add egg whites and cheese and heat, stirring, until cheese melts, about 7 minutes total from starting to heat egg yolks.

Lemon Dish (Limonada)

De Nola no. 17

Take blanched almonds and peel them, and grind them in a mortar, and blend them with good hen's broth; and then take new raisins, and clean them well of the seeds, and grind them by themselves and strain them through a woolen cloth; and after they are strained, mix them with the almonds, and put everything in the pot where it must cook; and put sugar and a little ginger in that same way, and set it to cook, constantly stirring it with a stick of wood. And when it is cooked, put a little lemon juice, and then stir it a little with the wooden stirrer so that the lemon juice is well-mixed within it. And then dish it out and cast fine sugar on the dishes.

½ lb blanched almonds	3 T+ sugar
10 ½ oz chicken broth	¾ t ginger
¼ c raisins	4 T lemon juice

Blanch the almonds, grind them to a coarse meal and put them in a pan with chicken broth. Grind the raisins and pass through fine metal strainer, ending up with ~10 t pulp and juice combined. Mix that in. Add sugar and ginger. Cook about 10 minutes on a low heat, stirring constantly. Add lemon juice. Cook briefly, turn off, serve with sugar sprinkled on.

This could be used as a sauce over meat. If the raisins are dry, put them in boiling water for a while to plump them out before grinding. Could try using grapes, on the theory that new raisins mean raisins too new to have been dried.

Pasta, Rice, etc.

Losyns

Curie on Inglysch p. 108

(*Forme of Cury* no. 50)

Take good broth and do in an erthen pot. Take flour of payndemayn and make þerof past with water, and make þerof thynne foyles as paper with a roller; drye it harde and seeþ it in broth. Take chese ruayn grated and lay it in disshes with poudre douce, and lay þeron loseyns isode as hoole as þou myght, and above powdour and chese; and so twyse or thyrse, & serue it forth.

½ to ¾ c water	1 T poudre douce (p. 4)
2 c flour	5 c beef broth
1 lb mozzarella	

Stir the water into the flour; knead 5-10 minutes until smooth. Divide in four portions, roll each out to about 12" diameter. Cut in lozenges (diamonds), leave to dry. This produces 9 ½ oz dried pasta, which will keep at least three weeks.

Grate cheese and mix up poudre douce. Bring broth to a boil, put in pasta, cook 10-12 minutes and drain. Put ⅓ of the cheese in a dish, sprinkle about ⅓ of the poudre douce over it, and layer ⅓ of the hot pasta on top; repeat this twice, reserving a little poudre douce to sprinkle on top. Let sit a couple of minutes to melt cheese and serve.

To Make Gnochì

Due Libri di Cucina B: no. 69

He who wants to make nochì, take flour and bread crumbs, and put in a little water, and take the eggs and break them with it, and get a wet slice and put it to boil, and when they are cooked, draw them forth and throw on them enough cheese.

½ c whole wheat flour	[¼ t salt]
½ c bread crumbs	2 eggs
3 T water	½ oz Parmesan

Combine everything except the cheese, roll out, cut into pieces about 1"x1"x1", boil ½ hour. Sprinkle on grated cheese and serve.

Potaje de Fideos (Pottage of Noodles)

De Nola no. 59

Clean the fideos of the dirt which they have and when they are well cleaned put them on the fire in a very clean pot with good fatty broth of chicken or mutton which is well salted and when the broth begins to boil, cast the fideos in the pot with a piece of sugar, and when they are more than half cooked, cast into the pot with the chicken or mutton broth, milk of goats or sheep, or in place of those, almond milk, for that can never be lacking, and cook it all well together, and when the fideos are cooked remove the pot from the fire and let it rest a bit and prepare dishes, casting sugar and cinnamon upon them; but as I have said in the chapter on rice, there are many who say concerning pottages of this kind which are cooked with meat broth that one should cast in neither sugar nor milk, but this is according to each one's appetite, and in truth, with fideos or rice cooked with meat broth, it is better to cast grated cheese on the dishes, which is very good.

Translator's notes: My modern Spanish dictionary translate "fideos" as "vermicelli"; I do not know what medieval fideos were like. I suspect the phrase "clean the fideos of the dirt which they have" is a scribal error. An almost identical phrase is at the beginning of the previous recipe, which is for baked rice. There it makes sense; even today, packages of rice have instructions to check it for small pebbles and other impurities. I cannot see why pasta would need cleaning.

2 ½ c chicken broth	1 c goat's milk
8 oz spaghetti	(or sheep or almond)
½ t sugar	1 T sugar + 1 t cinnamon
	or ½ c Parmesan

Bring broth to a boil and cook spaghetti in boiling broth 8 minutes (or just over half the maximum cooking time given on the package), then add sugar and goat's milk and cook another 6 minutes. Let sit off the heat about 15 minutes, during which time most of the liquid gets absorbed. Mix in either the cinnamon sugar or the (grated) cheese. For larger quantities, reduce the proportionate amount of broth: for three times this amount, for example, use two and a half times the

amount of broth.

To Make Ravioli

Sabina Welserin no. 31

Take spinach and blanch it as if you were making cooked spinach, and chop it small. Take approximately one handful, when it is chopped, cheese or meat from a chicken or capon that was boiled or roasted. Then take twice as much cheese as herb, or of chicken an equal amount, and beat two or three eggs into it and make a good dough, put salt and pepper into it and make a dough with good flour, as if you would make a tart, and when you have made little flat cakes of dough then put a small ball of filling on the edge of the flat cake and form it into a dumpling. And press it together well along the edges and place it in broth and let it cook about as long as for a soft-boiled egg. The meat should be finely chopped and the cheese finely grated.

Cheese version

¼ lb spinach	2 c flour
¼ lb cheese	½-¾ c water
½ t pepper	½ t salt (for dough)
1 egg	

Chicken version

½ lb spinach	1 egg
6 oz chicken	2 c flour
¼ t salt	½-¾ c water
¼ t pepper	½ t salt (for dough)

Put spinach into boiling water for 1-2 minutes, take out, cool, drain, squeeze dry. Boil chicken (if you are doing the chicken version) about 15 minutes. Chop cheese (or chicken) fine. Chop spinach fine. Combine with salt (chicken version), pepper, egg.

Knead flour and water into a smooth dough. Make about 1 ¼" ball of dough, roll out to approx 4" circle on floured board, put 1 t filling in the middle, pinch the edges together around the filling like a pirogi. Bring the chicken stock plus spinach water to a boil, boil the ravioli in it for 3-4 minutes.

Macrows*Forme of Cury* p. 46

Take and make a thin foil of dowh, and kerve it on peces, and cast hem on boiling water and seeth it wele. Take chese and grate it and butter cast bynethen and above as losyns (p. 68). and serve forth.

2 c flour 3 c grated cheese
~²/₃ c cold water 4 T butter

Knead flour and cold water into a smooth, elastic dough. Roll it out thin and cut into broad strips (1"-2" wide). Boil it about 5-10 minutes (until tender). Put it in a dish, layered with grated cheese—we used Swiss and Parmesan—and butter. You may want to heat it briefly in an oven (although the recipe does not say to do so).

To Make Pot Torteli*Due Libri di Cucina* B: no. 53

If you want to make torteli of meat of fresh mixed pork, boil it so that it is cooked, and beat it with a knife so that it is very good, and take the pot and boil it and grind it in a mortar and put in up to six eggs that are boiled and mix with the meat and put in good spices and put in some good dry, grated cheese, and you want to make this pie in a pie-shell [skin—another possible translation for the word] of lasagna and one should not boil it in meat broth and it should be given for dish with a long meat pottage of pepper, and it is good.

1 lb pork shoulder 1 t cinnamon
4 hard boiled eggs. 2 ½ oz Parmesan
1 ½ t pepper 5 c flour
2 t ginger ~2 c water.
¼ t cloves

Boil the pork shoulder, cut into several pieces, for about half an hour. Cut it up and beat it, using the back of a knife (or a mortar and pestle). Combine with eggs, spices, and grated cheese to make the filling for the tortelli.

Knead together flour and water, roll it out and cut it into about 60 pieces, each about

2"x3". Place a small amount of the filling in each, fold the pasta around it, and boil in water for about ten minutes.

To Make Lesagne*Due Libri di Cucina* B: no. 67

He who wants to make lesagne, take good white flour and boil it in capon broth. If it is not so much, put in some other water, and put in some salt to boil with it, and dump it in a broad, flat bowl, and put in enough cheese, and throw over it the cuttings of the fat of the capon.

2 ½ c flour 1 ½ c Parmesan cheese
1 c water ½ c rendered chicken fat
chicken broth sufficient to boil the pasta

Knead together flour and water, roll it out as two approximate circles about 10" in diameter, cut each into about five pieces. Boil the pieces in chicken broth for about ten minutes. Spread on each piece about 2 ½ T grated Parmesan cheese and 1T rendered chicken fat and serve it.

Tartlettes*Curye on Inglysch* p. 109*(Form of Curye* no. 51)

Take pork ysode and grynde it small with safroun; medle it with ayren, and raisouns of coraunce, and powdour fort and salt, and make a foile of dowhigh and close the fars berinne. Cast þe tartletes in a panne with faire water boillyng and salt; take of the clene flessch with oute ayren & boile it in gode broth. Cast þer powdour douce and salt, and messe the tartletes in disshes & helde the sewe þeronne.

½ lb pork 3 c flour
15 threads saffron 1 ⅛ c water
3 eggs ¼ lb more pork
½ c currants 2 c chicken broth
1 t powder fort (see p. 4) 1 t poudre douce
1 t salt (¼ + ½ + ¼) (see p. 4)

Cut two thirds of the pork into slices ½" thick, boil about 10 minutes in 6 c water, take out and cut the slices into about 1"x2" pieces.

Grind saffron in mortar. Combine pork and saffron in food processor (or mortar) and grind. Then add eggs, currants, powder fort and $\frac{1}{4}$ t salt and combine. Knead flour with about $1\frac{1}{8}$ c water, and roll it out in 3 11"x14" pieces. Make into ravioli about 2"x2", stuffed with the pork mixture. Put 3 quarts water, $\frac{1}{2}$ t salt in a pot, bring to a boil. Put in tartlettes, boil about 15 minutes and remove from water. Meanwhile grind the rest of the pork fine and cook in broth with another $\frac{1}{4}$ t salt and poudre douce about 15 minutes. Pour this over the tartelletes (including the broth) and serve.

Cressee

Anglo-Norman p. 874

Take best white flour and eggs, and make pasta dough; and in the pasta dough put fine choice ginger and sugar. Take half of the pastry, [which is or should be] colored with saffron, and half [which is or should be] white, and roll it out on a table to the thickness of your finger; then cut into strips the size of a piece of lath; stretch it out on a table as illustrated; then boil in water; then take a slotted spoon and remove the cressees from the water; then arrange them on, and cover them with, grated cheese, add butter or oil, and serve.



2 eggs	~35 threads saffron
$1\frac{1}{3}$ c flour	$3\frac{1}{2}$ oz Parmesan cheese
$\frac{3}{4}$ -1 t ginger	1 T butter or oil
2 T sugar	

Knead the eggs and the flour together, along with the ginger and sugar until smooth; a tiny amount of water may help. Divide the dough in half. Grind the saffron in a mortar, then add $\frac{1}{2}$ t water to extract the color; add the resulting liquid to half the dough and knead it in.

Roll out each half to about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. Cut in $\frac{3}{4}$ " strips. Interlace the strips, with the yellow going one way, the plain the other. Use a drop of water at each point where the strips cross to stick them together, then roll the whole thing slightly with a rolling pin at the end. The result is a criss-cross fabric of strips of dough.

Cook in boiling water for about ten

minutes. Spread half the cheese on a plate, take the cressees out of the water, drain it, put it on the plate on top of the cheese, put the rest of the cheese on top of the cressees, add olive oil or butter, serve.

Using about 12 threads of saffron tastes fine, but gives too pale a color from an aesthetic point of view. Using four times that much saffron makes it look good, but has too strong a saffron taste unless you really like saffron.



Ryse of Fische Daye

Curie on Inglysch p. 127
(*Forme of Cury* no. 129)

Blaunche almaundes & grynde hem, & drawe hem vp wyt watur. Weshce þi ryse clene, & do þerto sugur roche and salt: let hyt be stondyng. Frye almaundes browne, & floriche hyt þerwyt, or wyt sugur.

7 oz almonds	1 t salt
~4 $\frac{1}{2}$ c of water	3 oz slivered almonds
2 c rice	1 T sugar on top
2 T sugar	

Make 4 c of almond milk (see p. 7). Add rice to almond milk, also sugar and salt, bring to a boil and simmer covered 20 minutes; let stand 25 minutes. Lightly grease frying pan with oil and put in almonds, cook while stirring for 5 minutes at low to moderate heat. Sprinkle almonds and extra sugar on rice and serve.

Frumente

Curie on Inglysch p. 98
(*Forme of Cury* no. 1)

To make frumente. Tak clene whete & braye yt wel in a mortar tyl þe holes gon of; seþe it til it breste in water. Nym it vp & lat it cole. Tak good broþ & swete mylk of kyn or of almand & tempere it þerwith. Nym yelkys of eyren rawe & saffroun & cast þerto; salt it; lat it nought boyle after þe eyren been cast þerinne. Messe it forth with venesoun or with fat motoun fresch.

2 c water	1/3 c milk
1 c cracked wheat	(or almond milk p. 7)
4 threads saffron	2 egg yolks
1/3 c chicken broth	1/2 t salt

Bring water to a boil. Add wheat and bring back to a boil, cook about 10 min, then remove lid and cool, with occasional stirring to hasten the cooling and break up the pasty lumps. Crush saffron into a little of the broth; add saffron, broth and milk to the wheat and heat. When heated through, stir in egg yolks and salt. Frumenty was traditionally served with venison; this recipe also suggests serving with mutton.

Miscellaneous

Stuffed eggs Platina book 9

Cook fresh eggs for a long time so that they are hard, then take the egg from the shell and split it through the middle, so as not to lose any of the white. After you have taken out the yolk, grind up part of it with good cheese, aged as well as fresh, and raisins; save the other part to color the dish. Likewise add a little finely chopped parsley, marjoram and mint. There are those who also put in two or more egg whites, along with some spices. With this mixture fill the whites of the eggs and when they are stuffed, fry them over a gentle flame, in oil. When they are fried, make a sauce from the rest of the yolks and raisins ground together, and when you have moistened them in verjuice and must, add ginger, clove, and cinnamon and pour over the eggs and let them boil a little together.

8 eggs	[1 egg white]
1 oz Romano	[additional spices]
1 oz fresh mozzarella	2 T verjuice
3/8 c raisins	2 T grape juice
1 1/2 T parsley	1/8 t ginger
1 T marjoram	1/8 t clove
1 T mint	1/4 t cinnamon
~1 T oil	

Hard boil eggs, cool, cut in half as for deviled eggs. Set aside 3 yolks. Grate the hard

cheese, slice thin the soft cheese, chop herbs fine. Put the remaining 5 yolks in a bowl with both cheeses and mix. Grind 1/8 c raisins in a mortar. Add egg and cheese mix to the mortar, grind all together. Add herbs to the mixture and stir in. Fill eggs and put back together with a toothpick. There may be some leftover filling.

Grind remaining 1/4 c raisins, mash into them the egg yolks set aside at the beginning, stir in grape juice, verjuice, and spices to make the sauce. Heat oil in a frying pan and have ready a small pot. Fry the eggs in the oil, four at a time, rolling them around to get them fried on all sides, for about a minute, then put into the pot. When all are fried, pour the sauce over them and heat that pot for about a minute, stirring them around to heat through, serve.

There is an Islamic version of stuffed eggs on p. 125.

How One Makes Almond Butter

Grew: *XIIIth c.* p.35, recipe 3

One should take almond kernels and add water to make milk thereof and place it in a pot and heat it up over the embers and add saffron well crushed, and salt and vinegar to taste, and heat it until it thickens. When it has become sufficiently thick, place it in a cloth sewn together as a bag and hang it on a wall until the liquid has drained off, and then take it out, and make butter of it.

1/2 c almonds	1/4 t salt
2 c water	2 t vinegar
6 threads saffron	

Make 1 1/2 c almond milk. Bring to a slow boil. Add saffron, salt and vinegar. Simmer about 15 minutes (it ends up about as thick as heavy cream). Pour it into a linen cloth (over a bowl) and leave it to drain for an hour. The result has about the texture of butter. Yields 3-4 T. Use more saffron if you like saffron and want it yellower.

To Make Quince Marmalade (Condoignac)*Le Menagier M-50*

Take quinces and peel them, then cut in quarters and take out the eye and the seeds, then cook them in good red wine and then strain through a strainer: then take honey and boil it for a long time and skim it, then put your quinces in it and stir thoroughly, and keep boiling until the honey is reduced by half; then throw in powdered hippocras, and stir till cold, then divide into portions and keep it.

2 lb quince 1 c honey
2 c red wine ½ t Duke's Powder (p. 64)

Peel, core and quarter your quinces. Put them in a pot with the wine, and simmer until the quinces are very soft—about an hour. Strain off the liquid and force the quinces through a strainer or a potato ricer or something similar. Add the honey, simmer gently, stirring if necessary to keep it from burning (if sufficiently gentle it mostly isn't) until the mixture is substantially thicker, which may take about an hour and a half. Add Duke's powder. Let it cool, stirring occasionally, and put it in a jar.

Sawgeat

Curie on Inglysch p. 135
(*Forme of Cury* no. 169)

Take sawge; grynde it and temper it vp with ayren. Take a sausege & kerf hym to gobetes, and cast it in a possynet, and do þerwif grece & frye it. Whan it is fryed ynowgh, cast þerto sawge with ayren; make it not to harde. Cast þerto powdour douce & messe it forth. If it be in ymbre day, take sauge, buttur, & ayren, and lat stonde wel by þe sauge, & serue forth.

1 ½ T sage ⅜ lb mild breakfast sausage
4 large eggs 1 t poudre douce (see p. 4)
2 T oil

Mix ground sage into eggs. Heat oil on high, fry sausage on high 5 minutes until browned. Turn heat to low, give it a minute or two to cool, add eggs, fry scrambling for 2

minutes. Remove excess grease; sprinkle poudre douce on top.

Arbolettys*Two Fifteenth Century p. 20*

Take milk, butter and cheese and boil in fere; then take eyroun and caste thereto; then take parsley and sage and hack it small, and take powdered ginger and galingale, and cast it thereto, and then serve it forth.

¼ lb cheddar cheese ¼ c parsley
½ c milk 2 T sage
½ lb butter 1 t ginger
5 eggs 1 t galingale

Cut up cheese, heat milk, melt butter and cheese in it, stir together, then add beaten eggs. Chop parsley and sage fine, add along with the spices, cook until the mixture thickens, serve.

To Make Pescoddes*A Proper Newe Book of Cookery p. 33*

Take marybones and pull the mary hole out of them, and cutte it in two partes, then season it with suger, synamon, ginger and a little salte and make youre paeste as fyne as ye canne, and as shorte and thyn as ye canne, then frye theym in swete suette and caste upon them a lyttle synamon and ginger and so serve them at the table.

pie crust (for 9" pie) pinch salt
2 oz marrow 2 T lard for frying
2 t sugar cinnamon (to cast on)
¼ t cinnamon ginger (to cast on)
¼ t ginger

Mix up pie crust. Mix marrow (from marrow bones), sugar, cinnamon, ginger and salt to a uniform paste. Roll pie crust very thin, cut into circles about water glass size (2 ¾"). Spread thin layer of marrow mixture across each round, fold it in half, seal the edges. Brown it in hot lard. Sprinkle with cinnamon and ginger and serve it forth.

White Pudding*Icelandic p. 216*

One shall take sweet milk and well crushed wheat bread and beaten egg and well ground saffron and let it all boil until it grows thick. Then pour it upon a dish and throw in butter. This is called white pudding.

4 slices bread (4 oz) 6 threads saffron
2 eggs 3 T butter
1 c milk

Turn bread into crumbs. Beat eggs, mix with milk and beat. Grind saffron and add, then add crumbs. Heat for about 5 minutes, put in dish and add butter.

Lord's Salt*Icelandic p. 215*

One shall take cloves and mace, cardamom, pepper, cinnamon, ginger an equal weight of each except cinnamon, of which there shall be just as much as of all the others, and as much baked bread as all that has been said above. And he shall cut it all together and grind it in strong vinegar; and put it in a cask. That is their salt and it is good for half a year.

How to Make Use of the Salt Spoken of Above*Icelandic p. 215*

When a man wants to use of this salt, he shall boil it in a pan over coals without flame. Then he shall take venison of hart or roe and carefully garnish with fat and roast it. And cut it up well burned; and when the salt is cold than the meat shall be cut up therein with a little salt. Then it can lie for three weeks. So a man may long keep geese, ducks, and other game if he cuts them thin. This is the best salt the gentry have.

1 t cloves 1 ½ t ginger
1 ⅛ t mace 1 t salt
½ T cardamom 8 t breadcrumbs
1 ⅜ t pepper 2 c strong vinegar
5 t cinnamon

Grind cardamom and mix all spices together. (This quantity is 2 g of all spices except the cinnamon, of which there is 10 g; it adds up to 3 ½ T total.) To use, add 1 t of salt to the spice mixture, the breadcrumbs and the vinegar, simmer it briefly, cool it, then mix it in with your meat and close up the container. This quantity will preserve a 2 c container of cooked, sliced meat or fowl (1 to 1 ½ lb).

We tried this recipe in order to have a way of storing meat without refrigeration for long events, such as Pennsic. In our experience, meat preserved this way keeps several weeks without refrigeration; we have done so repeatedly without health problems, but see warning below. The meat tastes strongly of the vinegar and spices when you rinse off the preserving mixture; we generally use the meat in recipes that call for vinegar and then leave out the vinegar.

Ordinary vinegar is 5%, which is just barely strong enough, so we normally mix it with stronger vinegar ("75 grain" or 7.5%) from a gourmet food store.

!Warning!

Preserving foods can be dangerous; if you experiment with this recipe, be careful. According to our researches, either using vinegar of at least 5% acidity or boiling for 15 minutes before eating will protect you from botulism; we strongly advise doing both. We take no responsibility for the result of trying this recipe; before doing so, you may want to read up on methods and hazards of preserving food.

Islamic Dishes: Middle East and al-Andalus

Bread

Making Bread of Abu Hamza al-Warraq p. 123

Use as much as needed of fine samidh flour (high in starch and bran free). This bread is dry.

The dough is made similar to that of barazidhaj, except that this bread is a little thinner and smaller, it is pricked a lot with feathers [before baking], and neither buraq (bakers' borax) nor any sweetening ingredients are used in making it. However, you need to knead into it (olive oil from unripe olives), the amount of which depends on how much oily you want it to be. Moreover, after you stick them to the inside wall of the tannur and they are fully baked, take them out and stack them at the top of the oven. Keep them there until they are completely dry. Store them in wicker baskets and use them as needed.

Barazidhaj: Take 1 makkük [7½ pounds] good quality, pure flour, and mix with it 2 uqiyyas yeast, and 20 dirhams salt and (bakers' borax). Mix them into dough [by adding water] and knead vigorously. Cover it and let it ferment.

Divide dough into small portions, the weight of each should be 1 Levantine uqiya (1 ½ ounces), brush each portion with 2 dirhams (olive oil from unripe olives), and flatten it on a wooden board to medium thinness. Prick the breads with feathers, but not much, and cover them with a dry piece of cloth.

(One fifth of the recipe)

3 ⅓ c semolina	1 ½ c water
1 T sourdough	1 ½ t salt
3 T olive oil	additional 4 T olive oil

Knead all ingredients except the additional oil together, let rise overnight, divide into about 40 1 oz portions, flour them. Press flat to a thickness of ⅛ to ¼", prick all over with a feather (I used a wooden skewer). Brush with olive oil—about 4 T for the whole batch. Bake at 350° for 25-30 minutes—longer the thicker they are. Take out. Turn off the oven, open the door to let it cool a little, then put the loaves back in on the oven rack, dry for at least half an hour at about 150-200°.

A Recipe for Ka'k Made for Abu 'Ata Sahl bin Salim al-Katib al-Warraq pp. 123-4

Take 1 kerylaja (2 ½ pounds) or 1 makkük (7 ½ pounds) fine samith flour. Make it into dough using 100 dirham ground sesame seeds that have not been extracted of their oil (i.e. tahini), 1 uqiyya almond oil, and 2 dirhams salt. For each makkük add 2 uqiyyas white sugar and 3 dirhams saffron. Knead the mixture with 10 dirhams yeast [and some water].

When dough is fully fermented, rub it with a little fat and rose water beaten together. Roll it out on a board into a square and cut it out into small squares. Bake them in the tannur by sticking them [into the inner wall]. When done, take them out and leave them at the top of the tannur for a short while to dry out, God willing.

(One fifth of the recipe)

3 ⅓ c semolina	.3 g saffron= (150 threads)
2 ounces tahini	1 t sourdough
1 t+ almond oil	1 ½ c water
⅓ t salt	1 T olive oil
scant T sugar	1 T rose water

Combine all ingredients except oil and rose water and knead it smooth. Leave overnight to rise. Knead in oil (or animal fat) and rose water. Roll out about ¼" thick, cut into squares 1.5"-2" on a side, put on a baking stone in a 400° oven, bake about 20-25 minutes, cool oven to 200°-250°, dry about 30-60 minutes. They taste very strongly of saffron, which some like and some do not.

Loaf Kneaded with Butter Andalusian p. A-23

Take three ratls of white flour and knead it with a ratl of butter and when the mixing is complete, leave it to rise and make bread from it; send it to the oven in a dish and when it has cooked, turn it on the other side in another dish and return it to the oven. When it is thoroughly cooked, take it out of the oven, then cover it a while and present it.

½ lb butter 1 c water
 5 c flour ¾ lb ≈ 1 ¼ c sourdough
 1 t salt

Note: we assume that “make bread from it” requires water and leavening.

Soften butter and mix into flour; add salt. Mix lukewarm water with sourdough starter and stir into flour mixture; knead until smooth. Transfer to a greased ceramic or pyrex baking dish, cover with a damp cloth, let rise 3-4 hours. Heat oven to 350°. Bake bread about 55 minutes, remove from dish, invert and bake another 20 minutes. Remove from oven, cover with cloth for 10 minutes, then serve.

Recipe for Folded Bread from Ifriqiyya

Andalusian p. A-57

Take coarsely ground good semolina and divide it into three parts. Leave one third aside and knead the other two well and it is made from it. Roll out thin bread and grease it. Sprinkle some of the remaining semolina on top and fold over it and roll it up. Then roll it out a second time and grease it, sprinkle some semolina on top and fold it over like muwarraqa [p. 121]. Do this several times until you use up the remaining third of the semolina. Then put it in the oven and leave it until it sets. Remove it when tender but not excessively so. If you want, cook the flatbreads at home in the tajine. Then crumble it and with the crumbs make a tharid like fatir, either with milk like tharid laban, which is eaten with butter and sugar, or with chicken or other meat broth, upon which you put fried meat and a lot of fat. Dust it with cinnamon and serve it.

3 c semolina ~ ¼ c olive oil
 ⅔ c water

Knead 2 c of semolina with the water for about 10 minutes, until smooth. Roll out to about 12"x12". Spread with about 2 t oil, sprinkle on 2-3 T semolina. Fold in half, roll up, mash together. Repeat about five more times, until all the last cup of semolina is used up.

Roll out to about 12"x10". Bake in 300°

oven on an ungreased cookie sheet for about 50 minutes, until baked but not crisp (except thin parts).

For a recipe for the “tharid like fatir” that is to be made with this, see page 102.

Meat with Sauce or Stew

Palace Chicken with Mustard

Andalusian p. A-35

Cut up the chicken and place in a pot with salt and onion pounded with cilantro, oil, coriander seed, pepper and caraway; put it on the fire until it boils, and when it has boiled gently, add cilantro juice, vinegar, and murri, and let the vinegar be more than the murri; when it has cooked, pound peeled almonds fine and stir with egg and some pepper, green and dried ground coriander and a spoon of prepared mustard; pour all this into the pan and add three cracked eggs and take it to the hearthstone to rest for a while, and serve, God willing.

2 ½ lb chicken	2 T olive oil
1 ⅜ lb onion	2 T murri (see p. 5)
¼ c cilantro	3 T vinegar
3 T cilantro juice	¼ lb blanched almonds
(from ¼ c cilantro)	1 egg
1 t salt	¼ t more pepper
2 t coriander	2 T more cilantro
¾ t pepper	4 t mustard powder
2 t caraway	3 more eggs

Cut up chicken into separate joints; chop onion. Make cilantro juice (p. 8). Cook the chicken, etc. in oil over medium high heat 10-15 minutes. Add murri, vinegar, and cilantro juice, reduce heat to medium and cook 20 minutes. Grind almonds in food processor almost to flour. Mix in a bowl ground almonds, egg, and the rest of the spices. Stir into the pot, mixing well, and turn heat to low; crack eggs on top of sauce, cover, and let sit until eggs are poached (about 10-15 minutes).

Chicken Covered with Walnuts and Saffron

Andalusian p. A-43

Cut chicken in two, put in the pot, throw in onion pounded with cilantro, salt, spices, a spoon of vinegar and half a spoon of murri; fry until it smells good; then cover with water and cook till almost done: make meatballs from the chicken breast, and throw in the pot; dot with egg yolks and cover with the whites and pounded walnuts and saffron; ladle out and sprinkle with pepper and cinnamon and serve, God willing.

	<i>for meatballs:</i>
5 lbs chicken	2 cloves garlic
½ lb onion	3 T flour
1 c cilantro	½ t salt
2 T vinegar	½ t pepper
2 t olive oil	1 T vinegar
½ t cinnamon	<i>topping:</i> 4 eggs
¼ t cumin	1 c walnuts
¼ t coriander	16 threads saffron
½ t salt	⅛ t cinnamon
1 T murri (see p. 5)	⅛ t pepper

Remove the breast meat from the chicken, cut chicken in half. Chop onion and cilantro and pound together in a mortar. Heat the frying pan to medium high, add oil. Put in the chicken, onion and cilantro, vinegar, spices, and murri; fry at medium high. (This soon becomes something more like a simmer as the chicken and onion produce liquid.)

While the chicken is cooking, take the breast (about 15 ounces), process it in a food processor or pound in a mortar until it is sufficiently mashed to make meat balls out of. Crush garlic, add it and remaining meatball ingredients and mix thoroughly. Form meatballs about 1" to 1.5" in diameter.

After 15 minutes of frying, add 4 c water to the pot. Simmer 10 minutes, without a lid, then add the meatballs to the pot.

Pound the saffron to powder, add it to the walnuts, and pound the walnuts until you have something like walnut flour with pieces of walnut in it (walnuts tend to disintegrate when pounded or chopped); a food processor would also work for this.

When the pot has simmered for another 40 minutes, separate the eggs, putting the white with the pounded walnut and dropping the yolks into the pot. Stir the walnuts and the egg white together into a uniform paste and use it to cover the top of the pot. Cover the pot with a lid, simmer for about another 10 minutes, until the topping is hard. Sprinkle with the pepper and cinnamon and serve.

There is a fair amount of liquid, which is good over rice. One could try it with about half as much water, although this will make it somewhat harder to get the chicken cooked, since it will not be entirely covered.

Another Dish [Andalusian Chicken]

al-Andalusi p. C-4

Get a fat hen, cut off the head, clean it and cut it into small pieces; the legs in two, the breast in two and the same the wings. Put in a pot with salt, oil, murri, pepper, dried coriander, and oregano; fry it without water until it is gilded. Meanwhile, get onions and green cilantro and squeeze out their water into the pot, in a quantity sufficient to cover the meat, leaving it to bubble one hour. After get a little grated bread crumbs, beat them with two or three eggs, with pepper and saffron, and embellish with it the pot; leave it on the embers that the grease comes out and eat it.

1 T oil	2 t fresh oregano
1 t salt	<i>or</i> 1 t dried
2 t murri (see p. 5)	¼ c onion juice
1 chicken, 3 ½ lb	1 c cilantro
½ t pepper	3 eggs
1 t coriander	12 threads saffron
¼ t more pepper	½ c bread crumbs

Heat oil with salt, murri, etc. in large pot and fry cut-up chicken for 10 minutes over medium high heat, stirring occasionally. Make onion juice (p. 8). Make about ½ c of cilantro juice (p. 8). Add onion and cilantro juice and cover; simmer 40 minutes on low heat, stirring occasionally; be careful or it will stick. Beat eggs, crush saffron with a little of the egg and add, add bread crumbs and pepper; stir into the meat; cook about 5 minutes on low and remove from heat. The

dish as we make it is a little spicy; if you are serving it for people with conservative tastes you might want to reduce the amount of pepper.

Muthallath with Heads of Lettuce

Andalusian p. A-47

Take meat from a young, fat sheep and cut it in small pieces and put it in a pot with salt, a piece of onion, pepper, coriander seed, clove, saffron and oil. Put it on a moderate fire and when it is almost done, take heads of lettuce and their shoots without leaves, peel and cut up and add to the meat in the pot, and when the lettuce is done, add good vinegar and finish cooking it. Cover it with beaten egg, saffron and spikenard and take it to the hearthstone.

1 lb lamb (or mutton)	1/3 c olive oil
1/4 medium onion	1 bunch leaf lettuce
1/4 t salt	1/4 c vinegar
1/4 t pepper	5 eggs
1/2 t coriander	8 threads more saffron
1/4 t cloves	1/4 t spikenard
8 threads saffron	

Cut up meat and chop onion, and put in a pot with salt, spices and oil. Cook on medium 20 minutes, until the meat is almost done. Wash lettuce and slice in 1/2" strips, add to meat and mix; when the lettuce is wilted (5-10 minutes), add vinegar and cook another 5 minutes. Beat eggs, add saffron and spikenard and spread on top of meat mixture, with heat turned all the way down. Let sit half an hour, until the eggs set.

Preparing Asparagus with Meat Stuffing

Andalusian p. A-41

Take asparagus, the largest you have, clean and boil, after taking tender meat and pounding fine; throw in pepper, caraway, coriander seed, cilantro juice, some oil and egg white; take the boiled asparagus, one after another, and dress with this ground meat, and do so carefully. Put an earthenware pot on the fire, after putting in it water, salt, a spoon of murri and another of oil, cilantro juice, pepper, caraway and coriander seed; little by little while the pot boils, throw in it the asparagus wrapped in meat. Boil in the pot

and throw in it meatballs of this ground meat, and when it is all evenly cooked, cover with egg, breadcrumbs and some of the stuffed meat already mentioned and decorate with egg, God willing.

1 lb asparagus	1/4 t salt
1/2 lb ground lamb	1/2 T murri (see p. 5)
1/8 t pepper	1 T oil
1/4 t caraway	1/8 t pepper
1/8 t coriander	1/4 t caraway
2/3 c cilantro	1/8 t more coriander
1/2 T oil	3 eggs
1 egg white	1 c breadcrumbs

Make cilantro juice (p. 8); use half for the first batch and half for the second. See A Baqliyya of Ziryab's (p. 79) for another dish with egg/meat/bread topping.

Dish of Eggplant

Andalusian p. A-49

Cut up mutton and put in the pot with salt, pepper, coriander, cumin, thyme, two spoons of murri naqi' and three of oil; take to the fire and cook and when the meat is done, add eggplants cut in quarters and boiled separately. When it has boiled, grind up white bread crumbs beaten with the right quantity of eggs in coriander juice; cover the pot with this and then take it to the hearthstone.

1 1/2 lb eggplant	1 t cumin
3/4 lb lamb	1/2 t ground thyme
2 t murri (see p. 5)	1 T oil
3/4 t salt	2 T bread crumbs
1 t pepper	2 eggs
1 t coriander	2 T cilantro juice (p. 8)

Quarter eggplant, simmer in water for about 20 minutes. Cut lamb in bite sized pieces (1" to 1/2" on a side). Mix lamb with murri and spices and saute in oil 5-10 minutes. Drain eggplant, skin, add to meat, mashing a little, simmer together about 5-10 minutes. Mix the cilantro juice with eggs and bread crumbs, stir it into the pot, simmer briefly (about 5 minutes) to get the eggs cooked, serve.

Dish Prepared With Fried Eggplant

Andalusian p. A-40

Take meat and cut it up small, then put it in the pot and throw in half a spoon of vinegar, one of murri and another of fresh oil, and pepper, coriander and cilantro, both pounded fine, and salt. Bring the pot to a full boil until the meat and the spices are cooked, and don't throw in water. When the meat has browned and is done, remove it, stir it and throw in enough water, but do not let it cover the meat, and boil again. Then boil the eggplant separately, after salting it and removing its water, and then cut in thirds and quarters and remove the peel. Dust with good white flour and fry in the pan with some fresh oil, then throw it in the pot and cover the contents of the pot with two eggs and crumbs of leavened bread and draw off the grease to the oven. Boil moderately, take off the fire for a while and serve.

Translator's note: When I translate "removing its water," I'm reading the incomprehensible "dhâ'uhâ" as "mâ'uhâ," "its water." "Draw off the grease to the oven" is a strange instruction, not found elsewhere. The instruction to boil and take off the fire indicates that the pot itself does not go to the oven. (Charles Perry)

½ lb lamb	1 t salt
1 T oil	1 medium eggplant
½ T vinegar	½ c flour
1 T murri	⅓ c more oil
½ t pepper	½ c water
½ t ground coriander	2 eggs
4 T cilantro	⅓ c breadcrumbs

Cut the lamb up small, fry it in the oil with vinegar, murri, and seasonings about 10-15 minutes (until the meat is cooked). Add the water and simmer about another 20 minutes, until most of the water is gone.

Meanwhile, peel the eggplant and boil it 10 minutes in salted water, take it out and slice it. Lay it on paper towels or something similar for ten or fifteen minutes to let some of the juice come out. Pat it dry, smother in flour, fry in oil in a second frying pan for about 5-10 minutes. Then add it to the first pan. Stir in the beaten eggs, mix in the

breadcrumbs, remove from the heat and serve.

A Baqliyya of Ziryab's

Andalusian p. A-48

Take the flesh of a young fat lamb, put in the pot with salt, onion, coriander seed, pepper, caraway, two spoons of oil and one of murri naqi; put on a moderate fire and then take cabbage, its tender "eyes"; take off the leaves and chop small with the heads, wash, and when the meat is almost done, add the cabbage. Then pound red meat from its tender parts and beat in the bowl with eggs and the crumb [that is, everything but the crust] of bread, almonds, pepper, coriander and caraway; cover the pot with this little by little and leave on the coals until the sauce dries and the grease comes to the top and serve.

2 lb cabbage	1 T murri (p. 5)
1 lb lamb for stew	5 oz ground lamb
⅜ lb onion	2 eggs
1 t salt	½ c breadcrumbs
½ t coriander	¼ c blanched almonds
¼ t pepper	⅛ t pepper
½ t caraway	¼ t more coriander
2 T oil	⅛ t more caraway

Wash and chop cabbage. Put cut-up lamb, onion, salt, first set of spices above, oil, and murri in a pot and cook over middling high heat, stirring frequently, for 10 minutes. Stir in cabbage and cook covered for 20 minutes; the cabbage will yield a lot of liquid. Meanwhile, grind remaining lamb and mix with remaining ingredients. Add this mixture to pot by spoonfuls until the top is mostly covered. Cook covered until the topping is cooked through, then uncovered until most of the liquid is gone, about an hour in all on low heat.

Note: Ziryab was the famous arbiter of elegance during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Rahman II, in Cordoba; 'Abd al-Rahman II became Caliph in 822.

Preparing a Dish of Cardoons with Meat
Andalusian A-41

Take meat and cut it up, put in the pot with water, salt, two spoons of murri, one of vinegar and another of oil, pepper, caraway and coriander seed. Put on the fire, and when it is cooked, wash the cardoons, boil, cut up small and throw over the meat. Boil a little, and cover the contents of the pot with two eggs and bread crumbs, and sprinkle pepper on it in the platter, God willing.

10 oz cardoons	4 ½ t murri (see p. 5)
1 T salt	½ t coriander
1 t vinegar	½ t caraway
10 oz lamb	¼ t pepper
1 c water	1 T vinegar
½ t salt	2 eggs
1 T olive oil	½ c bread crumbs

additional pepper to sprinkle on at the end

Use a vegetable peeler to strip out the fibers from the cardoon stalks. Cut each stalk into 2 long pieces. Bring a gallon of water with 3 t salt, 1 t vinegar to a boil, add cardoons. Cook for 35 minutes. Drain and chop each piece in half.

Trim off the lamb fat and cut the meat in half inch cubes. Combine with water, salt, oil, murri, spices and vinegar, bring to a simmer, simmer 25 minutes with lid on. Add cardoons. Simmer with lamb 15 minutes uncovered.

Mix eggs and bread crumbs, use to cover the liquid in the pot, simmer 7-8 minutes with lid on. Serve, with pepper sprinkled on to taste.

Anjudhâniyyah of Yahya b. Khalid al-Barmaki

Translated by Charles Perry from al-Warraaq

Cut meat in strips, chop onion and fresh spices, and throw in a pot. Put in best quality oil, and when the pot boils and the meat browns, add pepper, cumin, caraway and a little murri, and throw in as much milled asafoetida [anjudhân] as you need. Break eggs over it and let it cool as needed, God willing.

Note: asafoetida is called Hing in Indian grocery stores. It comes in different mixtures;

what we used is called L.G. Compounded Asafoetida Powder.

1 ½ lb lamb or beef	1 t cumin
1 large onion (12 oz)	½ t caraway seeds
1 ½ t cinnamon	4 t murri (see p.5)
¾ t coriander	¼ t asafoetida
¼ c olive oil	5 eggs
1 t pepper	

Put sliced meat, onion, cinnamon, coriander, and oil into pot, cook over moderately high heat about 5 minutes. Add remaining ingredients except for eggs, cook covered over low heat about 20 minutes. Break eggs on top and simmer until eggs are poached, about 5-10 minutes.

Another possible interpretation is to stir the eggs into the hot liquid, in which case the final cooking takes only a minute or two.

A Sicilian Dish
Andalusian p. A-46

Take fat meat from the chest, the shoulder, the ribs, and the other parts, in the amount of a ratl and a half. Put it in a pot with a little water and salt and some three ratls of onions. Then put it on a moderate fire, and when the onion is done and the meat has "returned," throw in four spoonfuls of oil, pepper, cinnamon, Chinese cinnamon, spikenard, and meatballs. Finish cooking it and when the meat is done, cover it with eggs beaten with saffron, or you might leave it without a covering, as you wish, [and cook it either] in the oven or at home.

3 lbs onions	½ t true cinnamon (p. 4)
1 ½ lbs lamb	¼ t spikenard
½ c water	4 T oil
½ t salt	4 eggs
½ t pepper	12 threads saffron
½ t cinnamon	

+meatballs from ½ pound to a pound of meat (see p. 8)

Slice onions, cut up meat into bite sized pieces. Put meat, onions, water and salt in a pot and cook covered 20 minutes, until onions are limp and meat is brown on outside. Add spices, oil, and meatballs, and simmer, covered, 40 minutes. Beat eggs, crush saffron into some of the egg and mix with the eggs. Pour this over meat mixture and simmer 15 minutes.

The Dish Mukhallal

Andalusian p. A-2

Take the meat of a plump cow or sheep, cut it small, and put it in a new pot with salt, pepper, coriander, cumin, plenty of saffron, garlic peeled and diced, almonds peeled and split, and plenty of oil; cover it with strong, very pure vinegar, without the slightest bit of water; put it on a moderate charcoal fire and stir it, then boil it. When it cooks and the meat softens and it reduces, then put it on the hearthstone and coat it with much egg, cinnamon and lavender; color it with plenty of saffron, as desired, and put in it whole egg yolks and leave it on the hearthstone until it thickens and the broth evaporates and the fat appears. This dish lasts many days without changing or spoiling; it is called "wedding food" in the West [or the *Algarve*], and it is one of the seven dishes cited as used among us at banquets in Cordoba and Seville.

1 lb beef or mutton	1/3 c olive oil
6 cloves garlic	3/4 c strong vinegar
1/4 t salt	6 eggs
1/4 t pepper	3/4 t cinnamon
1/2 t coriander	1/4 t lavender
1/2 t cumin	8 threads more saffron
8 threads saffron	2 whole egg yolks
1/2 c blanched slivered almonds	

Cut up meat, chop garlic. Mix them with salt and the first set of spices, almonds, and oil in a pot, add vinegar, cook over medium high 11 minutes, turn way down. Mix eggs, lavender, cinnamon, remaining saffron, pour evenly over what is in the pot to form a layer on top. Put egg yolks on top and cook half an hour without stirring until yolks are cooked.

Preparing Tuffâhiyya (Apple Stew) with Eggplants

Andalusian p. A-49

Take three rats of lamb, cut up and put in the pot with onion, salt, coriander, pepper, ginger, cinnamon and four *ûqiyas* of oil, let it evaporate in the pot on the fire, until it gives up its water; then cover with juice pressed from apples and cook; when the meat is done, put in eggplants peeled and boiled separately and whole peeled apples without cutting them up and prepared meatballs; then add some of the meat, pounded and "dissolved," and some eggs and cover it [masculine verb; this may mean that only the added meat is covered] with them, or leave [feminine verb, meaning leave the pot] without covering [*khamira*, the word meaning "dough"], and leave it to rest on the hearthstone.

(This is for 1/4 the recipe given in the original.)

1 to 2 lb eggplants	1 1/2 t cinnamon
12 oz lamb	1 oz olive oil
1 onion (4 oz)	2 c apple juice
1 t salt	1 1/2 lb apples
3/4 t coriander	6 oz ground lamb
3/4 t pepper	3 eggs
3/4 t ginger	

Meatballs:

1/2 lb ground lamb	1/2 t pepper
1 egg	1/2 t coriander
1 t murri (see p. 5)	1/2 t cinnamon
1 t onion juice	2 t olive oil

Peel the eggplants and put in a saucepan with about 5 c water and 1/2 t salt; boil 15 minutes and remove. Let stand 1/2 hour or more, and drain off the liquid that comes from them. Meanwhile, mix and knead together all meatball ingredients except the oil. Make into 25-30 meatballs. Fry them in the oil and their own fat for about 20 minutes over medium heat. In a large pot, put lamb, cut into bite sized pieces, onion, salt, spices, and oil; cook over medium heat about 5-10 minutes. Add apple juice and cook about 5 minutes more. Add whole eggplants, peeled whole apples, meatballs. Cook about 5 minutes. Meanwhile,

mix the rest of the ground lamb with the eggs, stir into the liquid in the pot as a thickener. Cook with cover on over a low heat until apples are done (about another 40 minutes).

Note: The meatball recipe is loosely based on several other recipes in the same cookbook. Alternative ingredients include minced garlic instead of onion juice, white flour or egg white as a binder instead of eggs, vinegar, saffron, cumin, lavender, cloves, oil, salt, and meat fat.

Tuffahiya
al-Baghdadi p. 37

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.

¼ c blanched almonds	½ t cinnamon
1 ½ lb lamb	½ t pepper
1 t salt	½ t ginger
1 t coriander	2 sprigs fresh mint
6 oz onion	1 lb cooking apples
⅙ t mastic	

Put almonds to soak. Cut meat into strips ⅛"-¼" thick. Combine meat, salt, and coriander and cook about 15 minutes covered, until the meat is browned. Chop onions and grind mastic; add onions, cinnamon, pepper, mastic, ginger and mint to pot, and simmer another 10 minutes. Peel and core apples, chop very small (looks almost like apple sauce) in food processor. Dump apples and almonds on top. Cook another 10 minutes and serve.

Green Isfidhbaja by Ibrahim bin al-Mahdi
al-Warraq p. 283

Take 4 ratls meat of a sheep in its third year, and cut it up into bite-sized pieces. Put the meat in a pot with a piece of cassia, 1 ratl chopped onion, ⅓ ratl olive oil, salt as needed, and water enough to cover the meat.

Place the pot on nafikh nafshi or kanun ajlan [two kinds of slow burning stoves]. When meat is half done, add to the pot, 4 pieces of cheese, each weighing 5 dirhams [15 g]. When meat is almost done, add to the stew ½ ratl juice of cilantro and parsley. Add as well, a handful of ground coriander seeds, 1 dirham [3 grams] black pepper, and ½ dirham [1.5 g] cassia.

Let the pot simmer in the remaining heat then take it away from the stove and serve it, God willing.

(¼ recipe)

½ c parsley	1 t salt
½ c cilantro	1 c water
1 lb mutton or lamb	½ ounce Parmesan
¼ lb onion	1 t coriander
2 ⅔ T olive oil	¼-½ t pepper
1 stick cinnamon	¼ t ground cinnamon

("Cassia" is what is normally sold as cinnamon in the U.S.)

Combine parsley, cilantro, and 1 T of water in the food processor, squeeze through cheesecloth to give ~¼ c juice.

Combine meat, onion, olive oil, 1 stick of cinnamon, salt and water, bring to a boil, simmer slowly for about 35 minutes, then add the cheese. In another 20 minutes add the juice and spices. Leave another 15 minutes on very low heat, then serve.

We have not tried doing it with mutton from as old an animal as the recipe specifies; that might require longer cooking.

Preparing Tabâhaja of Burâniyya

Andalusian p. A-42

Take of small eggplants fifteen, and boil gently with the skin on, whole, without peeling or splitting; then take them out of the pot and put in another pot; throw in as much salt and oil as are needed and boil on a slow fire until it is entirely done; take a ratl of mutton and slice it up, as told earlier; put in the pot with one quarter ratl of oil and some water, boil until the water disappears and then fry in the oil until the meat is browned and is done, and put in this the fried eggplants and throw in one quarter ratl of good vinegar and fry, until the vinegar is done; then throw over it a third of a ratl of murri and improve it with three dirhams weight of caraway, the same amount of coriander seed and a dirham and a half of pepper; then fry until done and leave it rest for a while, dish up and serve.

7 ½ lbs small eggplants	½ c vinegar
1 lb lamb	⅔ c murri (p. 5)
½ c oil	3 ½ t caraway seeds
1 t salt	2 T ground coriander
2 T oil	2 ¼ t pepper

Wash eggplants, cut off stem end, put into boiling water, cook 10 minutes and drain; let cool. Bone meat and cut into bite-sized pieces; put in pot with ½ c oil and 1 c water and cook uncovered 30 minutes. Peel and slice eggplants, put with salt and 2 T oil and 2 c water and simmer 25 minutes. Drain eggplants, combine them with meat, add vinegar and cook 15 minutes. Add murri and spices, cook 5 minutes, stirring, remove from heat, let sit 10 minutes and serve.

Buraniya

al-Baghdadi p. 191

Cut up fat meat small: melt tail and throw out sediment, then place the meat in it together with a little salt and ground dry coriander, and fry lightly until browned and fragrant. Then cover with water, adding green coriander leaves and cinnamon-bark; when boiling, skim off the scum. When little liquor is left, throw in a few halved onions, a dirham of salt, and two dirhams of dry coriander, cumin, cinnamon, pepper, and

mastic, all ground fine. Mince red meat as described above and make into light cabobs, then add to the pot. Take eggplant, cut off the stalks, and prick with a knife: then fry in fresh sesame oil, or melted tail, together with whole onions. When the meat is cooked, a little murri may be added if desired. Color with a pinch of saffron. Put the fried eggplant in layers on top of the meat in the pan, sprinkle fine ground dry coriander and cinnamon, and spray with a little rose water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan and leave over the fire an hour to settle, then remove.

1 lb fat meat	¼ t pepper
lamb fat for "tail" (p. 4)	¼ t mastic
½ t salt	1 lb ground red meat
½ t coriander	1 medium eggplant
½ t cilantro	sesame oil for frying
2 sticks cinnamon	3 more small onions
2 small onions	[1 T murri (p. 5)]
½ to 1 t salt	1 pinch saffron
½ t more coriander	¼ t more coriander
¼ t cumin	¼ t more cinnamon
¼ t cinnamon	1 T rose water

Cut up the meat, render the fat and fry the meat in it along with salt and ½ t ground coriander. When it is browned, add enough water to cover along with cilantro and the stick cinnamon. When most of the water is boiled away, add two halved onions, salt, ½ t coriander, cumin, ¼ t cinnamon, pepper and mastic. Form the ground meat into small meat balls and add them. Slice the eggplant, fry it in sesame oil or more rendered fat, along with the remaining three onions. Add murri if you like, and saffron. Layer the eggplant on the meat, mix the final ¼ t of coriander and cinnamon, sprinkle on, along with the rose water. Remove from heat, let sit a while, and serve.

Jazariyyah

Ibn al-Mabrad p. 18

Meat is boiled with a little water. Carrots, garlic cloves and peeled onions are put with it, then crushed garlic is put with it. Some people put spinach with it also; some make it without spinach. Walnuts and parsley are put in.

2 lb lamb	6 cloves garlic
[1 t cinnamon]	5 oz onions
[½ t pepper]	2 cloves crushed garlic
[¾ t coriander]	2 c spinach = 5 oz
[¾ t salt]	¼ c walnuts
1 lb carrots	¼ c parsley

Cut the lamb up small and put it in 1 ½ c water with cinnamon, pepper, coriander and salt. Simmer 10 minutes. Add carrots cut up, whole garlic cloves, and small onions. Simmer 10 minutes. Add crushed garlic. Simmer 20 minutes. Add spinach. Simmer 10 minutes. Garnish with walnuts and parsley. The spices are based on similar recipes in al-Bagdadi.

Safarjaliyya, a Quince Dish

Andalusian p. A-34

Take meat and cut it in pieces which then throw in the pot and throw on it two spoons of vinegar and oil, a dirham and a half of pepper, caraway, coriander seed and pounded onion; cover it with water and put it on the fire, clean three or four quinces or five and chop them up with a knife, as small as you can; cook them in water and when they are cooked, take them out of the water and when the meat is done throw in it this boiled quince and bring it to the boil two or three times; then cover the contents of the pot with two or three eggs and take it off the fire, leave it for a little while, and when you put it on the platter, sprinkle it with some pepper, throw on a little saffron and serve it.

2 ½ lb lamb	1 ¼ t coriander
1 ¼ lb quinces	¾ lb onions
1 T vinegar	[1 t salt]
1 T oil	1 egg
1 ¼ t pepper	⅛ t+ more pepper
1 ¼ t caraway	12 threads saffron

Bone meat and chop it into bite sized pieces. Core quinces and chop them finely in a food processor. Bring the quince to a boil in 1 ½ c water and cook about 25 minutes covered. Meanwhile, combine meat with vinegar, oil, spices, onion (ground in food processor), salt and 1 c water and cook

uncovered 15 minutes. Drain quinces and add to meat, bring back to a boil and boil about 5 minutes uncovered over medium to medium high heat. Stir in beaten egg, remove from heat. Let stand 10 minutes. Grind pepper (at least ⅛ t—more if you like pepper) and saffron together, sprinkle on, and serve. Good over rice.

Note: These spice quantities assume that it means a dirhem and a half of each of pepper, caraway, and coriander. If you interpret it as a total of a dirhem and a half, the recipe comes out much less strongly spiced; we prefer it this way. One could read “a dirhem and a half” as applying to the ground onion as well, which would imply much less than we use.

Safarjaliyya, a Dish Made With Quinces

Andalusian p. A-48

This is a good food for the feverish, it excites the appetite, strengthens the stomach and prevents stomach vapors from rising to the head. Take the flesh of a young fat lamb or calf; cut in small pieces and put in the pot with salt, pepper, coriander seed, saffron, oil and a little water; put on a low fire until the meat is done; then take as much as you need of cleaned peeled quince, cut in fourths, and sharp vinegar, juice of unripe grapes [verjuice] or of pressed quince, cook for a while and use. If you wish, cover with eggs and it comes out like muthallath.

1 lb lamb	1 T water
½ t salt	1 quince = ¾ lb
¼ t pepper	1 T wine vinegar
1 t coriander	¼ c verjuice
~4 threads saffron	[2 or 3 eggs]
2 t oil	

Cut up meat into bite-sized pieces, put in a pot with salt, spices, oil, and water, and cook over low heat about 10 minutes, stirring periodically. Meanwhile, peel and core quince and cut into eighths. Add quince, vinegar, and verjuice to pot and cook covered about 30-40 minutes, until quince is tender when poked with a fork. If adding eggs, stir them in and cook, stirring continuously for about 3 minutes.

We have also done it using quince juice instead of verjuice. To make ½ c quince juice from 1 quince, put quince through food processor with ¼ c water, squeeze through cloth.

Fresh Beans With Meat, Called Fustuqiyya *Andalusian p. A-45*

Take the flesh of a young sheep or lamb, preferably from the forelegs, the durra, the jaus and the 'anqara and after washing put in the pot with two spoons of fresh oil and water to cover the meat; put on the fire and then take a handful of fresh beans which have been shelled from their pods and throw over the meat; when it is done, take out the meat and knead the beans vigorously with a spoon until none of them is left whole; then pour in the pot a spoon of vinegar, another of fish murri and some salt, however much is enough; then throw the meat in the pot and fry a little; then take it to the embers until its face appears, dish up and use.

1 ½ c fresh fava beans	1 ½ c water
1 ½ lb lamb stew meat	1 T vinegar
2 T oil	1 T murri (p. 5)

Shell beans; it will take about 19 oz of beans in pod. Put meat, oil, and water in pot and bring to a boil, then add beans. Simmer uncovered 40 minutes, then remove meat. Mash beans with a spoon, add vinegar and murri, put meat back in and cook over low heat about 5 minutes, making sure it does not stick on the bottom.

Charles Perry, the translator, notes that Fustuqiyya (pistachio dish) is a poetical or fantasy name: the green fava beans are compared to pistachios.

Himmasiyya (a Garbanzo Dish) *Andalusian p. A-44 (Good)*

Cut the meat in proportionate pieces and put in the pot, with water to cover and enough oil; do not throw in salt at first, for that would spoil it; put in all the spices. And let the amount of water in this dish be small as you will substitute vinegar; then put the pot on the fire, then grind the garbanzos, sieve them, clean them and throw

them on the meat, and when it is all done, grind up a head of garlic and beat with good vinegar and put in the pot; then put in the salt and stir so that all parts are mixed together, and when the pot is done, take it off the fire and leave it to cool and clarify; then sprinkle with fine spices and serve. It is best, when preparing the garbanzos for this dish, to begin by soaking them in fresh water overnight; then peel and throw in the pot, and when they have cooked, take them out of the pot and grind them in the mortar, then return them to the pot and finish cooking, God willing.

1 ¼ lb lamb	1 oz garlic (6 cloves)
15 oz can garbanzos	5 T vinegar
½ c water	¼ t salt
¼ t pepper	<i>fine spices</i>
½ t coriander	¼ t cinnamon
½ t cinnamon	⅛ t pepper
¼ c olive oil	½ t cumin

Cut meat into ¼ inch bits. Peel the garbanzos. Put meat, water, spices, oil and garbanzos in the pot. Bring to a boil, reduce heat and simmer. After ten minutes, remove the garbanzos, mash them in a mortar, and return them to the dish. Continue simmering, uncovered. Mash the garlic in the mortar, mix it with the vinegar, add it when the dish has been cooking for about 20 minutes. Stir. Add the salt, cook an additional 5 minutes, remove from the heat, sprinkle on the fine spices, and serve.

This corresponds to the “best” version of dealing with the garbanzos suggested in the original recipe. Peeling chickpeas is a pain, but seems to have been considered important in period Islamic cooking. An alternative approach is to simply mash the chickpeas in a mortar or food processor, try to sieve out the skins as best you can, and add the chickpeas at some point during the cooking. If you are not picky and are making large quantities, you could just forget about dealing with the skins—but don’t tell anyone I suggested it.

Naranjiya
al-Bagdadi p. 40

Cut fat meat in 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 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.

5 seeds cardamom	1/6 t mastic
1 lb lamb	1 large sprig fresh mint
2 c water	3 oranges (3/4 c juice)
1/2 t salt	1 lb lamb for meatballs
5/8 lb onion	<i>seasonings for meatballs:</i>
5/8 lb leeks	1 clove garlic (1/5 oz)
3/4 lb carrots	1/4 t pepper
1/4 t cumin	1/4 t coriander
1/2 t coriander	1/4 t cumin
1/2 t cinnamon	1 t murri (see p. 5)
1/8 t pepper	1/2 t salt
1/4 t ginger	1/2 T dry mint

Put cardamom seeds to soak in hot water. Cut up meat and bring to a boil in water with salt; turn down and simmer, covered. Cut up onions and leeks and add; cut carrots into 2.5" pieces and cut lengthwise into strips and add, by which time the meat has been going about 20 minutes. Add spices and mint. Juice oranges, add juice to pot; simmer uncovered. Make meatballs by buzzing lamb in food processor with seasonings and squeezing into balls; add to pot. Take cardamom seeds out of water, grind in mortar, and add juice to pot. Let simmer a while more, about 1 hour 15 minutes from the beginning, sprinkle dry mint

over the dish, and serve.

The oranges should be sour oranges, but you may not be able to find any.

Mishmishiya
al-Bagdadi p. 40

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 in 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 rosewater, wipe its sides with a clean rag, and leave to settle over the fire: then remove.

30 fresh or dried apricots	1/16 t mastic
(2 lb pitted or 7 oz dried)	1 t cinnamon
2 lb lamb	1/4 t pepper
1 1/3 c water	1/2 t ginger
1 t salt	2/3 c almonds
14 oz onions	[10 threads saffron]
1 t coriander	1/2 t rosewater
1/2 t cumin	

If using dried apricots, put to soak for about 3 hours. Cut up meat to small bite-sized pieces, boil in water with salt; when it comes to a boil (~10 minutes) skim, add onions, and turn down to a simmer, covered. Add seasonings. Drain soaked dried apricots or wash fresh apricots, boil either in about 2 c water about 5 minutes, drain, and force through a strainer until nothing is left but the peel (or convert to mush in a food processor). Grind almonds very fine. After simmering meat 40 minutes, add ~3/4 of the apricot mush to pot; mix rest of it with ground almonds and add that to the pot. Crush saffron into a little water and add it to pot. Sprinkle a little rosewater over the surface; let sit for a few minutes over very low heat, then serve.

Raihaniya
al-Baghdadi p. 192

Cut red meat into thin slices, brown in melted tail, cover with water. When boiling skim, add a little salt, ground coriander, cummin, pepper, mastic, cinnamon. Mince red meat with seasoning and make into light cabobs, add. Take two bundles of spinach, cut off the roots, chop small, and grind in a mortar. Then throw into the pot. When cooked and dry add peeled ground garlic with a little salt and cummin. Stir, let settle over the fire an hour. Sprinkle with dry coriander and cinnamon, remove.

1-2 oz lamb fat	½ lb ground lamb
½ lb lamb	3 c spinach packed
1 ½ c water	2 cloves garlic
¼ t mastic	¼ t more salt
¼ t cumin	¼ t more cumin
¼ t coriander	⅛ t salt
¼ t pepper	½ t more coriander
½ t cinnamon	¾ t more cinnamon

cabob seasonings (not given in recipe):

¼ t coriander	¼ t cinnamon
¼ t pepper	½ large clove garlic
¼ t salt	2 T onion

Put the lamb fat, substituting for “tail” (p. 4) in a pot over medium heat, fry until there is 1-2 T or so of oil melted out. Remove the solid, keep the rendered-out fat. Brown the sliced meat in it for about 5-10 minutes. Add water, mastic, ¼ t each of cumin, coriander, and pepper, ½ t cinnamon. Simmer 40 minutes. Make the ground lamb and cabob seasonings into about 30 cabobs, crushing the garlic and finely chopping the onion, add to the pot. Meanwhile, wash the spinach, removing stems. Mash in a mortar or pulverise in a food processor. When the cabobs have simmered for about 25 minutes, add the spinach. Simmer 30 minutes, add crushed garlic, salt, and another ¼ t cumin and ⅛ t salt. Simmer on the lowest available heat another 20 minutes, sprinkle on the final ½ t of coriander and ¾ t cinnamon, serve over rice.

Simple White Tafâyâ, Called Isfidhbâja
Andalusian p. A-21 (Good)

This is a dish of moderate nutrition, suitable for weak stomachs, much praised for increasing the blood, good for the healthy and the scrawny; it is material and substance for all kinds of dishes.

Its Recipe: Take the meat of a young, plump lamb. Cut it in little pieces and put it in a clean pot with salt, pepper, coriander, a little juice of pounded onion, a spoonful of fresh oil and a sufficient amount of water. Put it over a gentle fire and be careful to stir it; put in meatballs and some peeled, split almonds. When the meat is done and has finished cooking, set the pot on the ashes until it is cooled. He who wants this tafaya green can give it this color with cilantro juice alone or with a little mint juice.

2 lb lamb	½ T oil
1 t salt	2 ½ c water
½ t pepper	[4 T cilantro or mint juice]
1 t coriander	¼ c blanched almonds
2 t onion juice	

<i>meatballs:</i>	¾ t murri (p. 5)
1 lb ground lamb	3 cloves garlic
1 egg	¼ t pepper
1 t onion juice	½ t coriander
2 T flour	¼ t cumin
1 t vinegar	¼ t cinnamon

Cut lamb into bite-sized pieces and put in pot with salt, pepper, coriander, onion juice, oil, and water, simmer uncovered about 40 minutes. Mix all ingredients for meatballs, chopping the garlic fine. (Note that this is one possible guess for meatballs; see p. 8 for sources and another interpretation.) If you want to do the green version, make a couple of tablespoons of cilantro juice (p. 8). When meat has cooked, take lumps of meatball mixture, squeeze together, and drop into pot. Add almonds. Simmer about another 10 minutes, add cilantro or mint juice if desired, and serve.

Making Baqliyya with Eggplants

Andalusian p. A-41

Take the breast of a sheep and its ribs, cut small, to the size of three fingers, cut onion in round slices and then take cilantro and pound coriander seed, caraway, and Chinese cinnamon; cut up the eggplants in round pieces and the same with the gourds; then take a pot and put a little oil in its bottom then arrange a layer of meat and eggplant and a layer of gourd and put some spices between each layer and the next; then put the pot on the fire, after putting in it an adequate quantity of meat, and do not add water; cook until done God willing.

2 t caraway seed	2 T oil
2 t coriander seed	1 lb lamb breast
2 t cinnamon	1 lb lamb chops
½ c cilantro	8 oz onion
1 ¼ lb opo gourd (p. 143)	[1 t salt]
1 lb eggplant	

Grind or pound the caraway seed, combine with other ground spices and chopped cilantro. Peel the gourds. Arrange ingredients as described, including the onion slices in with the gourd layer, in a gallon or larger pot. Cover tightly and bake 1 hr 20 min at 350°.

A Recipe for a Tasty Maghmuma by Ishaq bin Ibrahim al-Mawsili

al-Warraaq p. 311

Take some fatty meat and cut it into thin slices, the thinnest you can get them. Take some round onions (*basal mudawwar*) and slice them thinly crosswise into discs like dirhams [coins].

Now prepare a clean pot of soapstone (*burma*). Spread its bottom with a layer of the [prepared] meat; sprinkle it with black pepper, coriander, and caraway; and spread a layer of the onion slices. Put another layer of the [sliced] meat and fat, sprinkle it with spices and salt then another layer of onion.

Cover [the layered meat and vegetables] with a round of bread (*raghif*). Cook the pot on a slow-burning fire until meat is cooked. Invert the pot onto a wide and big bowl (*ghadara*) and serve it, God willing.

1 lb lamb	2 t coriander
½ lb onions	1 T caraway
½ t pepper	1 8" pita

Slice meat and onion thin, layer it as described, sprinkling on the spices and top with the pita. Cook at low to medium low for about an hour, then invert the pot into a suitable bowl.

A Recipe for Soused Poultry

al-Warraaq, p. 194

Scald good quality chickens and clean and wash them thoroughly. Next, disjoint them and boil them lightly in water to which you have added salt, olive oil, a piece of galangal, and a piece of cassia.

Choose whichever you like of the chicken pieces and press them and dry them very well. Layer them in a barniyya (a wide-mouthed jar) and sprinkle each layer with the herbs [and spices] mentioned in the soured fish recipe above. Make sure to use salt.

Pour vinegar all over the chicken and set it aside [for future use].

You may add seeds of sesame and nigella, and mahrut (*asafetida* root); but this is optional.

(Herbs and spices mentioned in the recipe above: parsley, cilantro, rue, bruised coriander seed, galangal, cassia.)

4 ½ lb chicken, cut up	2 T parsley
6 c water	2 T cilantro
½ t salt	1 T rue
1 T olive oil	½ t coriander
1 oz fresh galangal	2 T more salt
3" stick cinnamon	3 c wine vinegar

Put the chicken in a pot with the water (enough to cover), salt, oil, galangal, and stick cinnamon; simmer covered 18 minutes. While it cooks, chop herbs and beat the coriander seed a little in a mortar—herbs are measured chopped and packed down. Remove chicken from broth, spread out on paper towels and press dry with more paper towels, let cool a little. Slice the galangal root from the broth and break up the stick cinnamon. Put a layer of chicken in a ceramic crock, top with some

of the herbs, pieces of galangal and cinnamon, and salt, repeat until all is layered, packing the chicken in as tightly as possible. Pour the vinegar over it and refrigerate.

When you want to use it, fry the pieces for a few minutes each. Tasty, but you need to like vinegar.

Preparing Covered Tabâhajiyya [Tabahajiyya Maghmuma]

Andalusian p. A-43

Take a ratl and a half of meat and cut in slices as told earlier; pound a ratl of onion and take for this three dirhams' weight of caraway and one of pepper; put in the pot a layer of meat and another of onion until it is all used up and sprinkle flavorings between all the layers; then pour on a third of a ratl of vinegar and a quarter ratl of oil; put a lid on the pot and seal its top with paste [dough] and fry over a slow fire until done; then take from the fire and leave for a while, skim off the fat and serve.

1 ½ lb lamb	⅔ c vinegar
1 lb onion	½ c oil
1 t pepper	flour and water (for dough)
1 ½ t caraway	

Slice meat, mince onion. In a pot put a layer of sliced meat, cover with onion, and sprinkle over some of the pepper and caraway; repeat until it is all used up. Pour over vinegar and oil. Mix flour and water to make a long ribbon of dough and put around the edge of the pot; jam the lid onto this, sealing it. Cook over low heat about an hour, uncover, skim off excess oil, and serve.

Recipe for Mu'allak

Andalusian p. A-57

Take fat young mutton, clean it and cut the meat into big pieces. Put it in the earthenware pot and add pepper, onion, oil and coriander. Cook until the meat is done, then remove it and set it aside. Strain the bones from the broth and return it to a quiet fire. When it has boiled, put in crumbs made from thin bread which was made from wheat dough and add soft, rubbed cheese, as much as the crumbs. Blend with a spoon until it

makes one mass and when its broth has dried up, pour on fresh milk and leave it until its foam is dispersed. Then return the meat that was removed and when it has formed a mass, take it off the fire, leave it a little and use it.

10 oz onion	1 ½ c water
1 ⅜ lb mutton or lamb	1 c breadcrumbs
½ t pepper	½ c = 4 oz ricotta
1 ¼ t coriander	½ c milk
1 T oil	

Slice onions. Cut meat in large chunks. Put meat with onions, pepper, coriander, and oil into a heavy pot, cover and bring to a boil. Simmer 2 hours (if you are using lamb reduce time to 45 minutes). Strain out meat and onions. Bring broth back to a boil, add breadcrumbs, simmer while stirring 2 minutes. Add cheese, simmer another 5 minutes while stirring constantly. Add milk and bring back to a simmer; add meat and onions and heat, stirring, about 2-3 minutes.

Labaniya al-Bagdadi p. 42

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.

1 lb eggplant	½ t cumin
1 lb lamb	⅓ t mastic
½ t salt	~ 1 t stick cinnamon
¾ c water	1 T chopped fresh mint
10 oz leek	2 c yogurt
10 oz onion	5 cloves garlic = ¾ oz
1 t coriander	1 t dried mint

Bring 3 c of water to a boil; peel eggplant and slice to ½" slices, put in the water, and boil 10 minutes. Remove, let drain. Cut up meat to bite-sized pieces, approx ½" cubes, put in pot with salt and water, bring to a boil and boil over moderate heat uncovered until the liquid is mostly gone, about 35 minutes. Wash leek thoroughly to get the dirt out from under the leaves, then chop leek and onion. When the meat has been cooking for 35 minutes, add onion, leek, seasonings and eggplant; cover, cook over low heat another 25 minutes. Add yogurt and crushed garlic (from a garlic press). Stir together. Sprinkle dried mint over the pot; turn heat down low, leave covered another half hour or so (we are told that the phrase translated "an hour" actually means "a while").

Madira

al-Baghdadi p. 41

Cut fat meat into middling pieces with the tail; if chickens are used, quarter them. Put in the saucepan with a little salt, and cover with water: boil, removing the scum. When almost cooked take large onions and leeks, peel, cut off the tails, wash in salt and water, dry and put into the pot. Add dry coriander, 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. Take Persian milk, put in the saucepan, add 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 [i.e. at a low heat], then remove.

3 ½ lb chicken or	⅛-¼ t mastic
2 ½ lb boneless lamb	½ T cinnamon
1 T salt	4 c yogurt
2 leeks	½ lemon
4 medium onions	1 T salt
1 t ground coriander	½ c fresh mint
1 t cumin	

Chicken version: Put chicken in a pot with 1 T salt and enough water to cover and cook about 30 minutes. If you want to serve it boned (not specified in the recipe, but it makes it easier to cook and to eat—we have

done it both ways), remove it from the water, let cool enough to handle, bone, and put the meat back in the pot. Add leeks, onions and spices. Cook away the rest of the water, remove meat and vegetables, and add yogurt, lemon, another T salt and mint; mint is chopped and lemon is quartered and each quarter sliced into two or three times with a knife. Let come to a simmer and put back the meat and vegetables. Heat through, not letting it boil, and serve. Use proportionately less water if you expand the recipe substantially.

We have a recipe for salted lemon in a modern North African cookbook and plan to try using that next time.

Buran

al-Baghdadi p. 191 (Good)

Take eggplant, and boil lightly in water and salt, then take out and dry for an hour. Fry this in fresh sesame-oil until cooked: peel, put into a dish or a large cup, and beat well with a ladle, until it becomes like kabis. Add a little salt and dry coriander. Take some Persian milk, mix in garlic, pour over the eggplant, and mix together well. Take red meat, mince fine, make into small cabobs, and melting fresh tail, throw the meat into it, stirring until browned. Then cover with water, and stew until the water has evaporated and only the oils remain. Pour on top of this the eggplant, sprinkle with fine-ground cumin and cinnamon, and serve.

1 lb eggplant	2 cloves garlic
1 lb ground lamb	1 c yogurt
3 T sesame oil	½ t cumin
½ t salt	1 t cinnamon
¼ t coriander	

Cut eggplants in thick slices (approximately 1 ½"), put in boiling salted water (6 c water + 6 T salt) for 7 minutes. Remove, let stand 1 hour. Make lamb into 30-40 small meatballs (add cinnamon etc. if you wish). Fry in melted lamb fat ("tail," p. 4). When browned, cover with water and simmer until only the oil is left. Then fry eggplant in sesame oil until cooked, peel, mash, add salt and coriander. Crush garlic, add to yogurt, mix with eggplant. Put the meatballs on top, sprinkle with cumin and cinnamon, and serve.

Gharibah

Ibn al-Mabrad p. 21

Meat is boiled, then you take off most of its broth and put with the remainder vegetables such as onion, gourd and aubergine. You dissolve yoghurt in what you took off and you put it with it. Then you garnish with walnut and parsley.

¾ lb lamb	½ c yogurt
2 c water	2 c chopped onion
[1 stick cinnamon]	3 lbs gourd
[¼ t cumin]	1 lb eggplant
[½ t coriander]	½ c chopped walnuts
[½ t+ salt]	2 T chopped parsley

Cut up the lamb small, removing most of the fat. Simmer it in water for about ½ hour with the spices. Remove ½ of the broth, mix with yogurt. Put the vegetables (cut up in small pieces) and the yogurt-broth mixture back in the pot with the lamb. Simmer for 1 hour. Garnish with walnuts and parsley.

Note: the spicing is based on similar dishes in al-Baghdadi. The cookbook this recipe is from is very terse; cinnamon is never mentioned, nor, I think, salt, and dry coriander only once. I assume they are simply omitted in the recipe and left to the cook's judgement. See p. **Error! Bookmark not defined.** for a discussion of gourd, squash, and similar vegetables.

Recipe for White Karanbiyya, a Cabbage Dish

Andalusian p. A-47

Take young, fat meat; cut it into a pot with salt, onion, pepper, coriander seed, caraway and oil. Put it on a moderate fire and when it is nearly done, take a coarse cabbage, throw away the outside and take the heart and surrounding parts, and clean it of its leaves. Stick a knife between the "eyes" and throw away the rest of the leaves until it remains white like the turnip. Peel it and cut it in regular pieces and throw them into the pot, after boiling them, as has been indicated. When it is done, put it on the hearthstone and squeeze over it some coriander juice. He who wants this dish as a muthallath, let him add vinegar and saffron.

1 lb cabbage	½ t coriander
1 lb lamb	½ t caraway seed
½ t salt	⅓ c olive oil
1 medium onion	~ 3 T cilantro, packed
½ t pepper	

Cut off outer leaves, parboil cabbage heart 10 minutes and drain. Mix all ingredients and bring to a boil, cook 10 minutes covered and 5 minutes uncovered. Make cilantro juice (p. 8), add to dish and let simmer a couple of minutes.

Rutabiya

al-Baghdadi p. 195

Cut red meat into small, long, thin, slices: melt fresh tail, and throw out the sediment, then put the meat into the oil, adding half a dirham of salt and the same quantity of fine-brayed dry coriander. Stir until browned. Then cover with lukewarm water, and when boiling, skim. Put in a handful of almonds and pistachios peeled and ground coarsely, and color with a little saffron. Throw in fine-ground cumin, coriander, cinnamon and mastic, about 2.5 dirhams in all. Take red meat as required, mince fine, and make into long cabobs placing inside each a peeled sweet almond: put into the saucepan. Take dates: extract the stone from the bottom with a needle, and put in its place a peeled sweet almond. When the meat is cooked and the liquor all evaporated, so that only the oils remain, garnish with these dates. Sprinkle with about ten dirhams of scented sugar and a danaq of camphor; spray with a little rose water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave to settle over the fire for an hour: then remove.

1 lb lean lamb	¼ t cinnamon
"tail" (lamb fat: p. 4)	⅛ t mastic
½ t salt	1 lb ground lamb
¼ t coriander	25 whole almonds
⅓ c ground almonds	15 dates
⅓ c pistachios	1 T "scented sugar"?
⅛ t saffron	⅔ g camphor
¼ t cumin	2 T rosewater
½ t cilantro	

(Judging from the Khushkananaj recipes, "scented sugar" could have rose water, edible camphor, and (now unobtainable) musk.)

Jannâniyya (the Gardener's Dish)*Andalusian p. A-52*

It was the custom among us to make this in the flower and vegetable gardens. If you make it in summer or fall, take saltwort, Swiss chard, gourd, small eggplants, "eyes" of fennel, fox-grapes, the best parts of tender gourd and flesh of ribbed cucumber and smooth cucumber; chop all this very small, as vegetables are chopped, and cook with water and salt; then drain off the water. Take a clean pot and in it pour a little water and a lot of oil, pounded onion, garlic, pepper, coriander seed and caraway; put on a moderate fire and when it has boiled, put in the boiled vegetables. When it has finished cooking, add grated or pounded bread and dissolved [sour] dough, and break over it as many eggs as you are able, and squeeze in the juice of tender coriander and of mint, and leave on the hearthstone until the eggs set. If you make it in spring, then [use] lettuce, fennel, peeled fresh fava beans, spinach, Swiss chard, carrots, fresh cilantro and so on, cook it all and add the spices already indicated, plenty of oil, cheese, dissolved [sour] dough and eggs.

Spring version

¼ lb lettuce	1 c water
1 oz fennel leaves	½ c oil
3 oz spinach	¼-½ t pepper
¼ lb chard	½ t ground coriander
or beet leaves	¼ t caraway seeds
4 T cilantro	½ c bread crumbs
2 carrots, sliced	2 eggs
½ c fresh fava beans	1 t more cilantro
4 c water + ¼ t salt	1 t more mint
½ lb onions	3 oz grated cheese
2 large cloves garlic	

Chop greens, slice carrots, put with beans into boiling salted water for about 5 minutes, and drain. Slice onion and pound in a mortar, or buzz in a food processor, and crush garlic. Mix water, oil, onion, garlic, and seasonings in clean pot, boil about 10 minutes and add greens. Mash 1 t each of cilantro and mint to juice. Cook about 3 minutes and add bread crumbs, eggs, cilantro and mint juice, and cheese. Cook over low heat until egg sets and cheese melts. Use a lower proportion of water for the second cooking if you are making this

in a much larger quantity.

Preparation of Plain Liftiyya Also*Andalusian p. A-47*

Take tender, fat meat and cut it. Put it in a pot with salt, onion, pepper, coriander seed and a little cumin. Cook it and when it is almost done, take the turnip and peel it in big pieces. If you boil it by itself, it will be better and the same for the vegetables. Add them to the meat and leave them until they finish cooking. Then put it on the hearthstone and if you squeeze over it cilantro juice, it will be much better.

1 ⅜ lb lamb	¾ t coriander
10 oz onion	¼ t cumin
½ t salt	1 ⅜ lb turnips
¼ t pepper	2 T cilantro juice (p. 8)

Cut meat to bite-sized pieces, put in pot with onion and seasoning, and simmer covered 45 minutes. Meanwhile peel and cut turnips to ½" cubes and set turnips to boil in separate pot for 25 minutes. Drain turnips and add to pot with meat. Cook another 5 minutes or so, add cilantro juice, and serve.

Zirbaya*Andalusian p. A-6*

Take a young, cleaned hen and put it in a pot with a little salt, pepper, coriander, cinnamon, saffron and sufficient of vinegar and sweet oil, and when the meat is cooked, take peeled, crushed almonds and good white sugar, four ounces of each; dissolve them in rosewater, pour in the pot and let it boil; then leave it on the embers until the fat rises. It is very nutritious and good for all temperaments; this dish is made with hens or pigeons or doves, or with the meat of a young lamb.

1 chicken, 3 ½ lb or	20 threads saffron
2 ¼ lb boned lamb	2 T wine vinegar
1 t salt	2 T olive oil
⅝ t pepper	4 oz = ⅔ c almonds
1 ¼ t coriander	½ c sugar
2 t cinnamon	4 T rosewater

Put cut-up chicken or lamb, salt, spices, vinegar, and oil into pot. Bring to boil, cook

covered over moderate to low heat 30 minutes, stirring periodically to keep the meat from sticking. Blanch and grind almonds, mix with sugar and rosewater to make a paste. Stir this in with the meat, bring back to a boil and cook about 8 minutes until sauce thickens.

Sikbaj
al-Baghdadi p. 34

Cut fat meat into middling pieces, 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 eggplant. Skin, splitting the eggplant 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 a while. 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 a while, to settle over the heat of the fire. Wipe the sides with a clean rag, and sprinkle rosewater on top. When settled, remove.

2 lb lamb	1 t salt
3 c water	⅓ c wine vinegar
¼ oz cilantro	⅓ c honey <i>or</i>
1 stick cinnamon	date juice (dibs, p. 4)
½ t salt	about 10 threads saffron
¾ lb leeks	~2 T split almonds
¾ lb carrots	2 T raisins
⅝ lb white onions	1 T currants
1 t coriander	2 T figs
½ t pepper	½ t cinnamon
1 t cumin	1 t rose water

Cut lamb in about ½" cubes. Bring to a boil with water, etc, and skim. Meanwhile chop leeks and carrots, cut onions in halves or quarters, put in boiling water, boil 10 minutes

and strain. Remove cilantro from meat (it should have been simmering about 20 minutes by then), add powdered coriander, vegetables, pepper, cinnamon and cumin and simmer for half an hour. Mix vinegar and honey, add and simmer another 10 minutes. Grind saffron into ½ t of the broth, put into the pot. Sprinkle on almonds, raisins, etc., cover and let sit 15 minutes on low heat, turn off heat, sprinkle on rosewater and serve.

Fried Dishes

Recipe of Eggplant Pancakes al-Andalusi p. C-5

Get sweet eggplant and boil it with water and salt until it becomes well cooked and is dissolved or falling apart. You should drain the water, crush and stir it on a dish with crumbs of grated bread, eggs beaten with oil, dried coriander and cinnamon; beat it until all becomes equal. Afterwards fry cakes made with this batter in a frying pan with oil until they are gilded. Make a sauce of vinegar, oil, almori, and mashed garlic; give all this a shaking and pour it over the top.

1 ¼ lb eggplant	1 ½ t cinnamon
2 qts water + 2 t salt	2 large cloves garlic
½ c bread crumbs	2 T vinegar
2-3 eggs	2 T oil
1 T oil	2 t murri (see p. 5)
1 ¼ t coriander	about 6 T oil for frying

Peel and quarter eggplant, boil 30 minutes in salted water. Drain, mash and mix with bread crumbs, eggs, oil, coriander and cinnamon. Crush garlic in a garlic press and mix with vinegar, oil and murri for the sauce. Fry in oil at medium high, about 1-2 minutes a side. Pour the sauce over pancakes before serving.

Eggplant Isfiriyâ Andalusian A-51

Cook the peeled eggplants with water and salt until done, take out of the water and rub them to bits in a dish with grated bread crumbs, eggs, pepper, coriander, cinnamon, some murri naqi' and oil; beat all until combined, then fry thin breads, following the instructions for making isfiriyya.

3 lbs eggplants	¾ t coriander
12 c water	¼ t cinnamon
½ t salt	½ t murri
1 ½ c bread crumbs	2 t oil
2 large eggs	oil for frying
¼ t pepper	

Trim and peel eggplants and cut them into ¾" slices. Put in boiling water with salt and cook about 15 minutes until soft, then drain well. Put them in a bowl, mash thoroughly, and add bread crumbs, eggs, spices, murri, and oil.

Heat 3 T oil to medium, make about 9 patties, each with about 2 ½ T of the mashed eggplant mixture. Fry several at a time for about 8 minutes each side, pressing down with spatula to ¾" thick, adding more oil for each batch.

Recipe for Dusted Eggplants Andalusian p. A-51

Take sweet ones and split in strips crosswise or lengthwise and boil gently. Then take out of the water and leave to drain and dry a little. Then take white flour and beat with egg, pepper, coriander, saffron and a little murri naqi'; when it is like thick soup, put those eggplants in it and fry with oil in the hot pan; then brown them, then immerse them and do a second time and a third.

2 lb eggplants	½ t coriander
½ c flour	6 threads saffron
4 eggs	2 T murri (p. 5)
½ t pepper	oil to fry in

Slice eggplants ½" thick and cut into pieces between quarter and dollar size.

Simmer for 10 minutes, then drain. Mix together other ingredients for the batter. Soak the saffron in a teaspoon of water to extract color and flavor. Dip eggplant pieces in the batter, fry in shallow oil until brown, drain, dip in the batter again, fry again.

Recipe for the Fried Version of the Same [Dusted Eggplant] Andalusian p. A-51

Take sweet ones and cut, however you wish, lengthwise or crosswise, as mentioned before; boil with water and salt, then take out of the water and leave till dry and the water drains off; then dust in white flour and fry in the pan with fresh oil until brown and add to them a cooked sauce of vinegar, oil, some murri naqi' and some garlic. You might fry in the same way boiled gourd, following this recipe.

2 lb eggplant or gourd	4 T vinegar
6 c water	4 T olive oil for sauce
1 T salt	2 T murri (see p. 5)
1 c flour	8 T oil for frying
1 oz garlic	

Slice eggplant or gourd (see p. 143) crossways to about ¼"-½" thick. Boil about 4 minutes in salted water. Drain in strainer. Flour each slice on both sides. Mash garlic, simmer in vinegar, oil and murri 20 minutes. Meanwhile, heat oil in frying pan at medium high and fry slices about 3 minutes on one side, a little less on the other, until lightly browned on both sides. Drain briefly on paper towels then put on a serving plate, pour sauce over and serve.

Counterfeit (Vegetarian) Isfiriyâ of Garbanzos Andalusian p. A-1

Pound some garbanzos, take out the skins and grind them into flour. And take some of the flour and put into a bowl with a bit of sourdough and some egg, and beat with spices until it's all mixed. Fry it as before in thin cakes, and make a sauce for them.

1 c chickpea flour	4 t cinnamon
½ c sourdough	¼ c cilantro, chopped
4 eggs	½ t salt
2 t pepper	<i>garlic sauce:</i>
2 t coriander	3 cloves garlic
16 threads saffron	2 T oil
2 t cumin	2 T vinegar

Chickpea flour can be made in a mortar and pestle or a spice grinder (a food processor would probably work too). To make it, pound or process until the dried chickpeas are broken, then remove the loose skins and reduce what is left to a powder. An easier approach is to buy the flour in a health food store or a Middle Eastern grocery. Crush the garlic in a garlic press, combine with vinegar and oil, beat together to make sauce. Combine the flour, sourdough, eggs and spices and beat with a fork to a uniform batter. Fry in about ¼ c oil in a 9" frying pan at medium high temperature until brown on both sides, turning once. Add more oil as necessary. Drain on a paper towel. Serve with sauce.

Note: The ingredients for the sauce are from "A Type of Ahrash [Isfiriya]" (p. 96) which is from the same cookbook. What is done with them is pure conjecture.

Maqluba al Tirrikh al-Baghdadi p. 204 (Good)

Take tirrikh and fry in sesame-oil: then take out, and place in a dish to cool. When cold, cut off the heads and tails, remove the spine, bone, and scale with the greatest care. Crumble and break up the flesh, and sprinkle with dry coriander, cumin, caraway and cinnamon. Break eggs, throw on, and mix well. Then fry in sesame-oil in a frying pan as maqluba is fried, until both sides are browned: and remove.

½ lb perch or catfish	1 t caraway
1 T sesame oil	1 ½ t cinnamon
½ t coriander	1 egg
½ t cumin	2 T sesame oil

Fry fish in 1 T sesame oil; let it cool. Bone and crumble it. Add spices and eggs. Fry like pancakes in more sesame oil. Tirrikh is a kind of Middle Eastern freshwater fish; we do not know what other fish it is similar to.

Maqluba al-Baghdadi p. 201

Take and slice red meat, then chop with a large knife. Put into the mortar, and pound as small as possible. Take fresh sumach, boil in water, wring out, and strain. Into this place the minced meat, and boil until cooked, so that it has absorbed all the sumach-water, though covered to twice its depth: then remove from the saucepan and spray with a little lemon-juice. Lay out to dry. Then sprinkle with fine-ground seasonings, dry coriander, cumin, pepper and cinnamon, and rub over it a few sprigs of dry mint. Take walnuts, grind coarse, and add: break eggs and throw in, mixing well. Make into cakes, and fry in fresh sesame-oil, in a fine iron or copper frying-pan. When one side is cooked, turn over on to the other side: then remove.

10 oz lamb	½ t pepper
2 T dried sumac	1 t cinnamon
½ c water	½ t dry mint
1 T lemon juice	1 ¼ c walnuts
½ t ground coriander	5 eggs
½ t cumin	2 T sesame oil

Either use ground lamb or take lamb meat, chop it with a knife, then pound in a mortar. Both ways work but give different textures. Boil sumac in water about 2 minutes, let stand 5 minutes, then add it to the meat and simmer about 15 minutes. Drain the meat, sprinkle it with lemon juice, let dry about one hour. Mix meat with spices and mint. Grind walnuts coarsely (something between chopped fine and ground coarse). Add walnuts and eggs, fry as patties in sesame oil on a medium griddle. Best eaten hot with a little salt. This produces about 20 patties roughly 3 inches in diameter.

The instructions call for using fresh sumac, straining it, and using only the water it is boiled in. I cannot get fresh sumac, and when I used dried sumac (which you get in Iranian grocery stores) and followed the instructions it came out rather bland, so I use both the sumac and the water the sumac was boiled in.

A Type of Ahrash [Isfiriyâ]*Andalusian p. A-1*

This is the recipe used by Sayyid Abu al-Hasan and others in Morocco, and they called it isfiriyâ. Take red lamb, pound it vigorously and season it with some murri naqi', vinegar, oil, pounded garlic, pepper, saffron, cumin, coriander, lavender, cinnamon, ginger, cloves, chopped lard, and meat with all the gristle removed and pounded and divided, and enough egg to envelop the whole. Make small round flatbreads (qursas) out of them about the size of a palm or smaller, and fry them in a pan with a lot of oil until they are browned. Then make for them a sauce of vinegar, oil, and garlic, and leave some of it without any sauce: it is very good.

¼ lb lamb	½ T cinnamon
1 t murri (see p. 5)	¼ t ginger
2 t vinegar	¼ t cloves
1 t oil	1 oz lard (lamb fat)
2 cloves garlic	2 oz meat (beef)
½ t pepper	1 egg
4 threads saffron	½ c oil for frying
¾ t cumin	3 cloves garlic
1 t coriander	2 t oil
½ t lavender	1 ½ t vinegar

Cut up lamb and mash in a mortar. Then add murri etc., garlic pounded in a mortar, finely chopped lamb fat, and beef cut up and pounded in a mortar. Mix, add an egg and mush together. Fry in a pan on medium to medium high heat until brown on both sides, turning once. To make the sauce, mash the garlic in a garlic press, combine it with the additional oil and vinegar.

To Make Isfiriyâ*Andalusian p. A-39*

Pound the flesh of a leg until it is like brains. Remove the sinews and throw in pepper, half a spoon of honey, a little oil, as much as is needed, and a little water. Mix all smoothly with flour and do not neglect to pound it, and do not slacken in this, because it will cool and be ruined. Grease the pan with oil or fat, make the pounded meat into flatbreads and fry in the pan; if there be with the meat almonds or walnuts or apples, it will be superb, God willing.

12 oz lamb leg meat	1 T flour
½ t pepper	[almonds]
1 t honey	[walnuts]
2 T oil	[3 T chopped apple]
2 T water	2 T oil for frying

Either pound the meat in a mortar for a long time (20-30 minutes) until it gets mooshy, almost like clay, or run it through a food processor to the same stage. Remove any sinew, membrane, etc. you can. Add remaining ingredients, including optional walnuts, almonds, or apples. Fry on medium to medium high in a frying pan. To get them thin (¼" to ½"), put a patty down, flatten it on the pan, turn it, flatten it more with the pancake turner. Fry a minute or two on each side.

Serve with the garlic, vinegar, and oil sauce from the recipe for "A Type of Ahrash [Isfiriyâ]" (p. 96).

Simple Isfiriyâ*Andalusian p. A-1*

Break however many eggs you like into a big plate and add some sourdough, dissolved with a commensurate number of eggs, and also pepper, coriander, saffron, cumin, and cinnamon. Beat it all together, then put it in a frying pan with oil over a moderate fire and make thin cakes out of it, as before.

2 eggs	½ t cumin
½ c sourdough	1 t cinnamon
2 more eggs	about 4 T oil for frying
½ t pepper	sauce: 1 T vinegar
½ t coriander	4 t olive oil
7 threads saffron	6 cloves garlic

Mix two of the eggs with the sourdough and beat smooth, then add to the other two eggs and the spices. Beat all together—a fork is adequate for this scale. Put 2 T oil in a medium frying pan over a medium heat, fry the batter like pancakes, about a minute on the first side and half a minute on the second, adding additional oil as needed. The sauce is from a different Isfiriyâ recipe (see p. 94); mix vinegar with olive oil, then crush garlic and add.

Preparing the Dish Dictated by Abu Ishaq
Andalusian p. A-41

Take meat and pound smooth until it is like marrow; put in the pot and pour over it oil and salt, clean onions and chop them, then boil and stir and throw in the pot with this some coriander seed and pepper in the amount needed, soaked garbanzos and a handful of peeled almonds pounded like salt; pour in white of egg and leave until the grease runs out, God willing.

1 lb pureed meat	½ t pepper
¼ c oil	7 ½ oz canned chickpeas
1 t salt	½ c almonds
1 onion	2 egg whites
½ t+ coriander	

Another Tabâhajiyya
Andalusian p. A-37 (Good)

Cut the meat up small and fry in oil and salt; throw in some pepper, cumin, salt and a little vinegar and leave for a while and fry with fresh oil until browned. Take an egg and throw over it a spoon of vinegar and another of murri and the same of cilantro; stir it all and throw over the meat in the pan, leave and stir until it is good and serve it sprinkled with pepper, rue and cinnamon.

½ lb lamb	1 egg
1 T oil	1 T vinegar
¼ t salt	1 T murri (p. 5)
¼ t pepper	1 T cilantro
¼ t cumin	¼ t pepper
1 T salt	½ t dried rue
1 T vinegar	¼ t cinnamon
1 T more oil	

Fry 5 minutes with ¼ t of salt. After adding pepper, etc., fry another 10 minutes. Add egg mixture and fry over lower heat 2-4 minutes, stirring. Sprinkle spices over and serve.

Tabâhajah from the Manuscript of Yahya
b. Khalid

Tr. Charles Perry from al-Warraaq (Good)

Take an earthenware pot and pour in one quarter ratl of Nabataean murri, and of good honey an ûquiyah, and beat them. When they are mixed, strain with a sieve, then put with them a dirhem of coriander, one and a half dirhams of cinnamon and two dâniqs of ground pepper. Then take two ratls of tender meat and slice fine in wide strips and put them in this condiment for a while. Then put the pot on the fire and pour in four ûquiyahs of good oil. And when the oil begins to boil, throw the strips in the pot with the condiment and two dâniqs of milled salt. Then cook the meat until it is done and the condiment is dried. Then take it off the fire and cut up on it some cilantro, and rue, and some green mustard, and serve. And it [can be] a Tabâhajah with asafoetida, if you wish. [for units see p. 6.]

¼ c murri (see p. 5)	2 ½ T cilantro
4 t honey	1 T rue
scant ½ t coriander	3 T mustard greens
⅝ t cinnamon	[asafoetida]
⅛ t pepper	⅓ c olive oil
1 lb trimmed lamb	⅛ t salt

Beat murri and honey in a bowl, add spices and stir well. Cut meat into thin strips, removing most fat, mix into the marinade and let sit for an hour and a half. Chop herbs, removing stems. Heat oil in frying pan on high heat until a few bubbles start to come up, put in meat and marinade, and add salt. Let come to a boil and turn down to medium/medium high heat. Cook, stirring, about 15 minutes, until sauce is mostly cooked down. Remove from heat and serve with herbs on top.

Note: The quantity above is half the original recipe; all quantities are specified in the original except for the herbs at the end. The Islamic measures could be either weight or volume measures; I have assumed volumes in calculating amounts.

**Recipe for Fried Tafâyâ, Which Was
Known in Morocco as Tâhashast**
Andalusian p. A-21 (Good and simple)

Get young, fat meat and cut it in little pieces. Fry it in a clean pot with salt, pepper, coriander, a little onion, a spoonful of oil and a little water. Stir it until the water is gone, the oil hot, the meat done and browned. This is similar to the preceding.

1 lb meat (lamb)	¼ c chopped onion
⅛ t salt	2 T oil (olive)
½ t pepper	1 T water
1 ½ t coriander	

Cut meat into ½" cubes. Put in pot and heat medium low 10 minutes, then on high 5 minutes to cook off juice while stirring, cook another 3 minutes and remove from heat.

A Roast of Meat
Andalusian p. A-38 (Good)

Roast salted, well-marbled meat [cut up] like fingertips, and put in a pot spices, onion, salt, oil and soaked garbanzos. Cook until done and add the roast meat; cover the contents of the pot with cilantro and sprinkle with pepper and cinnamon; and if you add whole pine nuts or walnuts in place of garbanzos, it will be good.

1 ½ lb lamb or beef	¼ t cumin
¾ lb onion	1 t salt
2 15 oz cans chickpeas	3 T olive oil
¼ t black pepper	¼ c cilantro
½ t cinnamon	⅛ t more pepper
½ t coriander	¼ t more cinnamon

Note: an earlier recipe in the same book calls for spices and then specifies which ones: "all the spices, pepper, cinnamon, dried coriander and cumin."

Roast meat and cut into ¼" by ½" pieces. Slice onions. Put chickpeas, onion, spices, salt and oil in a pot and cook over moderate heat, stirring, for 10 minutes, turning down the heat toward the end as it gets dry; add meat and cook one minute, add cilantro and cook another minute, and turn off heat. Sprinkle with pepper and cinnamon and serve.

Cooked Fried Chicken
Andalusian p. A-3

Cut up the chicken, making two pieces from each limb; fry it with plenty of fresh oil; then take a pot and throw in four spoonfuls of vinegar and two of murri naqi' and the same amount of oil, pepper, cilantro, cumin, a little garlic and saffron. Put the pot on the fire and when it has boiled, put in the fried chicken spoken of before, and when it is done, then empty it out and present it.

1 chicken, 2 ½ lb	1 t pepper
¼ c oil	4 sprigs cilantro ~¼ oz
¼ c vinegar	3 threads saffron
2 T murri (see p. 5)	¼ t crushed garlic
2 T oil	¼ t cumin

Cut up chicken and brown it in ¼ c olive oil over medium low heat for 10 minutes. Set chicken aside. Add to a large pot vinegar, murri, 2 T oil, pepper, cilantro, saffron, crushed garlic, cumin, and heat the pot on medium for 3 minutes. Add chicken and simmer on low for 25 minutes with the lid on, stirring often. Baste with the liquid five minutes before it is done.

Mufarraka
al-Baghdadi p. 201

Take chickens' livers and crops, wash, and boil in water with a little salt: then take out, and cut up small. Mix with yolks of eggs, adding the usual seasonings as required: then fry in a frying-pan in sesame-oil, stirring all the time. If desired sour, sprinkle with a little pure lemon-juice. If desired plain, use neither lemon nor egg.

¼ t salt	1 ½ t cumin
14 oz chicken gizzards	1 ½ t cinnamon
14 oz chicken livers	¾ t pepper
8 egg yolks	2 T sesame oil
1 ½ t coriander	¼ c lemon juice

Bring 3 c water to a boil with ⅛ t salt, add gizzards and simmer 50 minutes. Near the end of this time, bring another 3 c of water and ⅛ t salt to a boil and cook livers in it 3 minutes. Drain both, cut up small (½"x½" pieces), put in a bowl and mix with egg yolks and spices.

Heat oil and fry mixture about 4 minutes, sprinkle with lemon juice. Serve. The spices chosen are the combination al-Baghdadi most commonly uses.

Dishes with Legumes

Cooked Dish of Lentils

al-Andalusi no. 377 (Good)

Wash lentils and put them to cook in a pot with sweet water, oil, pepper, coriander and cut onion. When they are cooked throw in salt, a little saffron and vinegar; break three eggs, leave for a while on the flame and later retire the pot. Other times cook without onion. If you wish cook it with Egyptian beans pricked into which have been given a boil. Or better with dissolved yeast over a gentle fire. When the lentils begin to thicken add good butter or sweet oil, bit by bit, alike until it gets absorbed, until they are sufficiently cooked and have enough oil. Then retire it from the flame and sprinkle with pepper.

½ lb onions	4 T butter (or oil)
1 ½ c dried lentils	¾ t salt
2 ¼ c water	12 threads saffron
1 ½ T oil	2 T vinegar
¾ t pepper	4 eggs
1 ½ t coriander	more pepper

Slice onions. Put lentils, water, oil, pepper, coriander and onion in a pot, bring to a boil, and turn down to a bare simmer. Cook covered 50 minutes, stirring periodically. Add butter or oil and cook while stirring for about 5 minutes. Add salt, saffron (crushed into 1 t water) and vinegar, and bring back to a boil. Put eggs on top, cover pot and keep lentils at a simmer; stir cautiously every few minutes in order to scrape the bottom of the pot without stirring in the eggs. Adjusting the heat is a little tricky—too low and the eggs don't cook, too high and the lentils stick. With a larger quantity, the pot stays hot enough to cook the eggs without being on the flame.

When the eggs are cooked, sprinkle with a little more pepper and serve.

A Muzawwara (Vegetarian Dish) Beneficial for Tertian Fevers and Acute Fevers

Andalusian p. A-52

Take boiled peeled lentils and wash in hot water several times; put in the pot and add water without covering them; cook and then throw in pieces of gourd, or the stems [ribs] of Swiss chard, or of lettuce and its tender sprigs, or the flesh of cucumber or melon, and vinegar, coriander seed, a little cumin, Chinese cinnamon, saffron and two *uqiyas* of fresh oil; balance with a little salt and cook. Taste, and if its flavor is pleasingly balanced between sweet and sour, [good:] and if not, reinforce until it is equalized, according to taste, and leave it to lose its heat until it is cold and then serve.

2 c lentils	1 t salt
5 c water	one of:
¾ t coriander	1 ½ lb gourd (see p. 143)
¾ t cumin	1 lb chard or beet leaves
1 ½ t cinnamon	1 lb lettuce
6 threads saffron	2 8" cucumbers
¼ c vinegar	melon (?)
¼ c oil	

Boil lentils about 40 minutes until they start to get mushy. Add spices, vinegar, oil and salt. Add one of the vegetables; leafy vegetables should be torn up, gourd or cucumbers are cut into bite-sized pieces and cooked about 10-15 minutes before being added to lentils. Cook lettuce or chard version for about 10 minutes, until leaves are soft. Cook gourd or cucumber version about 20 minutes. Be careful not to burn during the final cooking.

Adas

Ibn al-Mabrad p. 21

The best way of cooking lentils is to crush them and then cook them and put with them chard and taro. When it is done, sumac, fried onion, parsley, vinegar and oil are put with it.

1 c lentils	2 T parsley (chopped)
2 lb taro	1 T vinegar
½ lb chard	1 T oil
½ lb onion	¾ t salt
1 T oil	2 t dried sumac

Grind the lentils in a mortar or a spice/coffee grinder (a gadget like a miniature food processor), then simmer them in 4 ½ c water about 1 hour. Simmer the taro about 15 minutes, drain, peel, and slice. Rinse and chop the chard. At the end of the hour add the taro and chard. Simmer together about another ½ hour. Chop and fry the onion in a little oil. At the end of the half hour, add onion, parsley, vinegar, oil, salt and sumac. Stir together and serve. Taro is sometimes available in Chinese or Indian grocery stores.

Adasiya
al-Bagdadi p. 45

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.

1 ½ lb lamb	1 t coriander
½ lb beet greens	2 ½ c water
"tail": 1 oz lamb fat (p. 4)	1 ¼ c lentils
¼ t salt	6 cloves garlic
½ t cumin	2 T lemon juice

Cut up meat into ½" cubes. Wash beet greens and cut into 2" pieces, including stems. Render out fat to get ~2 T melted fat for "tail" (p. 4) and fry meat for 5 minutes on medium high until brown. Add salt and spices, cover with water. Bring to a boil, cooking 8 minutes, add greens and cook 3 minutes, add lentils. Turn down to low and cook 45 minutes. Crush garlic with a garlic press and add, cook another 15 minutes. Squeeze lemon juice over the dish and serve.

Fuliyah

Ibn al-Mabrad p. 21

Meat is boiled and fava beans are fried in fat, then you put them with the meat and broth. Then you put pounded thyme, coriander and garlic with it. Then you break an egg on it and sprinkle pepper and coriander seed on it. It is covered until it thickens and taken off.

1 c dry fava beans	1 ½ T cilantro
4-6 T fat	1 large clove garlic
¾ lb lamb	2 eggs
2 c water	½ t black pepper
2 t fresh thyme	½ t coriander
or 1 t dry	

Soak the beans overnight; they should make about 2 ½ c soaked. I expect 2 ½ c of fresh favas would work too. Render the fat from about 6 oz of lamb fat, giving 4-6 T of liquid fat; it would probably also work using olive oil. Fry beans for about 10-15 minutes in the fat (just enough time for beans to absorb most of the fat), then add to the meat, which has been boiling the same length of time in 2 c water. Put thyme, cilantro, and peeled garlic in a mortar and mash. Add to pot. Simmer for about another 45 minutes. Stir frequently, scraping the bottom, after adding the beans (medium heat at most), since otherwise it can easily scorch. Beat two eggs together and stir into the bubbling pot. Add pepper and coriander, then let sit on low flame a few minutes while the egg sets. Serve. This is good but rather spicy; those who do not like spicy dishes might try using half the quantity of pepper and garlic.

An alternative interpretation is that you are poaching an egg on top of the Fuliyah. If you do it that way, start with only 1 ¾ c of water so that the Fuliyah will come out thicker.

Dishes with Grains, Bread, or Pasta

Tharid

Ibn al-Mabrad p. 18

Meat is boiled and bread is moistened with the broth. Yoghurt, garlic and mint are put with it and the meat is put with it. Likewise there is a tharid without meat.

1 ½ lb meat	4 large cloves
3 ½ c water	8 sprigs mint (leaves only)
4 slices bread	½ c yogurt

Cut meat into bite-sized pieces and boil in water about 30-40 minutes, by which time the broth is down to about one cup. Crush bread into broth, chop garlic and mint, and add them and the yogurt to the bread mixture and serve the meat over it.

Tharda of Zabarbada

Andalusian p. A-42

Take a clean pot and put in it water, two spoons of oil, pepper, cilantro and a pounded onion; put it on the fire and when the spices have boiled, take bread and crumble it, throw it in the pot and stir smoothly while doing so; pour out of the pot onto a platter and knead this into a tharda and pour clarified butter over it, and if you do not have this, use oil.

2 T cilantro	¼ t pepper
4 oz onion	1 c breadcrumbs
2 c water	2 T ghee or oil
2 T oil	

Wash and chop cilantro. Slice onion and pound in a mortar (or run through the food processor). Put water, oil, pepper, cilantro, and onion in pot and bring to a boil. Add breadcrumbs, stirring constantly, and heat for 5 minutes, then pour onto platter. Top with oil or ghee; most people preferred ghee.

This is a fairly plain dish, rather like bread stuffing. If you particularly like cilantro, you may want to double it. For more elaborate

thardas or tharids with meat, see nearby recipes.

White Tharidah of al Rashid

Tr. Charles Perry from al-Warraq

Take a chicken and joint it, or meat of a kid or lamb, and clean it and throw it in a pot, and throw on it soaked chickpeas, clean oil, galingale, cinnamon sticks, and a little salt. And when it boils, skim it. Take fresh milk and strain it over the pot and throw in onion slices and boiled carrots. And when it boils well, take peeled almonds and pound them fine. Break over them five eggs and mix with wine vinegar. Then throw in the pot and add coriander, a little pepper and a bit of cumin and arrange it and leave on the fire, and serve, God willing.

2 ¾ lb lamb	1 c milk
or 2 ½ lb chicken	1 ¼ lbs onion
2 15 oz cans chickpeas	5 oz almonds
2 T olive oil	5 eggs
¾ t galingale	1 ½ T wine vinegar
1 oz stick cinnamon	1 t coriander
1 T salt	1 ¾ t pepper
~5 c water or less	1 ¼ t cumin
1 ¼ lbs carrots	

Cut up lamb or chicken, put it, chickpeas (with liquid), oil, galingale, cinnamon sticks and salt in a large pot with as little water as will cover, boil 15 minutes. Meanwhile boil carrots separately; drain them. Add milk, sliced onion and carrots to the pot, boil another 15 minutes. Grind almonds, combine with eggs and vinegar; add this mixture and spices to the pot. Cook another five minutes, serve.

An alternative interpretation of the recipe omits the water, so that the meat is cooked in the oil until partially cooked, then the milk, onions, and carrots are added.

Tharids are normally made with bread or breadcrumbs, and there is a Tradition that tharid was the Prophet's favorite dish. Bread may have been good enough for the Prophet, but not for Haroun al Rashid; this version uses ground almonds instead.

Al-Ghassani's Tharda
Andalusian A-42

Take fat meat and cut it up, arrange in a large pot and throw in coriander seed, chopped onion, cilantro, caraway, pepper, soaked garbanzos, three whole eggs and enough water to cover the meat and salt; when the meat is done, reduce the fire below it and throw in two dirhams of saffron; when you see that it is colored, remove part of the sauce, leaving enough to cover the meat; boil the meat with the saffron and then take off the fire, strain the sauce and leave in the pot, take one kail of sauce and three of honey, then take the pot to the fire and bring it to the boil three times with the honey and the sauce. Then take best white bread, crumble it and sieve the crumbs, cover the pot with them and put in it fat and pepper; pour into the platter over bread soaked in the broth and serve, God willing.

18 oz lamb	1 $\frac{5}{8}$ c water
1 lb onion	$\frac{1}{2}$ t salt
$\frac{1}{2}$ t coriander	$\frac{1}{8}$ t saffron
2 T cilantro	6 T honey
$\frac{1}{2}$ t caraway	$\frac{1}{4}$ lb bread
$\frac{1}{2}$ t pepper	3 T melted lamb fat
2 15 oz cans chickpeas	$\frac{1}{2}$ t+ pepper
3 eggs	11 slices bread

Cut lamb in 1" cubes; combine lamb, onion, etc, in pot, breaking the eggs in whole to poach in the pot. Simmer about 30 minutes (until the lamb is cooked), mostly uncovered, stirring occasionally. Lower heat, add saffron, simmer 10 minutes, stir a little to spread the saffron. Turn off the heat, remove 2 T of sauce, mix it with honey and return the mixture to the pot. Bring back to a boil, then convert $\frac{1}{4}$ lb of bread to crumbs—you may find a food processor useful—run them through a strainer and stir them in. Add fat and pepper. Arrange sliced bread, toasted if you like, on a large platter (10-12"). Spoon liquid part of the broth onto the bread, then ladle everything on top.

Tharid that the People of Ifriqiyya
(Tunisia) Call Fatir
Andalusian p. A-55

It is one of the best of their dishes. Among them this fatir is made with fat chicken, while others make it with the meat of a fat lamb. Take whatever of the two you have on hand, clean and cut up. Put it in the pot with salt, onion, pepper, coriander seed and oil, and cook it until it is done; then take out the meat from the pot and let the broth remain, and add to it both clarified and fresh butter, and fry [or boil] it. Then fabricate crumbs of a fatir that have been prepared from well-made layered thin flatbread cooked in the tajine with sourdough, and repeatedly moisten the dish [evidently, the dish in which the crumbs are] until it's right. Then spread on it the meat of that chicken, after frying it in the pan with fresh oil or butter and dot it with egg yolks, olives and chopped almonds; sprinkle it with cinnamon and serve it.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs chicken	$\frac{1}{4}$ c almonds
or lamb	2 T ghee
1 c water	2 T butter
$\frac{1}{2}$ t salt	$\frac{1}{2}$ recipe "folded bread"
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb onion	(p. 76)
$\frac{1}{2}$ t pepper	or $\frac{1}{2}$ lb pita
1 t coriander	3 T more oil or butter
2 T oil	olives
4 eggs	$\frac{1}{2}$ t cinnamon

Combine meat, water, salt, sliced onion, pepper, coriander, and oil in a pot, simmer about an hour. Hard boil eggs and remove the yolks, chop almonds coarsely. Take the meat out, add 2 T each ghee and butter to the broth, boil about 5 minutes. Crumble the flatbread, line the bottom of a pot with it, gradually add about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ - 2 c of the broth mixture—as much as the crumbs will absorb.

The chicken at this point is falling off the bones; let it. Put the meat in a frying pan over a medium heat and fry in butter, using a total of about 3 T. Put the meat on top of the crumbled flatbread, dot it with yolks from hard boiled eggs and olives, sprinkle on chopped almonds, sprinkle with cinnamon, serve.

**Tharīda in the Style of the People of Bijaya
(Bougie, a city in Algeria) Which They Call
the Shāshiyya of Ibn al-Wadī'.**

Andalusian p. A-55

Take the meat of fat spring lamb, from its flanks, its chest and its fat part; cut it up and put it in a pot with salt, onion, pepper and coriander seed; put it on a moderate fire and when it is almost done, add to it lettuce, spinach, fennel "eyes" and tender turnips. When all is ready, add peeled green fava beans and fresh cilantro; when it is finished cooking, moisten with it the tharīd and arrange on it that meat, the vegetables and the beans; put on top of the tharīd, on the highest part, a small amount of butter that will pour down the sides among the vegetables. For that reason it has been likened to the shashiyya of Ibn al-Wadī, as if that white butter were the cotton [tassel] of the shashiyya, [a fez with a white tassel, characteristic of southern Morocco in our times (CP)] that falls all over.

Comments from other recipes in this book on how to make the tharid itself: "and moisten with it a tharid crumbled from white bread crumbs and leavened semolina well kneaded and baked." "A tharid of the crumb of leavened bread..." "Then crumble enough clean white bread and moisten it with the sauce until it soaks it up."

1 ¼ lb lamb	¼ c spinach
¼ lb onion	¼ c lettuce
2 ½ c water	1 t fennel
1 ½ t salt	¼ c green fava beans
½ t pepper	1 ½ t cilantro
1 ½ t coriander	8 slices bread = ~7 oz
6 oz turnips	2 T butter

Cut meat into 1" to 1 ½" cubes, chop onion. Boil meat, onion, salt and spices together over moderate heat until meat is tender. Peel and chop turnips, add to meat and cook until about three quarters done. Tear or chop spinach and lettuce, chop fennel finely, add to meat, cook. Shell beans, chop cilantro and add. Tear up bread, mix with the broth from the meat, put on platter and serve meat and vegetables over it, and put butter on top. Total cooking time 1 hour 45 minutes, more or less.

Tharda of Isfunj with Milk

Andalusian p. A-27

Make isfunj from white flour and make it well, and fry it. Add to it while kneading as many eggs as it will bear. When you are finished making it and frying it, cook as much fresh milk as is needed and beat in it eggwhites and fine white flour, and stir carefully until cooked. Then cut the isfunj into small pieces with scissors and moisten with the milk until saturated. Then melt butter and throw on the tharīd, and sprinkle with sugar and use, God willing. [see quotes from isfunj recipe p. 119]

⅛ c sourdough	2 c milk
⅜ c water	3 T more flour
2 c flour	3 egg whites
1 ½ eggs	¼ lb butter
oil for frying	2 T sugar

Dissolve sourdough in water and stir it into the flour, then add eggs, stir and knead to a reasonably uniform dough. Let it rise four hours in a warm place. Make into thick patties about 3" in diameter and ½" thick; fry in about ½" of hot oil. Cut patties up into small pieces with shears.

Put the milk on a medium heat, stir in flour and beaten egg white with a whisk. Beat frequently as you bring it slowly to a simmer, simmer for about 5 minutes. Stir in the cut up isfunj, add melted butter, sprinkle on sugar, and serve.

Tharda of Lamb with Garbanzos

Andalusian p. A-31

Cut up lamb in large pieces and put with it spices, soaked garbanzos, oil and salt. When it has fried, pour in enough water to cover. And when it is about done, throw in orach [a leafy vegetable related to spinach]. When it is done, throw in fresh cheese cut up in pieces like fingertips, and break eggs into it and crumble bread in it, and sprinkle it with pepper and cinnamon, God willing.

7/8 lb lamb	1 c water
"spices":	orach: 1 lb spinach
1/4 t pepper	14 oz fresh cheese
1/2 t cinnamon	3 eggs
1/4 t cumin	1 c bread crumbs
15 oz can chickpeas	1/8 t pepper
1/4 t salt	1/4 t cinnamon
2 T oil	

Note: the cheese we used for this was a "sweet cheese" (i.e. not salty) from an Iranian grocery.

Saute the lamb, spices, drained chickpeas and salt in the olive oil about 10 minutes, until the meat is browned. Add water and cook about 20 minutes. Rinse spinach and cut in half. Add the spinach, cook about 5 minutes, stirring enough to get spinach down into water so that it wilts. Cut the cheese into small rectangles (about 3/4"x1/4"), add cheese, eggs and bread crumbs. Cook a few minutes, long enough to melt cheese, sprinkle pepper and cinnamon on top, and serve.

Tharīda with Lamb and Spinach, Moist Cheese and Butter
Andalusian p. A-55

This used to be made in Cordoba in the spring by the doctor Abu al-Hasan al-Bunani, God have mercy on him and pardon us and him. Take the meat of a fat lamb, cut it and put it in the pot with salt, onion juice, pepper, coriander seed, caraway and oil; put it to the fire and when it has finished, put in it chopped and washed spinach in sufficient quantity, rubbed moist cheese and butter. When it has finished, take the pot off the fire and moisten with butter. Let there be crumbs of bread moderately leavened, and put your meat on them, and if he (God have mercy on him) lacked lamb meat, he would make a tharīda of spinach, moist cheese, butter and the previously mentioned spices and eggs instead of meat.

1 lb lamb	1 T olive oil
1/4 t salt	10 oz spinach
2 t onion juice	1/2 lb fresh cheese
1/4 t pepper	1 T butter
1 t coriander	3 7" pita breads (6 oz)
1/2 t caraway	1 T more butter

Cut lamb to bite sized pieces. Put it in the pot with salt, onion juice, spices, and oil, heat through, turn down to a simmer, and cook for 15 minutes covered. Turn up heat and cook another 5 minutes uncovered, stirring periodically to cook off most of the liquid. While the lamb is cooking, wash and chop spinach, crumble cheese. Add spinach, cheese, and 1 T butter to the lamb and cook 10 minutes. Tear up bread and put on a serving platter. Add remaining butter to lamb, pour it over the bread, and serve.

We used fresh cheese from an Iranian grocery; other fresh crumbly cheeses, such as queso fresco or some kinds of farmer's cheese should also work, although how salty the cheese is will affect how much salt you want to put in.

White Tharīda with Onion, called Kāfūriyya (Camphor-White)
Andalusian p. A-55

This tharid is made with mutton or with chicken and much clarified butter. Take young fat meat, cut it up and put it in the pot with salt, pepper, coriander seed, oil, mild clarified or fresh butter. When it has fried in its fat and its spices, throw into it some juice of pounded, squeezed onions, about a ratl or more, so that the meat is covered abundantly and finishes cooking; when it is done, break the necessary amount of whole eggs and soak with them a tharid of crumbs of white leavened bread or leavened semolina, and with clarified butter kneaded in it like ka'k (p. 75) dough, and don't beat it much. When the tharida absorbs and is level, put its meat on top of it and serve it. There are those who make it with pounded cut large onions.

1 lb boneless chicken thighs	1 T butter
1 t salt	1 lb onion
3/8 t pepper	3/8 lb bread
3/8 t coriander	2 eggs
2 T oil	5 T ghee

Cut up chicken in pieces an inch or two across, combine with salt, pepper, coriander, oil and butter, cook at medium high for 5-10 minutes until chicken appears cooked. Chop onion and process to mush in a food

processor, strain out the juice and add juice to the pot, simmer for about 25 minutes. Use a pot small enough so that the onion covers the meat—for this quantity a 1 quart pot works.

Tear up the bread then process it in a food processor, stir in the beaten eggs, knead in melted ghee, spread out in the serving dish. Dump on it the solids (and broth?) from the pot, serve.

Harisah

Ibn al-Mabrad p. 22

Meat is boiled, then wheat is put on it until it gives up its starch. Then the meat is plucked off the bones and pounded [and returned to the porridge]. Some add milk.

½ lb lamb	1 c milk
2 c water	[1 ½ T lamb fat]
[½ stick cinnamon]	[¼ t cumin]
[¾ t salt]	[½ t cinnamon]
5 oz of cracked wheat	[½ T lemon]

Cut lamb into a few large pieces, put it and the water in a pot, add stick cinnamon and salt. Bring to a boil. Add the cracked wheat. Cook about ½ hour. Remove the lamb (that is why it is in only a few pieces). Cut the lamb up, pound in a mortar almost to a paste, then put it back in. Add milk. Cook another hour at a low temperature.

Render out lamb fat (“tail” in the original; see p. 4), sprinkle it, cumin, cinnamon, and lemon over the harisa when you serve it (this is an addition from the al-Baghdadi version of the dish; Ibn al-Mabrad gives very little information on spicing).

Rishta

al-Baghdadi p.45 (Good)

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 chickpeas, 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.

1 lb lamb	6 T canned chickpeas
4 c water	3 T lentils
½ stick cinnamon	2 c flour
1 t salt	¾-½ c water

Cut up meat, combine it with water, cinnamon, salt, chickpeas, and lentils, simmer about half an hour. Mix flour with about ½ c cold water (just enough to make an unsticky dough). Knead thoroughly, roll out, cut into thin strips. Add to pot, simmer another ½ hour being careful not to let it stick to the bottom and scorch, serve. A favorite of ours.

Salma

Ibn al-Mabrad p. 20

Dough is taken and twisted and cut in small pieces and struck like a coin with a finger, and it is cooked in water until done. Then yoghurt is put with it and meat is fried with onion for it and mint and garlic are put with it.

1 c flour	½ c plain yogurt
about ¼ c water	1 T mint
¼ lb onion	2-4 cloves crushed garlic
5 oz lamb	[½ t salt]
½ oz lamb fat (“tail” p. 4)	

Knead flour and water to a smooth dough. Divide it in about 8 equal portions. Roll each portion between your palms into a string about ½ inch in diameter, twist it a little, then cut it in about ¼" slices. Dump slices in a little flour to keep them from sticking. Squeeze each between your fingers into a flat, roughly round, coin shaped piece. Boil in 1 quart slightly salted water about 10 minutes.

About the same time you put the pasta on to boil, fry the onions and lamb, both cut small, in the tail (i.e. lamb fat—p. 4) or other oil. Drain the pasta, combine all ingredients, and serve.

Shushbarak

Ibn al-Mabrad p. 20

You take minced meat and stuff it in dough rolled out like cut tutmaj. It is cooked in water until done. Then take it off the fire and put yoghurt, garlic and mint with it.

about 1 lb meat (lamb) 4 oz yogurt
2 c flour 1 clove garlic
¼ c water 1 sprig mint
3 eggs

We tried both ground and minced meat; both worked. Knead together flour, water and eggs for the dough, roll it out thin and make the shushbarak like ravioli, stuffing them with the meat, then boil 5-10 minutes. For sauce, blend together the yogurt, garlic, and mint in a food processor; a mortar and pestle would also work. As an experiment, we tried mixing ⅓ c of minced lamb with ¼ t cinnamon, ⅛ t ginger, and ⅛ t coriander as filling; that also came out well.

Shurba

al-Baghdadi p. 44

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 chickpeas, 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. Do not leave so long that the rice becomes hard set. If desired, add some cabobs of minced meat.

2 T lamb fat 3 3" sticks cinnamon
2 lb boneless lamb 2 t dry coriander
3 c water ½ t ginger
2 t dry dill 1 t pepper
2 t salt 9 c more water
15 oz can chickpeas 4 ½ c rice

meatballs (optional):

¾ lb ground lamb ¼ t ginger
1 t cinnamon ½ t coriander

If you want to make it with meatballs, mix the ground lamb and spices and make small meatballs. Put fat (the "tail" of the original recipe—p. 4) in pot and render out about 2 T. Cut up meat and brown it (and the meatballs) in fat about 5 minutes, then cover with 3 c water. Tie the dill up in a little piece of cheesecloth; put salt, chickpeas, cinnamon, and dill in with the meat and simmer 10 minutes. Add coriander, ginger, pepper, and remaining water and bring to a boil. Remove dill. Add rice, bring back to a boil, turn down to a simmer and cook covered 20 minutes, stirring occasionally.

Labaniyyah

Ibn al-Mabrad p. 22

Meat is boiled, then leeks are put in and yoghurt is dissolved and rice is put with it. Some people put the yoghurt first, then the meat then the rice.

¾ lb boned lamb 1 ¼ c rice
1 ¾ cup of water [2 t cumin]
2 leeks = 2 c sliced [2 t coriander]
1 ¼ c yogurt [1 t cinnamon]
½ t salt

Cut meat into bite-sized pieces. Boil meat for 15 minutes in water at low heat, covered. Add leeks, yogurt and salt. Add rice and spices. Simmer (again covered) until rice is done (about an hour). The spices are based on similar recipes in al-Baghdadi.

Rizz Hulw

Ibn al-Mabrad p.19

Rice is put in boiling water until it swells and is nearly done. Then a sweet ingredient is put with it until it thickens, and it is sprinkled with ginger and taken off the fire.

¾ c rice 3 T honey
1 ¼ c water ¼ t ginger

Cook rice in water about 15 minutes then add honey, cook another 15 minutes. Add ginger.

A Recipe for Rice Porridge (Harisat al-Aruzz)
al-Warraq p. 256

Wash fat meat and put it in a pot. Pour water on it and then add some salt. Let it cook until meat disintegrates and falls off the bones. Put the pot off the heat. Take meat out of the pot and pound it in a mortar and pestle if it is still chunky.

Next, pick over white rice and wash it three times. Pour strained milk on the meat broth and bring it to a boil. Add the rice and continue cooking until it is done. Return the pounded meat and keep on stirring until rice grains are crushed. Pour into it butter, clarified butter, a mixture of equal parts of rendered fat and sesame oil, or milk.

Beat the mixture continuously until it is completely crushed. Keep on stirring until it looks like natif (p. 122) and meat looks like threads integrated into the rice.

Serve the porridge with a bowlful of murri, God willing.

1 lb lamb 2 ½ c rice
5 ½ c water 1 c milk
1 t+ salt 6 T butter

Wash meat in lukewarm water, put it to simmer in 5 ½ c of water with a pinch of salt, simmer 2 hrs 25 minutes, cut up, then simmer another five minutes. Remove meat from broth, mush it in a mortar for about 5-10 minutes.

Cook the rice for half an hour in 4 c of the broth from the meat plus 1 c of milk, adding the meat after about 15 minutes, then later the butter and salt. Stir forcibly to mush the rice and meat together. Serve with murri for your guests to add. We have not tried the other versions.

(There is a harisah recipe on p. 105.)

Preparation of Rice Cooked Over Water [a double boiler method]
Andalusian A-56

Take rice washed with hot water and put it in the pot and throw to it fresh, pure milk fresh from milking; put this pot in a copper kettle that has water up to the halfway point or a little more; arrange the copper kettle on the fire and the pot with the rice and milk well-settled in it so that it doesn't tip and is kept from the fire. Leave it to cook without stirring, and when the milk has dried up, add more of the same kind of milk so that the rice dissolves and is ready; add to it fresh butter and cook the rice with it; when the rice is done and dissolved, take off the pot and rub it with a spoon until it breaks up; then throw it on the platter and level it, dust it with ground sugar, cinnamon and butter and use. With this same recipe one cooks *itriyya*, *fidaushi* and *tharid al-laban* [milk *tharid*].

1 c rice 2 T more butter
3 ½ c milk ½ t cinnamon
2 T butter 1 ½ T sugar

Bring water in the bottom of double boiler to a boil. Wash rice in hot water. Combine rice with 1 c milk in the top of the double boiler. Cook for about two to two and a half hours, gradually adding more milk as the milk in it is absorbed. When the last addition has been absorbed and the rice is soft, add 2 T butter, stir it in, and continue cooking for another ten minutes. Remove from heat, and stir vigorously to reduce the rice to something close to a uniform mush. Melt remaining butter; mix cinnamon and sugar. Spread the rice flat on a plate, pour the melted butter over it and sprinkle with cinnamon sugar.

Oven Dishes and Roasting

The making of Badî'i, the Remarkable Dish *Andalusian* p. A-9

Take the meat of a very plump lamb and cut it in small pieces and put them in a pot with a little salt, a piece of onion, coriander, lavender, saffron and oil, and cook it halfway. Then take fresh cheese, not too soft in order that it will not fall apart, cut it with a knife into sheets approximately the size of the palm, place them in a dish, color them with saffron, sprinkle them with lavender and turn them until they are colored on all sides. Place them with the cooked meat in the pot or in a tajine and add eggs beaten with saffron, lavender and cinnamon, as necessary, and bury in it whole egg yolks and cover with plenty of oil and with the fat of the cooked meat. Place it in the oven and leave it until the sauce is dry and the meat is completely cooked and the upper part turns red [the translator suggests the alternative "browns" but it turns red in our experience]. Take it out, leave it a while until its heat passes and it is cool, and then use it.

1 lb lamb	6 oz cheese
½ t dried lavender	½ t lavender
4 threads saffron	3 threads saffron
¼ t salt	½ t more lavender
½ small onion (2 oz)	2 beaten eggs
½ t ground coriander	½ t cinnamon
2 T olive oil	4 whole egg yolks
6 more threads saffron	2 T olive oil

Cut lamb into ½" cubes. Grind ½ t lavender and 4 threads saffron in a mortar. Combine lamb, salt, onion, coriander, lavender, saffron and oil and simmer in 1 c water for 10 minutes. Grind the second lot of saffron (6 threads) in a mortar, adding 1 T water. Cut cheese—we used mozzarella—in slices, paint them with the saffron water, sprinkle with ½ t more lavender. Drain meat and separate the fat from the broth. Put meat in the pot, cover with cheese slices. Grind 3 threads saffron and ½ t lavender in a mortar, beat with eggs and cinnamon. Pour eggs over meat and cheese. Place whole egg yolks on

top, pour over everything the fat (I had about 3 T) plus the second 2 T of oil. Bake at 350° for 45 minutes, by which time the top should have turned reddish brown. Let cool, then serve.

Recipe for Thûmiyya, a Garlicky Dish *Andalusian* p. A-8

Take a plump hen and take out what is inside it, clean that and leave aside. Then take four ûqiyas of peeled garlic and pound them until they are like brains, and mix with what comes out of the interior of the chicken. Fry it in enough oil to cover, until the smell of garlic comes out. Mix this with the chicken in a clean pot with salt, pepper, cinnamon, lavender, ginger, cloves, saffron, peeled whole almonds, both pounded and whole, and a little murri naqi. Seal the pot with dough, place it in the oven and leave it until it is done. Then take it out and open the pot, pour its contents in a clean dish and an aromatic scent will come forth from it and perfume the area. This chicken was made for the Sayyid Abu al-Hasan and much appreciated.

5 oz garlic	1 t ginger
1 hen	¼ t cloves
6 T oil	15 threads saffron
½ t salt	½ c whole almonds
½ t pepper	⅞ c crushed almonds
1 t cinnamon	¼ c murri (p. 5)
2 t lavender	~1 c flour + water

Crush garlic. Fry garlic and giblets from chicken in oil on medium heat for about 15 minutes. Put all ingredients except dough in the pot, crushing the saffron into a few T of water to extract flavor and color. Mix flour and water to make the dough, roll it into a strip, put it on the edge of the dish and jam the lid onto it to seal the lid on the pot. Bake at 350° for 1 hour.

Charles Perry, who translated this, notes that four ûqiyas of garlic (⅓ of a pound) works out pretty close to the 40 cloves called for in a famous Provençal dish. "Leave out the spices and the almonds, and you'd about have poulet à 40 gousses d'ail."

Mahshi, a Stuffed Dish*Andalusian p. A-9*

It is made with a roast hen, or with young pigeons or doves, or small birds, or with the meat of a young lamb. Take what you have of this, clean it, cut it up and put it in a pot with salt, a piece of onion, pepper, coriander, cinnamon, saffron, some murri naqi' and plenty of oil. Put this on the fire and when it is done and the broth has formed, take out the meat from the pot and leave it aside. Take as much as necessary of grated white breadcrumbs and stir them in a tajine with the remaining chicken fat and sauce. Tint it with plenty of saffron and add lavender, pepper and cinnamon. When the breadcrumbs have come apart, break over it enough eggs to cover ["flood"] it all and sprinkle it with peeled, split almonds. Beat all this until it is mixed, then bury the pieces of chicken in this so that the chicken is hidden in the stuffing and whole egg yolks, and cover this with plenty of oil. Then place in the oven and leave it until it is dry, thickened and browned and the top of the tajine is bound. Then take it out and leave it until its heat passes and it cools, and use it.

4 ¼ lb chicken	⅔ c bread crumbs
½ t salt	20 threads more saffron
2 oz onion	1 t lavender
½ t pepper	½ t more pepper
½ t coriander	1 t more cinnamon
1 t cinnamon	6 eggs
20 threads saffron	¾ c slivered almonds
2 T murri (see p. 5)	½ c more oil
¼ c oil	[hard boiled egg yolks]

Wash the hen, roast it to an internal temperature of 160° (about 1-1 ½ hrs at 350°), separate the drippings into fat and broth, cut up the hen. Put the hen and broth in a pot with the first bunch of ingredients. Cook, covered, over a low to medium heat about 20 minutes. Remove the chicken, add bread crumbs, chicken fat, second batch of saffron, lavender, pepper and cinnamon.

Cook another five minutes or so, then break in the eggs, sprinkle over the almonds and stir it all together. Put the chicken back in and cover it as best you can with the egg/almond etc mixture. If you wish add egg yolks. Add the additional oil, bake at 350° for 30 minutes.

The Recipe of ibn al-Mahdi's Maghmûm*Andalusian p. A-8*

Take a plump hen, dismember it and put it in a pot, and add coriander of one dirham's weight, half a dirham of pepper and the same of cinnamon, and of ginger, galingale, lavender and cloves a quarter dirham each, three ùqiyas of vinegar, two ùqiyas of pressed onion juice, an ùqiya of cilantro juice, an ùqiya of murri naqi', and four ùqiyas of fresh oil. Mix all this in a pot with some rosewater, cover it with a flatbread and put a carefully made lid over the mouth of the pot. Place this in the oven over a moderate fire and leave it until it is cooked. Then take it out and leave it a little. Let it cool and invert it onto a clean dish and present it; it is remarkable.

1 chicken (2-3 lb)	⅔ c vinegar
1 T coriander	¼ c onion juice
1 t pepper	2 T cilantro juice (p. 8)
1 ½ t cinnamon	2 T murri (p. 5)
½ t ginger	½ c olive oil
½ t galingale	2 t rosewater
1 T lavender	2 medium pita breads
½ t cloves	

Mix everything in a pot, put in the chicken. Put two medium pita on top, put on lid, bake at 350° about 1 hour, let settle about 15 minutes, invert into a bowl, and serve. Would be good over rice or additional bread.

A Hen Roasted in the Oven*Andalusian p. A-14*

Clean a plump, young, tender hen, salt it with salt and thyme, peel four or five cloves of garlic and place them between the thighs and in the interior. Pound pepper and coriander, sprinkle them over the hen, rub with murri and oil and a little water, and send it to the oven, God willing.

4 lb whole chicken	½ t coriander
¼ t salt	1 T murri
¼ t thyme	1 T oil
5 cloves garlic	~ 1 t water
½ t pepper	

Rub chicken with salt and thyme and put in garlic as described above. Sprinkle with pepper and coriander. Mix murri, oil and water and rub over chicken. Put in baking dish and bake in preheated oven at 375° for about 1 ½ hours (until meat thermometer shows 180°).

Hen Roasted in a Pot at Home

Andalusian p. A-3

Take a young, plump, cleaned hen; slice it on all sides and then make for it a sauce of oil, murri naqi', a little vinegar, crushed garlic, pepper and a little thyme. Grease all parts of the hen with this, inside and out; then put it in the pot and pour over it whatever remains of the sauce, and cook it; then remove the fire from beneath it and return the cover to it and leave it until it smells good and is fried. Then take it out and use it.

¾ oz garlic (~5 cloves)	2 T murri (p. 5)
1 T fresh thyme	½ t pepper
½ c oil	5 ½ lb hen
¼ c vinegar	

Peel the garlic and put it through a garlic press, or chop it very fine. Strip thyme leaves from stem, chop. Combine garlic, thyme, oil, vinegar, murri, and pepper in a bowl, stir. Wash the hen in cold water and drain well. With a sharp knife, cut about fifty shallow slits all over it, top and bottom. Smear mixture over chicken, inside and outside. Put chicken in a heavy pot, pour on the remaining mixture. Cover the pot and cook on medium low until the internal temperature of the chicken gets to 190°; it should take about an hour and a half. Remove from heat, leave covered for another ten minutes, then serve.

Another Kind of Lamb Breast

Andalusian A-5

Get the breast of a plump lamb, pierce it between the meat and the ribs, so that the hand and fingers can fit in; then get a large handful each of peeled almonds and hazelnuts, and a dirham each of Chinese cinnamon, lavender, cloves, saffron and pepper, and a little salt; pound all this and mix it with breadcrumbs and knead it with oil, and knead until it thickens and can be used as a stuffing. When it is stuffed, sew up the

breast with clean gut and hang it in a tannur, and set under it an earthen pot into which what melts from the breast can drip, and when it is done take it out.

2 lb lamb breast	½ t saffron
¼ c blanched almonds	1 t pepper
¼ c hazelnuts	¼ t salt
½ t stick cinnamon	½ c breadcrumbs
1 gram fresh lavender	¾ c olive oil
½ t cloves	

Slice between the meat and the bone of the ribs so as to make a pocket for the stuffing. Pound nuts in the mortar. Add the spices, breadcrumbs and oil. Stir all together. Stuff the pocket, sew it up with cotton thread, put it in a pot supported by pieces of wood. Bake at 350° until the meat thermometer in the stuffing shows 180°, about 55 minutes.

Meat Roasted Over Coals

Andalusian p. A-42 (Good)

Cut the meat however you wish and throw on a spoon of oil and another of murri, salt, coriander seed, pepper and thyme; leave for a while until it has absorbed the spices, prepare without smoke and roast on a spit and watch it.

meat: 2 lb lamb	1 t coriander
¼ c oil	½ t pepper
¼ c murri (p. 5)	½ t thyme
½ t salt	

Mix all ingredients except meat to make a marinade. Cut meat into 2 ½ ounce pieces (about 2"-3" across) and stir into marinade. Let sit 2 ½ hours. Put on a spit or skewer and roast over coals or in a baking pan under the broiler at high for 15 minutes or so, basting two or three times with the marinade.

Recipe for the Barmakiyya

Andalusian p. A-9 (Good)

It is made with a hen, pigeons, doves, small birds or lamb. Take what you have of them, after cleaning, and cut up and put in a pot with salt, an onion, pepper, coriander and lavender or cinnamon, some murri naqi', and oil. Put it on a gentle fire until it is nearly done and the sauce is dried. Take it out and fry it in fresh oil without

overdoing it, and leave it aside. Then take fine flour and semolina, make a well-made dough with leaven, and if it has some oil it will be more flavorful. Then roll out from it a flatbread and put inside it the fried and cooked meat of these birds, cover it with another flatbread and stick the ends together. Put it in the oven, and when the bread is done, take it out. It is very good on journeys. You might make it with fish and that can be used for journeying too.

Note: The Barmecides were a family of Persian viziers who served some of the early Abbasid Caliphs, in particular Haroun al-Rashid, and were famed for their generosity.

1 lb boned chicken or lamb	3 T olive oil
10 oz onion	3 T more olive oil
1 t salt	1 ½ c white flour
½ t pepper	1 ½ c semolina
1 t coriander	[1 t salt in dough]
1 ½ t lavender or cinnamon	3 T more olive oil
1 T murri (see p. 5)	¾ c water
	½ c sourdough

Cut the meat fairly finely (approximately ¼" slices, then cut them up), combine in a 3 quart pot with chopped onion, 1 t salt, spices, murri, and 3 T oil. Cook over a medium low to medium heat about an hour. Cover it at the beginning so it all gets hot, at which point the onion and meat release their juices; remove the cover and cook until the liquid is gone, about 30 minutes. Then heat 3 T more oil in a large frying pan on a medium high burner, add the contents of the pot, fry over medium high heat about five minutes.

Stir together flour, semolina, 1 t salt. Gradually stir in 3 T oil. Combine ¾ c water, ½ c sourdough. Stir this into the flour mixture and knead to a smooth dough (which should only take a few minutes). If you do not have sourdough, omit it; since the recipes does not give the dough much time to rise, the sourdough probably does not have a large effect on the consistency of the dough.

Divide the dough in four equal parts. Take two parts, turn them out on a floured board, squeeze and stretch each (or use a rolling pin) until it is at least 12" by 5". Put half the filling on one, put the other on top, squeeze the edges together to seal. Repeat with the other

two parts of the dough and the rest of the filling. Bake on a lightly oiled cookie sheet at 350° for 40 minutes.

For the fish version, start with 1 ¼ lb of fish (we used salmon). If it is boneless, proceed as above, shortening the cooking time to about 35 minutes; it is not necessary to cut up the fish fine, since it will crumble easily once it is cooked. If your fish has bones, put it on top of the oil, onions, spices etc., in the largest pieces that will fit in the pot, cover the pot, and cook for about 10-15 minutes, until the fish is almost ready to fall apart; in effect, it is being steamed by the liquid produced from the onions and by its own liquid. Take out the fish, bone it, return to the pot, and cook uncovered about 30 minutes until the liquid is mostly gone. Continue as above.

Relishes & Dips

Badinjan Muhassa

Ibn al-Mahdi's cookbook in al-Warraq translated by Perry. (9th-10th c.) (Good)

Cook eggplants until soft by baking, boiling or grilling over the fire, leaving them whole. When they are cool, remove the loose skin, drain the bitter liquor and chop the flesh fine. It should be coarser than a true purée. Grind walnuts fine and make into a dough with vinegar and salt. Form into a patty and fry on both sides until the taste of raw walnut is gone; the vinegar is to delay scorching of the nuts. Mix the cooked walnuts into the chopped eggplant and season to taste with vinegar and ground caraway seed, salt and pepper. Serve with a topping of chopped raw or fried onion.

¾ lb eggplant	⅛ t salt
1 c walnuts	1 t caraway seed
2 T vinegar	1 ½ T vinegar (at the end)
½ t salt	¼ c chopped raw onion
⅛ t pepper	

Simmer the eggplant 20 to 30 minutes in salted water (½ t salt in a pint of water). Let it cool. Peel it. Slice it and let the slices sit on a colander or a cloth for an hour or so, to let out the bitter juice.

Grind the walnuts, add vinegar and salt to make a dough. Make patties about ½" thick

and put them on a frying pan at medium to medium high heat, without oil. In about half a minute, when the bottom side has browned a little, turn the patty over and use your pancake turner to squash it down to about ¼" (the cooked side is less likely to stick to your implement than the uncooked side). Continue cooking, turning whenever the patty seems about to scorch. When you are done, the surface of the patty will be crisp, brown to black—and since it is thin, the patty is mostly surface. If the patties start giving up lots of walnut oil (it is obvious—they will quickly be swimming in the stuff) the pan is too hot; throw them out, turn down the heat and make some more.

Chop up the eggplant, mix in the nut patties (they will break up in the process), add pepper, salt, caraway (ground in a spice grinder or mortar), and vinegar. Top with onion. Eat by itself or on bread.

Zabarbada of Fresh Cheese

Andalusian p. A-42

Take fresh cheese, clean it, cut it up and crumble it; take cilantro and onion, chop and throw over the cheese, stir and add spices and pepper, stir the pot with two spoons of oil and an equal quantity of water and salt, then throw this mixture in the pot and put on the fire and cook; when it is cooked, take the pot from the fire and cover with egg and some flour and serve.

8 oz farmer's cheese	½ t pepper
1 c chopped cilantro	2 T oil
6 oz onion	1 T water
1 t ground coriander	½ t salt
1 t cumin	1 egg
1 t cinnamon	2-3 T flour

Mix together cheese, cilantro, onion, and spices. Put oil, water and salt in a large frying pan or a dutch oven; shake to cover the bottom. Put in the cheese mixture and cook on medium-high to high about 3 minutes, stirring almost constantly, until the mixture becomes a uniform goo. Remove from heat, stir in egg, sprinkle on flour and stir in, serve forth. It ends up as a sort of thick dip, good over bread. It is still good when cold.

We have also used cheddar, feta, mozzarella and ricotta; all came out well, although with the feta it was a little salty, even with the salt in the recipe omitted. Some cheeses will require more flour to thicken it; the most we used was ½ cup.

Baid Masus

al-Baghdadi p. 202

Take fresh sesame-oil, place in the saucepan, and boil: then put in celery. Add a little fine-brayed coriander, cummin and cinnamon, and some mastic; then pour in vinegar as required, and colour with a little saffron. When thoroughly boiling, break eggs, and drop in whole: when set, remove.

½ lb celery	¼ t mastic
2 T sesame oil	1 ½ T vinegar
½ T coriander	12 threads saffron
1 t cumin	6 eggs
½ t cinnamon	

Trim celery and cut into ¼" bits. Heat oil. Saute celery in oil over moderate heat for 7 minutes, adding spices just after putting in the celery. Stir vigorously. Crush saffron into vinegar; pour vinegar into pan with celery. Immediately crack in whole eggs and let cook, covered, until egg white is set.

Some people like this; others do not like anything that has enough mastic to taste.

Isfanakh Mutajjan

al-Baghdadi p. 206

Take spinach, cut off the lower roots, and wash: then boil lightly in salt and water, and dry. Refine sesame-oil, drop in the spinach, and stir until fragrant. Chop up a little garlic, and add. Sprinkle with fine-ground cumin, dry coriander, and cinnamon: then remove.

1 lb spinach	¼ t cumin
1 clove garlic	⅛ t coriander
1 T sesame oil	½ t cinnamon

Boil spinach in salted water about 2 minutes. Chop garlic. Fry spinach in oil briefly; add garlic and fry a bit more. Add spices and serve.

**Another Recipe for Dressed Eggplant by
Him (ibn al-Mahdi) Too**
al-Warraq p. 227

Boil eggplant and chop it into fine pieces. Take a platter, and pour on it a little vinegar, white sugar, ground almonds, saffron, caraway seeds, cassia, [and mix]. Spread the [chopped] eggplant and fried onion all over the sauce. Drizzle some olive oil on the dish and serve it, God willing.

1 ¾ lb eggplant	½ c ground almonds
½ lb onion	8 threads saffron
2 T olive oil	2 t caraway seeds
¼ c vinegar	2 t cinnamon
2 T sugar	3 T olive oil

Boil eggplants for about half an hour, remove, skin, chop. Chop onion, fry in 2 T olive oil until limp and beginning to brown, about 10 minutes. Combine all other ingredients except oil, stir together to a paste, spread thinly on the plate, dump on chopped eggplant and chopped onion, drizzle over 3 T olive oil.

A Recipe for Soused Eggplants
al-Warraq p. 228

At the end of their season [i.e. late summer], cut the calyxes of the eggplants and cook them in vinegar until done. Take them out, drain them well, and set them aside.

Finely chop some round onion, along with cilantro, rue, and parsley. Fry them in olive oil until browned. Pour vinegar on them and add some spices (abzar).

Arrange the eggplants in wide mouthed jars and pour on them the vinegar which has been seasoned with the herbs and spices. Let it cover the eggplants.

Store away the jars. The eggplant will stay good for a whole year. Whenever you wish to eat it, take some out and put them in a bowl, garnish them with chopped rue, and serve them, God willing.

2 lb eggplant	1 T olive oil
4 c vinegar	¾ c more vinegar
3 oz onion	<i>Abzar:</i>
¼ c more vinegar	1 t pepper
1 T cilantro	1 t coriander
1 t rue	1 T caraway seeds
1 T parsley	1 t cinnamon

Simmer eggplants in 4 c of vinegar for about half an hour, drain. Fry the onion etc. in olive oil about ten minutes. Add ¼ c vinegar plus spices. Put eggplants in a jar, pour onion etc. over them, add ¾ c vinegar to cover.

Keeps for months. Very vinegary. I like it on bread.

Deserts

**A recipe for Judhaba of Bananas by Ibn al
Mahdi**
al-Warraq p. 375

Peel the bananas and set them aside. Spread a ruqaqa [thin round of bread] in the pan and spread a layer of bananas over it. Sprinkle the banana layer with pure sugar, and spread another ruqaqa all over it. Repeat the layering of banana, sugar, and ruqaqa until the pan is full. Pour enough rose water to drench the layered ingredients, [put the pan in a hot tannur,] suspend a fine chicken over it, [and let it roast] God willing.

10 oz Iranian lavash	1-4 T rose water
3 ¼ lb bananas	4-5 lb chicken
½ c sugar	

Oil the bottom of your pot. Line the pot with lavash—an Iranian thin bread that is the closest equivalent to ruqaqa we know of. Cover that with sliced (or mashed) bananas. Sprinkle over them 2 T of sugar. Cover with another layer of lavash. Repeat until you run out of banana, then put on a final covering of lavash. Sprinkle the rose water over that—4 T will leave a very strong taste of rose water, which some may not like.

Arrange your chicken so it is suspended above the layers. I did it by running a hardwood skewer lengthwise through the chicken and laying it across the top edge of my pot.

Bake the chicken until done—roughly 20 minutes a pound at 350°, to an internal temperature of about 190°—letting the drippings fall on and soak into the layered bread and bananas.

Could try doing it with whole bananas.

Preparation of Qursas

Andalusian p. A-70

Take very white flour and knead it with milk, salt and yeast. And when you have kneaded it considerably, leave it until it rises. Then take one egg or several, according to the quantity of the dough. Break them in a bowl and beat them. Moisten the dough with them little by little and knead it until it slackens. Take a new frying pan and shower it with clarified butter or fresh oil. Take a handful of the dough and spread it in the pan. Put over it a layer of almonds and pistachios, or whichever one you have. When the almonds cover the dough, put another dough on the almonds, and so on, layer on layer. In this way you fill the frying pan up to two fingers [from its rim]. Put it in the oven with the bread and when it is done, prick it with a knife and take it out as it is. Heat honey and clarified butter and pour over, and when it has soaked them up, throw it on a platter and sprinkle over it Chinese cinnamon and cinnamon and serve it, if God wishes.

Yeast version (*Different from the sourdough version in other ways as well*)

2 t yeast	more flour
¼ c warm water	1 egg
1 ¼ c milk	1 t olive oil
4 c flour	10 T honey
½ t salt	10 T ghee
½ to 1 c more flour	¼ t cinnamon
2 c chopped almonds and/or pistachios	

Combine yeast and warm water and let sit until it gets bubbly, then mix with the milk. Mix 4 c flour and salt, then stir the liquid ingredients into the dry ingredients and knead smooth. Knead in up to another cup of flour, continuing until you have a dough that doesn't tend to stick to you. Cover with a damp cloth and leave about an hour to rise.

When it has risen, chop the nuts and grease an 8 ½" diameter frying pan with the olive oil. Get a small bowl with flour in it. You do these things before the next step, because after the next step your hands will be covered with sticky dough.

Beat one egg and gradually knead it into

the dough. Take about one eighth of the dough. Flour it so that it isn't too sticky to handle. Press it between your hands to a disk about 6" across. Put it in the middle of the frying pan. Spread about ¼ c+ of chopped nuts on it, as evenly as you can. Take another, similar handful of dough. Flour it. Repeat. You may want to press each sheet of dough down a bit on the one before, which will spread the whole thing a little, so that by the time you are finished it will just about fill the frying pan. You may also find, if you are having a hard time getting the handfuls into wide enough disks, that it helps to stick one edge of a not quite large enough disk to the layer below and then stretch it so that you can fasten the rest of its edge to the rest of the edge of the layer below.

Sourdough version

1 c milk	2 eggs
1 ¼ c sourdough	2 T ghee
1 t salt	¾ c honey
4 c white flour	½ c ghee
⅔ c pistachios	¼ t cinnamon
⅔ c almonds	¼ t true cinnamon (p. 4)

Mix milk, sourdough and salt. Stir into flour, knead smooth, leave to rise 2 ½ hours. Chop the nuts coarsely. Beat the eggs briefly and gradually knead into the dough. Grease an 8 ½" frying pan with 2 T ghee. Take about one sixth of the dough, spread it over the bottom of the frying pan, sprinkle over it about a fifth of the nuts. Repeat until you have five layers of dough and nuts, with a sixth layer of dough above—you may end up with a layer or two more or less, which is fine.

(Both Versions) Bake for 50 minutes at 350°. Remove from oven. Cut lots of slits with the point of a sharp knife—in ornamental patterns if you are feeling ambitious. Heat the honey and ghee (use butter if you can't find ghee), mix them, pour them over the loaf, letting them soak in through the top and the bottom. Let stand a little so it can absorb the honey and butter. Remove from the pan, sprinkle with cinnamon, and serve.

Stuffed Qanânî, Fried Cannoli

Andalusian p. A-70

Pound almond and walnut, pine nuts and pistachio very small. Knead fine white flour with oil and make thin breads with it and fry them in oil. Pound [sugar] fine and mix with the almond, the walnut and the rest. Add to the paste pepper, cinnamon, Chinese cinnamon and spikenard. Knead with the necessary amount of skimmed honey and put in the dough whole pine nuts, cut pistachio and almond. Mix it all and then stuff the qanânî that you have made of clean wheat flour.

Its Preparation: Knead the dough well with oil and a little saffron and roll it into thin flatbreads. Stretch them over the tubes (qanânî) of cane, and you cut them [the cane sections] how you want them, little or big. And throw them [into a frying pan full of oil], after decorating them in the reed. Take them out from the reed and stuff them with the stuffing and put in their ends whole pistachios and pine nuts, one at each end, and lay it aside. He who wants his stuffing with sugar or chopped almond, it will be better, if God wishes.

Translator's note: The general discussion in the beginning, which is the only place where the stuffing is described, must have dropped the word sugar, as the recipe section omitted the instruction to fry the tubes. "Qanânî" is the plural of "qanut"—canes or cylinders. (Charles Perry)

½ c almonds	¼ c whole pine nut
½ c walnuts	¼ c pistachios
½ c pine nuts	¼ c almonds
½ c pistachios	3 c flour
1 t pepper	½ c oil
1 T cinnamon	½ c water
1 T true cinnamon (p. 4)	oil for frying
1 t spikenard	one per cylinder of:
¼ c sugar	whole pistachios
¾ c honey	whole pine nuts

Grind fine ½ c each of almonds, walnuts, pine nuts and pistachios. Combine with spices, sugar, and honey and knead together. Chop the additional ¼ c each of almonds and pistachios and add them along with ¼ c of whole pine nuts. Knead flour, oil and water together and refrigerate 20 minutes. Form

dough into cylinders ~2" long on ¾" wooden dowels and deep-fry them in hot oil while on the dowel. (They had to be fried on the dowels, since they would not remain as cylinders otherwise.) Remove each cylinder from its dowel, stuff it with filling, stop one end with a whole pistachio and the other with a whole pine nut.

The Making of Dafâir, Braids

Andalusian p. A-25

Take what you will of white flour or of semolina, which is better in these things. Moisten it with hot water after sifting, and knead well, after adding some fine flour, leavening, and salt. Moisten it again and again until it has middling consistency. Then break into it, for each ratl of semolina, five eggs and a dirham of saffron, and beat all this very well, and put the dough in a dish, cover it and leave it to rise, and the way to tell when this is done is what was mentioned before [it holds an indentation]. When it has risen, clean a frying pan and fill it with fresh oil, then put it on the fire. When it starts to boil, make braids of the leavened dough like hair-braids, of a handspan or less in size. Coat them with oil and throw them in the oil and fry them until they brown. When their cooking is done, arrange them on an earthenware plate and pour over them skimmed honey spiced with pepper, cinnamon, Chinese cinnamon, and lavender. Sprinkle it with ground sugar and present it, God willing. This same way you make *isfunj*, except that the dough for the *isfunj* will be rather light. Leave out the saffron, make it into balls and fry them in that shape, God willing. And if you wish stuffed *dafâir* or *isfunj*, stuff them with a filling of almonds and sugar, as indicated for making *qâhîriyât*.

Note: the recipe calls for a dirham of saffron = 3.8 grams, which is a lot of saffron. If this is a scribal error for a *danaq* it would be .6 grams, which is how we do it. Feel free to substitute 3.8 grams if you really like saffron.

1 c water	1 T lavender
1 lb semolina = 2 ⅜ c	1 c honey
1 c sourdough	½ t pepper
¾ c flour	1 t cinnamon
1 t salt	~1 T oil to brush on
.6 gram saffron	oil for frying
3 eggs	1 ½ t sugar
¾ c more flour	

Add water to semolina $\frac{1}{8}$ c at a time, mixing, until all the semolina is barely moistened. Add sourdough, $\frac{3}{4}$ c flour, and salt, and knead until it is a smooth elastic dough. Crush saffron into 2 t water; add it and eggs to dough and knead in. The dough being too soppy for braiding, add another $\frac{3}{4}$ c flour. Leave to rise in a warm place until doubled, about an hour and a half. While the dough rises make the sauce: grind the lavender and add to the honey with pepper and cinnamon; boil honey and spices about 10 minutes on medium heat. Flour a cutting board, take small lumps of dough (about 2 tablespoons), roll into 6" strings, and braid three together into braids 6" long. Let rise half an hour. Brush with oil. Heat about $\frac{1}{2}$ " of oil in a frying pan at medium high heat (275°) and fry the braids a few at a time, so that there is room to turn them over as they fry, until puffed up and light brown on both sides: about 2-3 minutes total. Drain braids on paper towels, put on a plate, drizzle with the sauce and sprinkle with sugar. Makes 15 braids.

Khushkananaj

al-Baghdadi p. 212 (Good)

Take fine white flour, and with every ratl mix three uqiya of sesame-oil [one part oil to four of flour], kneading into a firm paste. Leave to rise; then make into long loaves. Put into the middle of each loaf a suitable quantity of ground almonds and scented sugar mixed with rose water, using half as much almonds as sugar. Press together as usual, bake in the oven, remove.

2 c white flour	1 c almonds
1 c whole wheat flour	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c sugar
$\frac{1}{2}$ c sesame oil	1 T rose water
$\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ c cold water or	more flour
$\frac{1}{2}$ c water, $\frac{1}{2}$ c sourdough	

We originally developed the recipe without leavening, but currently use sourdough, which is our best guess at what the original intended (and also seems to work a little better). The two versions are:

Without leavening: Mix the flour, stir in the oil. Sprinkle the water onto the dough, stir

in. Knead briefly together.

Sourdough: Mix the flour, stir in the oil. Mix the water and the sour dough starter together. Add gradually to the flour/oil mixture, and knead briefly together. Cover with a damp cloth and let rise about 8 hours in a warm place, then knead a little more.

We also have two interpretations of how the loaves are made; they are:

Almost Baklava: Divide in four parts. Roll each one out to about 8"x16" on a floured board. Grind almonds, combine with sugar and rose water. Spread the mixture over the rolled out dough and roll up like a jelly roll, sealing the ends and edges (use a wet finger if necessary). You may want to roll out the dough in one place and roll it up in another, so as not to have bits of nuts on the board you are trying to roll it out on. You can vary how thin you roll the dough and how much filling you use over a considerable range, to your own taste.

Long thin loaves: Divide the dough into six or eight parts, roll each out to a long loaf (about 16"), flatten down the middle so that you can fill it with the sugar and almond mixture, then seal it together over the filling. You end up with a tube of dough with filling in the middle.

Bake on a lightly oiled pan at 350° about 45-50 minutes.

Notes: At least some of the almonds should be only coarsely ground, for texture. Be sure to use middle Eastern (or health food) sesame oil, from untoasted sesame seeds (see p. 4). The following recipe gives us some idea of what scented sugar contained, but for this one we just add rose water.

A Recipe for Khushkananaj Shaped Like Crescents

al-Warraaq p. 419

Take 4 ratls fresh almonds, taste them for bitterness, shell them then dry them in a big copper pot set on the fire. Grind them finely. Pound 8 ratls refined tabar zad sugar (white cane sugar), and mix it with the almonds.

Take 2 ratl pith (brick-oven thick bread), dry it in the tannur, and as soon as you take it out,

sprinkle it with ½ ratl rose water. Crumble the pith on a plate and dry it. Finely crush it with some camphor and musk then mix them well. Add the breadcrumbs to the almond-sugar mixture and sift them in a sieve so that they all mix well.

Take 15 ratl excellent-quality fine samīdh flour (high in starch and bran free). Knead it with ¼ ratl fresh yeast dissolved in water, and 2 ½ ratls fresh sesame oil. Mix them all together then knead and press and rub the dough vigorously. Keep on doing this while gradually feeding it with water, 5 dirhams at a time until it is thoroughly kneaded. The [final] dough should be on the stiff side.

Divide the dough into portions, whether small or big is up to you. Take a portion of the dough, roll it out on a (wooden low table) with a rolling pin. Let it look like a tongue, wide in the middle and tapered towards both ends. Spoon some of the filling and spread it on part of the dough, leaving the borders free of the filling. Fold the dough on the filling [lengthwise]. Press out air so that the dough and the filling become like one solid mass. If any air remains inside, the cookie will tear and crack while baking in the tannur. Bend the two ends of the piece to make it look like a crescent. Arrange the finished ones on a tray and cover them with a piece of cloth.

Light fire in the tannur and wait until the coals look white. Wipe the inside walls of the tannur with a wet piece of cloth after you brush it with a broom. Gather all the embers in the middle, and shape them like a dome. Now, transfer the tray closer to the tannur and put a bowl of water next to the top opening of the oven.

When ready to bake, take the filled pastries from the tray one by one, wipe their backs with water, enough to make them sticky, and stick them all to the inner wall of the tannur, taking care not to let them fall down. When you see that all the pieces are sealed well at the seams, cover the [top opening of the] tannur, and close the (bottom vent hole) for a short while to create moisture in the oven.

When the cookies start to take on color, open the bottom vent hole, remove the oven's top lid, and start scraping off the browned ones as they are done with a spatula held in one hand and a huge iron scoop [held in the other hand to receive the scraped cookies].

You should have prepared a bowl of gum Arabic dissolved in water. Wipe the

khushkanaanaj tops with the gum solution [to give them a nice gloss], and stow the cookies away in a wicker basket, God willing.

(One tenth of the original recipe)

3 c semolina	⅞ c bread crumbs
½ c sesame oil	1 ½ T rose water
1 T sourdough	1.6 c sugar
¾ c water	1 t gum arabic
1 ¼ c almonds	in ½ c water
⅓ gram edible camphor	

Combine semolina and sesame oil, stir in sourdough dissolved in water. Leave about 5 hours to rise. Grind almonds. Grind camphor in mortar, combine with bread crumbs and rose water, spread out to dry for fifteen minutes or so. Add sugar and bread crumbs to almonds, mix. Take a ball of dough about 1 ¼ inches in diameter, press and roll out to an oval about 5"x4", put T+ of filling in the middle, fold along the long axis as a crescent, press out the air.

Put a baking stone in the oven and a pie pan or something similar on another shelf, heat oven to 350°. Brush each crescent with water, put wet side down on baking stone, pour a cup of hot water into the pie pan to make the oven steamy. Bake about 25-30 minutes until they start to brown. Remove, brush with gum arabic solution, let dry.

We have not yet found an adequate substitute for musk.

Ka'k Stuffed with Sugar

Andalusian p. A-70

Knead the amount that you want of fine flour and knead a long time. Leave it until it rises and then pound almonds very fine until they are like brains. Grind with an equal amount of white sugar and knead the two parts with some rosewater and perfume it with fine spices. Roll the dough out long and put on the stuffing and cover with dough. Make it round and make ka'ks with it. Send it to the oven and, if you want, fry it in the frying pan with oil and scatter sugar on top. He who wants it simple, let him omit the spices.

2 ½ c flour	1 ½ c sugar
½ c water	½ t cinnamon
½ c sourdough	3 T rosewater
1 ¼ c blanched almonds	

Mix the water and sourdough and stir the mixed liquid into the flour; we used a mix of white and whole wheat, which works, but there is no particular reason to do it that way. Knead it for 10-15 minutes, adding up to an additional ¼ c flour if necessary to keep it from being sticky. Cover with a damp cloth and leave to rise 3 hours in a warm place.

Grind the almonds about 40 seconds in a food processor (or longer in a mortar) until very finely ground. Combine with sugar and cinnamon, stir in rose water, and knead together.

Take 1 T of dough, flour it, roll between your hands to a 4" long cylinder. Flatten with your finger, making the middle lower than the edges (i.e. a depression almost 4" long down the middle of the dough). Fill with about 1 ½ t of the sugar/almond mixture. Fold the dough up over the filling, making a tube of dough filled with filling about 4" long, sealed at both ends. Bend it into a ring (small bracelet). Put on an oiled cookie sheet, bake at 300° 40 minutes.

This guess at the size and shape of the individual pieces is based on a description of something with the same name (but different structure) in a modern cookbook (by Claudia Rodin). You can flatten the ring either by pressing it down against the cookie sheet or by making it like a napkin ring.

A recipe from an earlier period cookbook (p. 75) describes them as squares, so that may be a better guess. Experiment.

Recipe for Oven Cheese Pie, Which We Call Toledan

Andalusian p. A-62

Make dough as for musammana and make a small leafy round loaf of it. Then roll it out and put sufficient pounded cheese in the middle. Fold over the ends of the loaf and join them over the cheese on all sides; leave a small hole the size of a dinar on top, so the cheese can be seen, and

sprinkle it with some anise. Then place it in the oven on a slab, and leave it until it is done, take it out and use it, as you wish.

2 c semolina flour	6 oz feta or other cheese
~ 5/8-¾ c water	½ t anise, ground
¼ c = ⅛ lb butter	

Make dough as in Musammana recipe (p. 121) and divide into 4 pieces. Flatten each to about 6"x 8". Put 1 ½ oz cheese in the middle of each. Sprinkle with anise. Fold the edges in and join, leaving a small space open in the center. Bake at 400° for 15 minutes

Recipe for Mujabbana (Fried Cheese Pie)

Andalusian p. A-61

Know that mujabbana isn't prepared with only one cheese, but of two; that is, of cow's and sheep's milk cheese. Because if you make it with only sheep cheese, it falls apart and the cheese leaves it and it runs. And if you make it with cow's cheese, it binds, and lets the water run and becomes one sole mass and the parts don't separate. The principle in making it is that the two cheeses bind together. Use one-fourth part cow's milk and three-quarters of sheep's. Knead all until some binds with its parts another [Huici Miranda observes that this passage is faintly written and only a few letters can be made out] and becomes equal and holds together and doesn't run in the frying pan, but without hardening or congealing. If you need to soften it, soften it with fresh milk, recently milked from the cow. And let the cheese not be very fresh, but strong without...[words missing]...that the moisture has gone out of. Thus do the people of our land make it in the west of al-Andalus, as in Cordoba and Seville and Jerez, and elsewhere in the land of the West.

Manner of Making it: Knead wheat or semolina flour with some yeast into a well-made dough and moisten it with water little by little until it loosens. If you moisten it with fresh milk instead of water it is better, and easy, inasmuch as you make it with your palm. Roll it out and let it not have the consistency of mushalihadā, but firmer than that, and lighter than musammana dough. When the leaven begins to

enter it, put the frying pan on the fire with a lot of oil, so that it is drenched with what you fry it with. Then wet your hand in water and cut off a piece of the dough. Bury inside it the same amount of rubbed cheese. Squeeze it with your hand, and whatever leaves and drains from the hand, gather it up [? the meaning of this verb eludes me] carefully. Put it in the frying pan while the oil boils. When it has browned, remove it with an iron hook prepared for it and put it in a dipper ["iron hand"] similar to a sieve held above the frying pan, until its oil drips out. Then put it on a big platter and dust it with a lot of sugar and ground cinnamon. There are those who eat it with honey or rose syrup and it is the best you can eat.

1 ½ c flour	4 oz feta
¼ c sourdough	2 c olive oil for frying
½ c milk	1 t cinnamon
¼ oz ricotta	1 T sugar or honey

Mix flour, sourdough and milk; knead for a few minutes into a smooth dough. Roll out to about a 12" circle, making sure the board (or marble slab) is well floured so it will not stick when you later take it off. Let rise about 3 hours in a warm place. Mash together the cheeses—we used ricotta and feta, but you could try different cow's and sheep's cheeses—and knead them to a smooth consistency. Cut a piece of the dough, put cheese filling on top, fold dough up on all sides around it and over the cheese; squeeze to a circular, flattened patty, using a wet hand so that the dough will seal. At this point you have cheese entirely surrounded by dough. Pour the oil in a 8 ½" frying pan or dutch oven (about ½" deep), heat to about 340°. Put patties into the oil, cook until the bottom is brown (about 40-60 seconds), turn over, cook until that side is brown (about another 40 seconds), remove, drain. Eat with either cinnamon sugar or honey.

The cut pieces of rolled dough used to make the fritters ranged from about a 1.5"x1.5" square to a 2.5"x2.5". The former requires about ½ t of filling, the latter about 1 t or a little more. The former ends up, before frying, as a roughly circular patty about 1.5"

in diameter and ½" thick; the latter ends as a circular patty about 2.5" in diameter and ½" or a little thicker. The recipe makes about 20-30 patties. You could probably cook them faster by using enough more oil so that the patties were entirely covered.

Recipe for Murakkaba, a Dish which is Made in the Region of Constantine and is Called Kutâmiyya

Andalusian p. A-62 (Good)

Knead a well-made dough from semolina like the "sponge" dough with yeast, and break in it as many eggs as you can, and knead the dough with them until it is slack. Then set up a frying pan of clay [hantam] on a hot fire, and when it has heated, grease it with clarified butter or oil. Put in a thin flat loaf of the dough and when the bread is done, turn over. Take some of the dough in the hand and smear the surface of the bread with it. Then turn the smeared surface to the pan, changing the lower part with the upper, and smear this side with dough too. Then turn it over in the pan and smear it, and keep smearing it with dough and turning it over in the tajine, and pile it up and raise it until it becomes a great, tall loaf. Then turn it by the edges a few times in the tajine until it is done on the sides, and when it is done, as it is desired, put it in a serving dish and make large holes with a stick, and pour into them melted butter and plenty of honey, so that it covers the bread, and present it.

[From "Making of Elegant Isfunja ("Sponge")," Andalusian: You take clear and clean semolina and knead it with lukewarm water and yeast and knead again. When it has risen, turn the dough, knead fine and moisten with water, little by little, so that it becomes like tar after the second kneading, until it becomes leavened or is nearly risen. ...]

2 ¼ c semolina flour	2 eggs
½ c water	1-2 T oil for frying
½ c sourdough	¾ c honey
¼ c more water	½ c butter

Combine flour, ½ c water, and sourdough and knead smooth. Cover with a damp cloth and leave overnight to rise. In the morning knead in an additional ¼ c water, making it

into a sticky mess, and leave another few hours in a warm place to rise. Add the eggs and stir until they are absorbed into the dough.

Heat a frying pan over medium to high heat and grease it with oil or ghee. Pour on enough batter to make a thick pancake about 7" in diameter. When one side is cooked (about 2 minutes) turn it over. Put onto the cooked side about $\frac{1}{4}$ c more batter, spreading it out to cover. When the second side is done (1-2 minutes more), turn it over, so that the side smeared with batter is now down. Cook another 1-2 minutes. Repeat. Continue until the batter is all used up, giving you about 8-10 layers—like a stack of pancakes about 3" thick, all stuck together. Turn the loaf on its side and roll it around the frying pan like a wheel, in order to be sure the edges are cooked.

Punch lots of holes in the top with the handle of a wooden spoon, being careful not to get through the bottom layer. Pour in honey and melted butter, letting it soak into the loaf. Serve.

Note: Scale the recipe up as desired to suit your ambition and frying pan. If you don't have sourdough you could use yeast instead, with shorter rising times.

Recipe for Murakkaba Layered with Dates

Andalusian p. A-62

Take the dough described under murakkaba kutamiyya [see preceding recipe] and make of it a thin flatbread in a heated tajine, and when it is done, turn it over, and top it with dates that have been cleaned, pounded, kneaded in the hands and moistened with oil. Smooth them with the palm, then put on another flatbread and turn it over, and then another bread, and repeat this until it is as high as desired. When it is done on all sides, put it in a dish and pour over it hot oil and honey cleaned of its scum; this is how the people of Ifriqiyya make it.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ c semolina flour	12 oz dates
$\frac{1}{2}$ c water	2 T oil
$\frac{1}{2}$ c sourdough	1-2 T oil or ghee
$\frac{1}{4}$ c more water	1 c honey
4 eggs	$\frac{1}{4}$ c almond oil

Combine flour, $\frac{1}{2}$ c water, and sourdough and knead smooth. Cover with a damp cloth and leave overnight to rise. In the morning knead in an additional $\frac{1}{4}$ c water, making it into a sticky mess, and leave another few hours in a warm place to rise. Add the eggs, and stir until they are absorbed into the dough. Pound dates in the mortar, knead in 2 T of oil.

Heat a frying pan over a medium to high heat and grease it with oil or ghee. Pour on about $\frac{1}{2}$ c batter to make a thick pancake about 7" in diameter. When one side is cooked (about 2 minutes) turn it over. Put on about $\frac{1}{4}$ c of the date paste, smearing it on so that most of the pancake is covered. Cover that with about $\frac{1}{2}$ c more batter. When the second side is done (1-2 minutes more), turn it over, so that the side smeared with batter is now down. Put on another layer of dates. Continue until the batter and dates are all used up. Turn the loaf on its side and roll it around the frying pan like a wheel, in order to be sure the edges are cooked.

Briefly boil honey, removing scum as it rises. Heat $\frac{1}{4}$ c oil. Punch lots of holes with the handle of a wooden spoon (this is based on the other Murakkaba recipe, which gives more detail). Pour on honey and hot oil, letting it soak into the loaf. Serve.

Cheese and Flour Cake

al-Andalusi no. 79 (Good)

Knead the necessary quantity of flour, one time with water, another with oil, and to it add yeast and milk until it has the same consistency as the dough of fritters, and leave it until it has next risen. Next grease with oil a large earthen pot, stretch in it a piece of dough, and over it a bit of cheese, and over the cheese a bit of dough, and so a little of one, and a bit of the other until the last of the dough and cheese. Next cover it with dough as you did in the previous recipe and cook it in the same way in the oven. Afterwards, drizzle it with honey, sprinkle it with sugar and pepper and eat it.

$\frac{4}{3}$ c white flour	3 T oil
$\frac{2}{3}$ c whole wheat flour	12 oz cheese
$\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$ c water	6 T honey
3 T milk	1 T sugar
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ t yeast	$\frac{1}{4}$ t pepper

Knead flours and water to a very dry dough, mix warm milk and yeast, let sit five minutes, add oil to dough, knead in. Knead milk and yeast into the dough for about 5-10 minutes, until fairly uniform. Leave 45 minutes to rise in a warm place. Divide dough in about 8 equal portions, flour and pat, stretch, or roll out to size of pan (about 4"x7"); if you roll it out you can use 12 equal portions. Layer with sliced cheese. Bake 45 minutes at 350°. Drizzle the honey over it. Serve with mixed sugar and pepper for the guests to sprinkle over to taste. This should probably be done with sourdough instead of yeast, but we have not tried it that way yet.

**Preparation of Musammana [Buttered]
Which Is Muwarraqa [Leafy]**
Andalusian p. A-60 (Good)

Take pure semolina or wheat flour and knead a stiff dough without yeast. Moisten it little by little and don't stop kneading it until it relaxes and is ready and is softened so that you can stretch a piece without severing it. Then put it in a new frying pan on a moderate fire. When the pan has heated, take a piece of the dough and roll it out thin on marble or a board. Smear it with melted clarified butter or fresh butter liquified over water. Then roll it up like a cloth until it becomes like a reed. Then twist it and beat it with your palm until it becomes like a round thin bread, and if you want, fold it over also. Then roll it out and beat it with your palm a second time until it becomes round and thin. Then put it in a heated frying pan after you have greased the frying pan with clarified butter, and whenever the clarified butter dries out, moisten [with butter] little by little, and turn it around until it binds, and then take it away and make more until you finish the amount you need. Then pound them between your palms and toss on butter and boiling honey. When it has cooled, dust it with ground sugar and serve it.

~ 5/8-3/4 c water 1/4 c butter at the end
2 c semolina flour 1/4 c honey at the end
1/8 lb butter, melted 1 T+ sugar
1/4 c ghee for frying

Stir most of the water into the flour, knead together, then gradually knead in the rest of the water. Knead for about 5-10 minutes until

you have a smooth, elastic and slightly sticky dough that stretches instead of breaking when you pull it a little. Divide in four equal parts. Roll out on a floured board, or better on floured marble, to at least 13"x15". Smear it with about 4 t melted butter. Roll it up. Twist it. Squeeze it together, flatten with your hands to about a 5-6" diameter circle. If you wish, fold that in quarters and flatten again to about a 5-6" circle. Melt about 1 T of ghee in a frying pan and fry the dough about 8 minutes, turning about every 1 1/2 to 2 minutes (shorter times towards the end). Repeat with the other three parts, adding more ghee as needed. Melt 1/4 c butter, heat 1/4 c honey. Beat the cooked circles between your hands to loosen the layers, put in a bowl, pour the honey and butter over them, dust with sugar, and serve. If you are going to give it time to really soak, you might use more butter and honey.

For regular flour, everything is the same except that you may need slightly more water. You can substitute cooking oil for the ghee (which withstands heat better than plain butter) if necessary.

Cakes with Honey
[no title in the original]
Andalusian p. A-23

Sift white flour three times, take the choicest part, mingle it with butter and knead it with egg yolk and put into the dough some saffron and salt. Put clarified butter into an earthenware frying pan, boil it and take one kail of honey and one of dough and throw them into the melted butter until it is cooked. Before it is thickened, put in blanched almonds and pine-nuts, sprinkle it with pepper and present it.

4 T butter 1/4 c blanched almonds
1 c white flour 1/4 c pine nuts
2 egg yolks ~ 1/4 c ghee
4 threads saffron 3/4 c honey
1/4 t salt 1/4 t pepper

Cut butter into the flour, then knead in the egg yolks with saffron (extracted in water) and salt. Chop the almonds, mix with the pine nuts. For each cake, put 1 T ghee in a small frying pan on low heat, put 3 T of dough in

the form of a patty about 1/8" thick into the ghee along with 3 T of honey. Cook for 5-10 minutes, spooning honey over the patty and flipping the patty at least once. Pour 1 T of the nut mixture into it. Remove onto a plate, pouring the honey and butter mixture over top, add a pinch of pepper. This should work fine with larger batches but we haven't tried that yet.

Hulwa

Ibn al-Mabrad p.19

Its varieties are many. Among them are the sweets made of natif. You put dibs [fruit syrup], honey, sugar or rubb [thick fruit syrup] in the pot, then you put it on a gentle fire and stir until it takes consistency. Then you beat eggwhite and put it with it and stir until it thickens and becomes natif. After that, if you want almond candy you put in toasted almonds and 'allaftahu; that is, you bind them. walnuts, pistachios, hazelnuts, toasted chickpeas, toasted sesame, flour. [apparently alternative versions]. You beat in the natif until it thickens. For duhniyyah you put in flour toasted with fat. As for ... [other versions.]

Sugar version

1/4 c water
1 1/4 c sugar
1 egg white
1 1/2 - 2 c nuts

Honey version

1 c honey
1 egg white
2 1/2-3 c or more nuts
[ground nuts
or sesame seeds]

This makes 25-40 hulwa.

Sugar version: Bring the water to a boil, stir in the sugar, continuing to heat. When it is dissolved and reasonably clear, turn it down to a simmer and put the top on the pot for two or three minutes (this is to let the steam wash down any sugar on the sides of the pot). Take the top off, boil gently until the temperature reaches the hard ball stage (250° -260° F). Beat the egg white until it is just stiff enough to hold its shape. Pour the sugar syrup into the egg white, beating continuously. You now have a thick white mixture; this is the natif. Mix it with chopped nuts (we have used almonds and walnuts) or toasted sesame seeds, or some mixture thereof. Squeeze the mixture into balls and set them aside to cool. As the natif cools it gets harder and less

sticky, so you have to work quickly; the hotter you get the syrup before combining it with the egg white (and hence the less water ended up in it), the faster this happens and the dryer the hulwa ends up. If you get past 260°, the syrup may crystallize on you as or before you pour it; if so, give up and start over.

Honey version: Simmer the honey gently until it reaches a temperature of 280° -290° F. From that point on, the recipe is the same as for sugar, using the boiled honey instead of the sugar syrup. Note that honey requires a higher temperature than sugar to get the same effect. Also note that natif made from honey will be stickier than natif made from sugar (maybe you can solve this by getting the honey up to 310° without burning it; I couldn't). So use a higher ratio of nuts to natif and have the nuts chopped more finely; this helps reduce the stickiness. You may want to roll the honey hulwa in sesame seeds or ground nuts, also to reduce stickiness.

Dibs version (still experimental). Stir the dibs while simmering at medium heat about 1/2 hour+, until it gets to about 250°. If you do not stir, it may separate out. By 250° there is some problem with scorching.

Note: Dibs is date syrup, available from some Middle Eastern grocery stores.

To toast sesame seeds, put them in a heavy iron pot over a medium to high flame. When the ones on the bottom begin to tan, start stirring. When they are all tan to brown, take them off the heat or they will burn.

Makshufa

al-Baghdadi p. 211

Take equal parts of sugar, almonds (or pistachios), honey, and sesame-oil. Grind the sugar and almonds, and mix together. Add saffron to color, mixed with rose-water. Put the sesame oil into a basin and boil until fragrant: then drop in the honey, and stir until the scum appears. Add the sugar and almonds, stirring all the time over a slow fire until almost set: then remove.

1 c+ almonds	3 T rosewater
3/4 c sugar	3/4 c sesame oil
10 threads saffron	1/2 c+ honey

Grind the almonds coarsely in a food processor, then add the sugar and grind briefly together to mix (I assume the original is using a block of sugar, which is why it has to be ground). Grind the saffron into the rose water, add, and run the food processor long enough to mix it in smoothly. Heat the oil to about 350° over a medium heat, add the honey and cook about 3 minutes on low. Foam (not very thick—like the bubbles of bubble bath, or a little thinner) will cover the top. Add the almonds and sugar. At this point it may foam up and boil over, so be careful, use a reasonably large pot, and be ready to remove it from the heat temporarily if necessary. Cook on medium to medium high, with a candy thermometer in the pot; be careful to keep the thermometer from touching the bottom.

At a temperature of about 230° the mixture becomes smooth. After cooking about 10 minutes (from the time the sugar went in) it reaches about 270°. If you stop at that point, your Makshufa will be light colored and chewy. Another 6 minutes or so gets the syrup up to about 290°, giving a darker candy, crunchier, with a slightly caramelized taste.

Remove from heat, spoon onto a buttered cookie sheet (to make lots of little candies) or else pour it on (to make a sheet of candy like peanut brittle) and let cool. Chill, remove from the cooky sheet and keep the candy refrigerated or frozen to make it less likely to stick together. It is crunchier if you serve it chilled. The recipe makes about 40-45 pieces 1 ¾" in diameter with a total weight of about 21 ounces.

**Sukkariyya, a Sugar Dish from the
Dictation of Abu 'Ali al-Bagdadi**

Andalusian p. A-23

Take a ratl of sugar and put in two ùqiyas of rosewater and boil it in a ceramic pot until it is on the point of thickening and sticks between the fingers. Then take a third of a ratl of split almonds, fried, not burnt, and pound well and throw the sugar on them and stir it on the fire until thickened. Then spread it out on a dish and sprinkle it with ground sugar.

2 c sugar 5 oz = ⅞ c slivered almonds
5 T rosewater 1-2 T more sugar

Toast the almonds in a hot (400°) frying pan for 3-5 minutes, stirring continuously. Then crush them with mortar and pestle to something between ground and chopped. Cook sugar and rosewater mixture on medium high until it comes to a boil, reduce to medium and continue cooking to a temperature of 275°, about ten minutes. Combine syrup and nuts in a frying pan, cook at medium to medium high, stirring constantly, for another nine minutes, turn out on a plate and sprinkle with sugar. An alternative interpretation of the original recipe is that you cook the syrup and nuts together only long enough to get them well mixed; the binder is then sugar syrup rather than caramelized sugar. Both ways work.

Barad

al-Baghdadi p. 211

Take best white flour, made into a dough, and leave to rise. Put a basin on the fire, with some sesame-oil. When boiling, take in a reticulated ladle some of the dough, and shake it into the oil, so that as each drop of the dough falls in, it sets. As each piece is cooked, remove with another ladle to drain off the oil. Take honey as required, mix with rose water, and put over the fire to boil to a consistency: then take off, and while still in the basin, whip until white. Throw in the barad, and place out on a soft-oiled surface, pressing in the shape of the mould. Then cut into pieces, and serve.

½ c white flour 1 ¼ c sesame oil
½ c water 1 T rose water
½ t dried yeast ½ c honey
or ¼ c sourdough

Make the flour and water into a smooth batter. If using yeast mix it with 2 t water, wait about 10 minutes, then add it (or the sourdough) to the flour-water mixture. Let stand 2-3 hours. Heat 1 c of the sesame oil to about 300° in a large frying pan. Pour the batter through a ladle or skimmer with small holes in it, so as to form small balls in the hot oil. Cook to a pale brown (1-3 minutes), take out, drain on paper towel. Add more sesame

oil when it gets low.

Mix rose water and honey, cook to 250°. Pay close attention—you want it almost but not quite boiling over. As it cools, whip it; it eventually takes a sort of whipped butter consistency, with a light color. Mix it with the fried dough, press down on an oiled plate, press down from above with another plate or a spatula. Chill before serving.

It has some tendency to come out a bit oily; you may want to use paper towels during the pressing to absorb as much of the surplus oil as possible.

Hais

al-Baghdadi p. 214 (Good)

Take fine dry bread, or biscuit, and grind up well. Take a ratl of this, and three quarters of a ratl of fresh or preserved dates with the stones removed, together with three uqiya of ground almonds and pistachios. Knead all together very well with the hands. Refine two uqiya of sesame-oil, and pour over, working with the hand until it is mixed in. Make into cabobs, and dust with fine-ground sugar. If desired, instead of sesame-oil use butter. This is excellent for travellers.

1/3 c almonds	7 T melted butter
1/3 c pistachios	or sesame oil
2 c (1 lb) pitted dates	enough sugar
2 2/3 c bread crumbs	

We usually grind the nuts separately in a food processor, then mix dates, bread crumbs, and nuts in the food processor, then stir in melted butter or oil. Dates vary in hardness—fresher is better (softer, moister). If it does not hold together, add a few tablespoons of water, one at a time. For “cabobs,” roll and squeeze into one inch balls. Good as caravan food (or for taking to wars). They last forever if you do not eat them, but you do so they don't.

Nuhud al-Adhra [Virgin's Breasts]

The Description of Familiar Foods p. 422

Knead sugar, almonds, samid and clarified butter, equal parts, and make them like breasts, and arrange them in a brass tray. Put it into the bread oven until done, and take it out. It comes out excellently.

1/2 lb blanched almonds	1/2 lb semolina
1/2 lb sugar	1/2 lb ghee

Process almonds in food processor until quite fine. Stir together dry ingredients, melt ghee, add, stir until blended. Mold into the shape of breasts, using a small Chinese teacup or something similar, total volume of each from 1 T (small) to 4 T (large). Put on a baking sheet, bake at 350° for about 13 minutes (small) to 18 minutes (large).

Khabîsa with Pomegranate

Andalusian p. A-24

Take half a ratl of sugar and put it in a metal or earthenware pot and pour in three ratls of juice of sweet table pomegranates [rummân sufri; probably tart pomegranates were more common in cooking] and half an uqiya of rosewater, with a penetrating smell. Boil it gently and after two boilings, add half a mudd of semolina and boil it until the semolina is cooked. Throw in the weight of a quarter dirham of ground and sifted saffron, and three uqiyas of almonds. Put it in a dish and sprinkle over it the like of pounded sugar, and make balls [literally, hazelnuts] of this.

This is about 1/2 the original (this assumes the small Mudd is what is meant for the semolina; the alternative is four times as much semolina):

1/2 c sugar	1 t saffron, ground
3 c pomegranate juice	2 oz blanched almonds
4 t rosewater	1/4 c sugar
1.1 c semolina	

Dissolve sugar in juice and rosewater, bring to a boil, simmer for about 5-10 minutes. Stir in semolina, keep stirring and cooking about ten minutes more, stir in saffron and almonds, stir together. Pour out on a plate, sprinkle with the additional 2 oz of sugar, form into balls, let cool. If you want, sprinkle some of the sugar on after the balls are formed.

Drinks

Sekanjabin

Modern Recipe: Dissolve 4 cups of sugar in 2 ½ cups of water; when it comes to a boil add 1 cup wine vinegar. Simmer ½ hour. Add a handful of mint, remove from fire, let cool. Makes 5 c of syrup, which stores without refrigeration. Dilute to taste with ice water (5 to 10 parts water to 1 part syrup).

Note: This is the only recipe in the *Miscellany* that is based on a modern source: *A Book of Middle Eastern Food*, by Claudia Roden. Sekanjabin is a period drink; it is mentioned in the *Fihrist* of al-Nadim, which was written in the tenth century. The only period recipe I have found for it (in the Andalusian cookbook) is called “Simple Sekanjabin” (see below) and omits the mint. It is one of a large variety of similar drinks described in that cookbook—flavored syrups intended to be diluted in either hot or cold water before drinking.

Syrup of Simple Sikanjabîn (Oxymel)

Andalusian p. A-74

Take a ratl of strong vinegar and mix it with two ratls of sugar, and cook all this until it takes the form of a syrup. Drink an ùqiya of this with three of hot water when fasting: it is beneficial for fevers of jaundice, and calms jaundice and cuts the thirst, since sikanjabîn syrup is beneficial in phlegmatic fevers: make it with six ùqiyas of sour vinegar for a ratl of honey and it is admirable.

This seems to be two different recipes, for two different medical uses. The first, at least, is intended to be drunk hot. In modern Iranian restaurants, sekanjabin is usually served cold, often with grated cucumber.

Syrup of Lemon

Andalusian p. A-74

Take lemon, after peeling its outer skin, press it and take a ratl of juice, and add as much of sugar. Cook it until it takes the form of a syrup. Its advantages are for the heat of bile; it cuts the thirst and binds the bowels.

This we also serve as a strong, hot drink. Alternatively, dilute it in cold water and you have thirteenth century lemonade. All three of the Andalusian syrup recipes include comments on medical uses.

Syrup of Pomegranates

Andalusian p. A-74

Take a ratl of sour pomegranates and another of sweet pomegranates, and add their juice to two ratls of sugar, cook all this until it takes the consistency of syrup, and keep until needed. Its benefits: it is useful for fevers, and cuts the thirst, it benefits bilious fevers and lightens the body gently.

Use equal volumes of sugar and pomegranate juice (found in some health food stores). Cook them down to a thick syrup, which will keep, without refrigeration, for a very long time. To serve, dilute one part of syrup in 3 to 6 parts of hot water (to taste).

Odds and Ends

The Making of Stuffed Eggs

Andalusian A-24

Take as many eggs as you like, and boil them whole in hot water; put them in cold water and split them in half with a thread. Take the yolks aside and pound cilantro and put in onion juice, pepper and coriander, and beat all this together with murri, oil and salt and knead the yolks with this until it forms a dough. Then stuff the whites with this and fasten it together, insert a small stick into each egg, and sprinkle them with pepper, God willing.

12 large eggs	5 t murri (p. 5)
3 t crushed cilantro	3 T olive oil
5 t onion juice	½ t salt
¼ t ground pepper	additional pepper
1 ½ t ground coriander	

Bring enough water to cover the eggs to a boil. Boil eggs 15 minutes. Drain, put in cold water, and peel under running cold water. Divide them in half lengthways with a thread

(it really works).

Remove yolks, put in a bowl and crush with a fork. Add remaining ingredients, stir to a coarse paste. Fill the half egg whites and rejoin them with a toothpick. Sprinkle with pepper and serve.

A Recipe for Conserving Quince

al-Warraq p. 486

Quarter and core quince, put it in a pot with honey, and pour water on it. Let the pot come to a boil then drain the quince, return it to the pot and add honey to it. Do not use water this time. Cook the quince again until it is well done.

1 lb quince ½ c honey 1 ½ c honey

Core and quarter the quince(s). Dissolve ½ c honey in 1 ½ c of water. Put the quince in the liquid, bring it to a boil, then drain off the liquid, return the quince to the pot along with 1 ½ c honey. Bring the honey to a boil and cook for about an hour. Put the quince and boiled honey in a jar, seal it.

Mint Paste

Andalusian A-76

Take a ratl of green mint leaves and crush them gently; add three ratls of honey, cleaned of its foam, and blend it until it takes the form of a paste. Then season it with an uqiya of flower of cloves per ratl. Its benefits: it eases and aids against heaviness of the body and mind, aids in eardrum [? tablī: from the word for drum] dropsy, dissolves phlegm in the various parts of the body, strengthens the urine, and cuts vomit; it is good with sweet grains of anise, eaten with them or after them. It is beneficial, God willing.

2 oz mint leaves 2 ⅔ t cloves
½ c honey

Strip the leaves from the stalks, wash them, crush them in a mortar. Add honey, mush all together for a while. Add cloves. Put in a container. Good for what ails you.

Indian Dishes

Harisa

Ain I Akbari no. 17

Harisa: 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 2 s. ghee; ½ s. salt; 2 d. cinnamon: this gives five dishes.

Note: For units, see p. 6. These *Ain I Akbari* “recipes” give quantities but no instructions; for another harisa recipe, with instructions on how to make it, see p.105.

1 lb meat (leg of lamb) ½ t cinnamon
3 c water ½ lb cracked wheat
1 T+ salt 3 oz ghee

Cut lamb in strips, then boil about 20 minutes in water, take out, cool, and shred. Put it back in the pot with the salt, cinnamon and cracked wheat, and simmer, stirring often so that it will not scorch on the bottom. When the cracked wheat is done, add ghee and serve out.

This is quite salty, as is consistent with the other dishes from this source.

Another Recipe, For The Method Of Kedgerie

Nimatnama p. 15

Put three parts of mung dal and one part of rice into sweet-smelling ghee which has been flavored with fenugreek, and fry it well. Add water and salt, cook it well and serve it.

1 c dry mung beans ⅔ c rice
2 c water 1 c water
½ c ghee ½ t salt
¼ t fenugreek

Combine the beans with 2 c water, bring to a boil, turn off the heat, leave several hours (or soak in cold water overnight).

Melt ghee, add fenugreek, fry ten minutes until fenugreek seeds are dark. Add beans and rice, fry for ten minutes. Add water and salt, cook 25 minutes, let stand 5 minutes.

Khichri*Ain i Akbari* no. 3

Khichri: Rice, mung dal, and ghee 5 s. of each; 1/3 s. salt; this gives seven dishes. [see p. 6 for units]

3/4 c dried mung beans 1 1/2 t salt
 3/4 c rice = 5 oz 2-4 T ghee
 3 oz ghee (6 T)

Note: This source gives ingredients by weight, but no instructions; we are going by a khichri recipe in a modern Indian cookbook.

Put the beans and rice in to soak separately, using about 1 c of water each. After 45 minutes, drain the beans. Melt 3 oz of ghee in a sauce pan, add the drained beans, cook about 5 minutes. Add 2 1/4 c water. Simmer about 1/2 hour. Drain the rice, add it, salt, and another 1 c water. Simmer about 1/2 hour. Melt the remaining ghee, stir in, serve.

Note: The use of the remaining ghee is entirely conjectural, based on the fact that a modern Khichri recipe serves melted ghee on the side (with onion fried in it). The result would not be very different if all the ghee were used initially.

(Presumably a different version of the same dish as the previous recipe.)

Qaliya Rice*Nimatnama* p. 15

Put ghee into a cooking pot and when it has become hot, flavour it with asafoetida and garlic. When it has become well flavored, put the meat, mixed with chopped potherbs, into the ghee. When it has become marinated [mistranslation?], add water and add, to an equal amount, one sir of cow's milk. When it has come to the boil, add the washed rice. When it is well cooked, take it off. Cook other rice by the same recipe and, likewise, do not make it with cow's milk but put in four sirs of garlic and whole peppers, and serve it.

3 cloves garlic 1 1/4 c whole milk
 1/3 c ghee 1 1/4 c water
 1/8 t asafoetida 1 1/2 c rice
 1 1/4 lb lamb [1/2 t salt]
 10 oz spinach

Slice garlic, melt ghee, add asafoetida, fry garlic in ghee about 20 minutes. Add meat and spinach, fry about ten minutes. Add milk and water, bring to a boil (about 8 minutes). Add washed rice, salt, cook about 25 minutes, let sit five minutes, serve.

Bread*Ain i Akbari* chapter 25

There is a large kind, baked in an oven, made of 10 s. flour; 5 s. milk; 1 1/2 s. ghi; 1/4 s. salt. They make also smaller ones. The thin kind is baked on an iron plate. One ser will give fifteen, or even more. There are various ways of making it; one kind is called chapati, which is sometimes made of khushka; it tastes very well when served hot. [see p. 6 for units]

3/8-1/2 c ghee 1 c milk
 3 1/2 c flour 1/2 T salt

Melt the ghee, stir it into the flour with a fork until there are only very small lumps. Stir in the milk until thoroughly mixed, knead briefly. Put the ball of dough in a bowl covered by a damp cloth and leave for at least an hour. Then knead the dough until it is smooth and elastic, adding a little extra flour if necessary. Either:

Take a ball of dough about 2" in diameter, roll it out to about a 5" diameter circle. Cook it in a hot frying pan without grease. After about 2 minutes it should start to puff up a little in places. Turn it. Cook another 2 minutes. Turn it. Cook another 2 minutes. It should be done. The recipe should make about 11 of these.

Or ...

Take a ball of dough about 3" in diameter. Roll it down to a circle about 7" in diameter and 1/4" thick. Heat a baking sheet in a 450° oven. Put the circle of dough on it in the oven. Bake about 6 minutes; it should be puffing up. Turn it over. Bake about 4 minutes more. Take it out. The recipe should make about 5 of these.

Qima Shurba*Ain I Akbari* no. 16

Qima [Kheema] Shurba: 10 s. meat; 1 s. rice; 1 s. ghee; ½ s. gram, and the rest as in the Shulla: this gives ten full dishes.

Shulla: 10 s. meat, 3 ½ s. rice; 2 s. ghee; 1 s. gram; 2 s. onions; ½ s. salt; ¼ s. fresh ginger; 2 d. garlic, and round pepper, cinnamon, cardamoms, cloves, 1 d. of each: this gives six dishes.

Note: For units, see p. 6. For a shurba recipe with instructions, see page 106.

¼ c ghee	¼ stick cinnamon
1 lb lamb	1 T fresh ginger
3 oz onions	½ t pepper
½ clove garlic	½ t cardamon
1 T salt	½ t cloves
2 T canned chickpeas	3-4 T rice

Melt the ghee, put it in a pot. Brown the meat, onions, and garlic in it for about 5 minutes on a medium heat. Add 1 ¼ c of lukewarm water, salt, chickpeas, cinnamon. Simmer about another 10 minutes, then add peeled chopped ginger, pepper, cardamom and cloves. Add the rice and another ½ c of water. Simmer another ½ hour. Serve. Somewhat salty, which seems to be typical of recipes from this source.

Kashk*Ain I Akbari* no. 18

10s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 3 s. ghee; 1 s. gram; ¼ s. salt; 1 ½ s. onions; ½ s. ginger; 1 d. cinnamon; saffron, cloves, cardamoms, cumin seed, 2 m. of each: this gives five dishes.

Note: Since the source gives ingredients with quantities but without instructions, the recipe below is a guess based on modern Indian cooking. For units see p. 6. The recipe given below is for one twentieth of the original.

5 oz ghee	⅓ t cumin
2 T fresh ginger	2 ½ oz onions
⅔ t cinnamon	1 lb lamb
½ g saffron:	¼ c canned chickpeas
(1 t loosely packed)	1 ⅓ t salt
⅛ t cloves	1 ½ c cracked wheat
3 cardamom seeds	

Melt ghee, put in spices, cook for 5 minutes. Add onions, cook 10 minutes, add meat, cook 20 minutes. Add chickpeas, salt and wheat, cook 15 minutes, add 1 c water, cook another 20 minutes. Serve.

Qutab or Sanbusa*Ain I Akbari* no. 20

Qutab, which the people of Hind call sanbusa: This is made in several ways. 10 s. meat; 4 s. fine flour; 2 s. ghee; 1 s. onions; ¼ s. fresh ginger; ½ s. salt; 2 d. pepper and coriander seed; cardamoms, cumin seed, cloves, 1 d. of each; ¼ s. of summaq. This can be cooked in twenty different ways, and gives four full dishes.

Andalusian version of Preparation of Sanbûsak:

Take meat of the innards or any meat you wish and pound fine, and pick out its tendons, and put cut-up fat with it, about a third the amount of the meat, and throw upon all many spices, and increase the pepper, onion juice, cilantro, rue and salt, and mix well, and throw in oil and a little water until wrinkled. Take semolina and knead well with clarified butter and a little pepper, and take an amount of the dough the size of a walnut, and roll it out as large as half a hand-span, and take a piece of stuffing as large as a walnut and put it in the middle of the dough, and wrap up the edges over it, and fry it in fresh oil, and dispose of it as you wish, God willing.

½ c white flour	½ t pepper
½ c whole wheat flour	¼ t cloves
4 T ghee	¼ oz fresh ginger
10 oz meat	¼ t cardamon
1 oz onion	¼ t cumin
½ t coriander	2 t salt
¼ oz sumac	

(Compare to modern samosa.)

Mix the flours, cut in the ghee. Sprinkle on about 4 T water and knead to a smooth dough.

Cut up meat, combine it and all remaining ingredients in a food processor. Process a minute or two, until it is all cut finely together. Roll out the dough to about 12"x14", and cut into 2"x2" pieces. Put a little more than a teaspoon of the filling in each, using up all the filling. Wrap the filling in the dough. Alternatively, press thin a little less than a teaspoon of dough, put a little more than a teaspoon of filling in the middle, and stretch the dough to completely cover the filling.

Put about 3 c of cooking oil in a pot, heat to between 350° and 390°, fry the Sanbusa about 2-3 minutes each, drain, serve.

(People who do not like salt should probably cut it in half. Almost all of the dishes from this source come out quite salty).

Sag

Ain I Akbari no. 9

Sag: It is made of spinach, and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes. 10 s. spinach, fennel, etc., 1 ½ s. ghee; 1 s. onions; ½ s. fresh ginger; 5 ½ m. of pepper; ½ m. of cardamons and cloves; this gives six dishes. [for units see p. 6]

2/3 oz fresh ginger	1/20 t cloves
10 oz spinach	1/2 t pepper
3 oz fennel	1/20 t cardamon
1 1/3 oz onions	4 T ghee

Peel and chop ginger. Wash and chop the greens and onion, put them in a pot with everything else except the ghee, plus 1/4 c water. Cook about 35 minutes on medium heat, stirring occasionally. Add ghee. Cook another few minutes, stirring occasionally.

We have no cooking instructions for this dish, only ingredients and quantities, so are going by a recipe for Saag in a modern Indian cookbook. An alternative interpretation is that the greens etc. are fried in the ghee. The recipe refers to "other greens": cabbage, sorrel, and mint are mentioned in the *Ain I Akbari*.

Chinese Dishes

Carp Another Way

Ni Tsan no. 28

Cut into chunks. Boil some fragrant oil. In another pan use the oil to cook fresh ginger and chinese pepper. Let them fry a little while. Remove them and save in a container. Add the fish in while the oil is still hot. When the fish is fried till it colors [begins to brown], add the ginger and pepper mixture and let them cook a while. Turn off the fire before adding soy sauce. Then proceed as with the previous method.

1 3/4 lbs boned carp	1/2 t whole peppercorns
3 T fresh ginger	1/4-3/8 c dark soy sauce
3/8 c Chinese sesame oil	

Bone the carp and cut into pieces about 1" cubed or smaller. Peel and chop the ginger. Heat the oil to medium high, cook ginger and pepper in it for about 3 minutes, remove them, and set aside. Add fish and cook for about 5 minutes, then put ginger and pepper back in, cook another 3 minutes. Add the soy sauce, turn off the heat and cover the pan, let sit about another ten minutes and serve over rice.

Barbecued Pork

Ni Tsan no. 47

Wash the meat. Rub spring onion, chinese pepper, honey, a little salt, and wine on it. Hang the meat on bamboo sticks in the saucepan. In the pan put a cup of water and a cup of wine. Cover. Use moist paper to seal up the pan. If the paper dries out, moisten it. Heat the pan with grass bunches; when one is burned up, light another. Then stop the fire and leave for the time it takes to eat a meal. Touch the cover of the pan; if it is cold, remove the cover and turn the meat over. Cover it again and seal again with the moist paper. Heat again with one bunch of grass. It will be cooked when the pan cools again.

1 T spring onion	1 T wine
1/2 t Chinese pepper	15 oz pork tenderloin
1 T honey	1 c rice wine
1/2 t salt	1 c water

Mix chopped onion, pepper, honey, salt and 1 T wine. Rub them on the pork. Let stand one hour. Put 1 c rice wine and 1 c water in a pot. Arrange skewers so the pork tenderloin can lie on them and you can still put the lid on; I did it by putting a lower pan inside the pot with the skewers lying across it. Put on the lid, sealing with wet paper towels. Simmer about 1 hour 25 minutes. Take off heat, let cool about an hour. Turn over the pork. Reseal. Bring back to a boil, simmer five minutes, remove from the heat, let sit another half hour or so. Slice.

Mastajhi [Mastic] Soup

A Soup for the Qan p. 275

Mutton (leg; bone and cut up), tsaoko cardamoms (five), cinnamon (2 ch'ien), chickpeas (one-half sheng; pulverize and remove the skins).

Boil ingredients together to make a soup. Strain broth. [Cut up meat and put aside.] Add 2 ho of cooked chickpeas, 1 sheng of aromatic non-glutinous rice, 1 ch'ien of mastajhi. Evenly adjust flavors with a little salt. Add [the] cut-up meat and [garnish with] coriander leaves.

[These quantities are for about 40% of the amount in the original recipe]

7 T canned chickpeas	.8 c jasmine rice
1 lb 2 oz lamb	$\frac{1}{40}$ t mastic
2 cardamoms	1 t salt
$\frac{1}{20}$ t cinnamon	1 T cilantro
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ T canned chickpeas	

Peel 7 T chickpeas and mash. Put the lamb in a pot with 6 c water, cardamom, cinnamon and mashed chickpeas. Boil for 1 hour 10 minutes. Boil remaining chickpeas for about 15 minutes.

Remove meat and strain everything else, forcing the chickpea mush through the strainer. Return the liquid to the pot, add rice, mastic, and cooked chickpeas, and boil for another 20 minutes. Cut meat up in pieces. Return it to the pot, add salt, sprinkle chopped cilantro on top, and serve.

[This is from a Chinese cookbook/health manual written for a Mongol emperor of China; some of the recipes show Mongol or Middle Eastern influence, this being one of the latter.]

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Additional Material on Period Cooking

Cooking from Primary Sources: Some General Comments

One definition of what the Society is about is studying the past by selective recreation. Period cooking is one of the few activities that lets us do this in a sense of “study” that goes substantially beyond merely learning things that other people already know. There are thousands of pages of period source material available, and I would guess that most of the dishes have not been made by anyone in the past three hundred years. As with many things, the best way to learn is to do it; the following comments are intended to make the process a little easier.

When working with early English recipes, remember that the spelling has changed much more than the language and is often wildly inconsistent; one fifteenth century recipe contains the word “Chickens” four times with four different spellings, of which the first is “Schyconys.” It often helps to try sounding out strange words, in the hope that they will be more familiar to the ear than to the eye.

Recipes rarely include quantities, temperatures, or times. Working out a recipe consists mostly of discovering that information by trial and error. You may find a modern cookbook useful in doing so. The idea is not to adapt a modern recipe but to use the modern recipe for information on how long a chicken has to be boiled before it is done or how much salt is added to a given volume of stew. That gives you a first guess, to be used the first time you try the dish and modified accordingly.

It is sometimes asserted that real medieval food would be too highly flavored for modern palates. Thomas Austin, the 19th-century editor of *Two Fifteenth Century Cookery Books*, mentions a Cinnamon Soup

as evidence that medieval people preferred strongly seasoned food. But since his reference is not to a recipe but only an item in a menu, the fact that he took it as evidence may tell us more about 19th c. English cooking than medieval English cooking.

Our experience with recipes that do contain information on quantities suggests that the assertion is not true. For many years we made Hippocras from the recipe in *Le Menagier de Paris* (p. 64), using about half the ratio of sugar and spices to wine specified in the original, because otherwise it came out too sweet for our tastes. Eventually Jeremy de Merstone (George J. Perkins) pointed out to us that, while the pound and ounce used in Paris in 1391 were approximately the same as the modern pound and ounce, the quart was equal to almost two modern U.S. quarts—which implied that, by modifying the recipe to taste, we had gotten back to almost exactly the proportions of the original. The same conclusion—that medieval food, although hardly bland, was not extraordinarily spicy—is suggested by our experience with other recipes. One exception is a collection of dishes from 16th century India for which we have ingredient lists with quantities but without instructions; many of them turn out too salty for modern tastes. I am told that the same is true of modern Indian cooking in India.

Along with the idea that medieval food was overspiced one finds the claim that the reason it was overspiced was to hide the taste of rotten meat, due to the lack of modern refrigeration. We have found no evidence to support that claim and quite a lot to oppose it. Chiquart's description of how to put on a large feast, for example, makes it clear that he expects to slaughter animals on site. Other

sources show medieval cooks concerned with the risk of spoiled meat and taking reasonable precautions to deal with it. Finally, there is the observation that hiding the taste of spoiled meat does not prevent the effects; a cook who routinely poisoned his employer and his guests would be unlikely to keep his position for long.

Two reference books that we have found helpful are the *Larousse Gastronomique* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The former is a dictionary of cooking, available in both English and French editions. The latter, which is also useful for many other sorts of SCA research, is the standard English scholar's dictionary; it contains a much more extensive range of obsolete words and meanings than an ordinary dictionary. Also, *Two Fifteenth Century Cookbooks* and *Curye on Inglysch* contain glossaries.

An approach to developing recipes that we have found both productive and entertaining is to hold cooking workshops. We select recipes that we would like to try or retry and invite anyone interested to come help us cook them. The workshop starts in the afternoon. As each person arrives, he chooses a recipe to do. We suggest that people who have not cooked from period recipes before do new recipes so that they can have the experience of working directly from an untouched original. The details of how the recipe is being prepared—quantities, temperatures, times and techniques—are written down as the dish is prepared. The afternoon and early evening are spent cooking, eating, and discussing how to modify the recipes next time; we offer anyone who wishes copies of the recipes to experiment with further at home. Many of the recipes in this book were developed at such sessions. We have never yet had to send out for pizza.

Tourney and War Food

Suppose you are going to a tournament and want to bring period food to eat and

share during the day. Suppose you are going to a camping event, such as the Pennsic war, and expect to be encamped for something between a weekend and two weeks. What period foods are likely to prove useful?

For both one day events and wars, we have accumulated a small collection of period foods and drinks that can be made in advance and kept without refrigeration for an almost unlimited period of time. They include *Hulwa* (p. 122), *Hais* (p. 124), *Prince-Bisket* (p. 46), *Gingerbrede* (p. 62), *Excellent Cake* (p. 47; this is actually slightly out of period), *Khushkananaj* (p. 116), *Sekanjabin* (p. 125) and *Syrup of Pomegranate* (p. 125). The last two are drinks that are prepared as syrups and diluted (with cold water for sekanjabin and hot water for granatus) just before being served. The syrups are sufficiently concentrated so that, like honey or molasses, they keep indefinitely.

For a one day event we will often also bring a cold meat or cheese pie; *Spinach Tart* (p. 41) is one of our favorites. In addition, one can bring bread, cheese, sausage, nuts, dried fruit—all things which were eaten in period and can keep for a reasonable length of time.

A camping event, especially one more than two days long, raises a new set of challenges and opportunities—period cooking with period equipment. One of the associated problems is how to keep perishable ingredients long enough so that you can bring them at the beginning of the event and use them at the end. One could keep things in a cooler with lots of ice—especially at Pennsic, where ice is available to be bought. This is, however, a considerable nuisance—and besides, it is unlikely that either coolers or ice were available at a real medieval war.

Better solutions are to choose dishes that do not require perishable ingredients or to find period ways of preserving such ingredients. One of our future projects along these lines is to work out some good recipes for salted or dried fish, which was an

important food in the Middle Ages and one that keeps indefinitely. Our most successful preserving technique so far is to pickle meat or fowl using *Lord's Salt* (p. 74). The pickled meat is strongly flavored with vinegar and spices, so we pick a recipe to use it in that contains vinegar or verjuice in its list of ingredients. We wash most of the pickling solution off the meat and make up the recipe omitting the sour ingredient (and any spices that are already in the pickled meat). Two recipes that work well with pickled chicken are *Veal, Kid, or Hen in Bokenade* (p. 27) and *Conyng, Hen, or Mallard* (p. 30).

There is an Indian bread (p. 127) and two Islamic pastries, *Murakkaba* (p. 119) and *Musamma* (p. 121) which are made in a frying pan rather than an oven, and are therefore easy to make on site. There are also recipes for fritters and funnel cakes (pp 55-58), many of which are suitable for camping events.

There are many other possibilities for non-perishable period dishes. They include recipes using lentils and other dried beans (pp. 17-18, 99-100). They also include one very familiar dish—macaroni and cheese, known in the Middle Ages as *Macrows* (p. 70) or *Losyns* (p. 68).

If you have fresh meat available, there are many possible recipes; *Meat Roasted Over Coals* (p. 110) is good and very straightforward. If you roast a large amount of meat for one evening's dinner, *A Roast of Meat* (p. 98) is a good way of using up leftover roast meat for the next meal.

Creative Medieval Cooking

It is sometimes claimed that the dishes served at an SCA feast are medieval even though they do not come from any period cookbook. The idea is that the cook is producing original creations in a medieval style. After all, there is no reason to assume that all, or even very many, medieval cooks used cookbooks.

In principle, this is a legitimate

argument—if it is made by an experienced medieval cook. Since we do not have the option of living in the Middle Ages, the only practical way to become an experienced medieval cook is by cooking from medieval cookbooks. In my experience, however, the people who make this argument have rarely done much, if any, cooking from period sources; their “original medieval creations” are usually either modern ethnic dishes or modified versions of standard modern recipes.

Even if “creative medieval cookery” is done by taking period recipes and modifying them, it is a risky business. Unless the cook has extensive experience cooking medieval recipes in their original form, he is likely to modify them in the direction of modern tastes—in order to make them fit better his ideas of what they should be like. But one of the attractions of medieval cooking is that it lets us discover things we do not expect—combinations of spices, or ways of preparing dishes, that seem strange to modern tastes yet turn out to be surprisingly good.

I would therefore advise anyone interested in medieval cooking to try to keep as closely as possible to the original recipe. There may, of course, be practical difficulties that prevent you from following the recipe exactly—ingredients you cannot obtain, cooking methods you cannot use (“hang it in a chimney where a fire is kept all the year”), or the like. But I do not think it is ever desirable, when first cooking a dish, to change it merely because you suspect that if you follow the recipe you will not like the result. The people who wrote the recipes down knew a great deal more about period cookery than we do; it is our job to be their students, not their teachers.

Period, Ethnic, and Traditional

There is some tendency for people in the Society to assume that all ethnic food is period. Thus, for example, “oriental” feasts often consist of dishes that one would find in

a modern Chinese or Japanese restaurant and traditional or “peasant” cooking is sometimes included in feasts, even when there is no evidence that the particular dishes were made in period.

The assumption is a dangerous one; America is not the only place where things change over time. The fact that a dish was made by your grandmother, or even that she says she got it from her grandmother, may be evidence that the dish is a hundred years old; it is not evidence that it dates from before 1600. While traditional societies may appear very old-fashioned to us, there is ample evidence that such societies in general, and their cooking in particular, change over time. Potatoes are an important part of traditional cooking in Ireland, and tomatoes in Italy. Yet

both are New World vegetables; they could not have been used before 1492 and were not in common use in Europe until a good deal later than that.

If we had no sources for medieval recipes, foreign or traditional dishes would be more suited to our feasts than hamburgers and french fries or Coke and pizza; even if they are not actually medieval, they at least help create the feeling that we are no longer in our normal Twentieth Century world. Similarly, if we had no sources for period dance, modern folk dances would fit into an event better than disco dancing. Since we do have sources for both period recipes and period dances, there seems no good reason to use out-of-period substitutes.

Late Period and Out of Period Foodstuffs

To do period cooking, it is desirable to avoid ingredients that were not available to period cooks. “Period,” for the purposes of the SCA, is defined as pre-seventeenth century. Since most of the ingredients that are available now and were not available during the Middle Ages came into use between 1500 and 1700, it is not always easy to know which of them were available by the year 1600.

One solution is to avoid all of the new ingredients, thus, in effect, moving the cutoff date back to about 1492. This makes a good deal of sense as a way of learning what early cooking was like. We already know what a cuisine that includes the new foodstuffs is like—it is all around us. If we restrict ourselves to ingredients that were available throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, we are likely to learn a good deal more about how period cooking differed from modern cooking than if we include in our cooking anything that might possibly have been in use somewhere in Europe by late December of 1600.

While there is much to be said for such a voluntary restriction, nothing in the rules or

customs of the Society requires it of all cooks. Those who are willing to use late foodstuffs, providing they were in use by 1600, are left with the problem of determining which ones meet that requirement. This article is an attempt to do so.

Corn, potatoes, cocoa, vanilla, peppers—essentially the whole list of New World foods—were used in the New World long before Columbus. Since almost all Society personae are from the Old World, it seems reasonable to limit ourselves to foods that came into use in the Old World before 1600. A further argument in favor of doing so is that we have—so far as I know—no Aztec cookbooks, although there are descriptions by early travellers of what the natives of the New World ate and how they prepared it; references can be found in Finan and Coe. Although potatoes were eaten in South America during the fifteenth century, they were not eaten in the dishes for which we have fifteenth century recipes.

Most of our period feasts are based on the cooking of a very limited part of the Old World. Almost all period cookbooks used in

the Society are either Western European or Islamic. For the purposes of this article I will therefore be mainly concerned with the availability of foods in Western Europe prior to the year 1600—more precisely, with the question of what foods were sufficiently well known so that they might plausibly have been served at a feast.

In trying to determine which foods were available in Western Europe before 1600, I have relied on a variety of sources. They include the *Oxford English Dictionary* (used primarily to determine when and in what context the English name of a food was first used—hereafter OED), cookbooks, and secondary sources including the *Larousse Gastronomique* (LG) and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th edition (EB).

Most of the new foodstuffs of the sixteenth and seventeenth century came from the New World, but there were some important exceptions. I will start with them.

Old World Foods

Coffee

The coffee plant is apparently native to Abyssinia. The use of coffee in Abyssinia was recorded in the fifteenth century and regarded at that time as an ancient practice (EB). I believe that there is a reference in one of the Greek historians to what sounds like coffee being drunk in what might well be Abyssinia, but I have not yet succeeded in tracking it down.

Coffee was apparently introduced into Yemen from Abyssinia in the middle of the 15th century. It reached Mecca in the last decade of the century and Cairo in the first decade of the 16th century (Hattox).

The use of coffee in Egypt is mentioned by a European resident near the end of the sixteenth century. It was brought to Italy in 1615 and to Paris in 1647 (LG). The first coffee house in England was opened in Oxford in 1650 (Wilson), and the first one in London in 1652 (EB). The earliest use of the

word in English is in 1592, in a passage describing its use in Turkey (OED).

It appears that coffee is out of period for European feasts and late period for Islamic ones.

Tea

The use of tea in China and Ceylon goes back to prehistoric times. According to the *Larousse*, it was brought to Europe by the Dutch in 1610 and to England in 1644. According to the OED, it was first imported into Europe in the 17th century and first mentioned in a European language (Portuguese) in 1559. The first use of the word in English (in the form “Cha”) is given as 1598; the passage seems to describe its use in China.

It appears that tea is out of period for European feasts and (since it was being brought from China by sea rather than overland) even further out of period for Islamic feasts. It is, of course, in period for Chinese and Japanese feasts. So far as I know, iced tea is a modern invention.

Bananas

The Four Seasons of the House of Cerruti, an Italian manuscript of the fourteenth century (based on an Arab work of the eleventh century) mentions bananas as something which “we know of .. only from texts or tales from merchants from Cyprus or pilgrims from the Holy Land. Sicilians ... know them well.” It is clear from the accompanying picture that the artist had never seen a banana. The first bunch of bananas is said to have reached England in 1633 (Wilson).

Citrus Fruit

Citrus fruit are native to southern Asia and the Malay Archipelago, and cultivated citrus occur very early in China. In the West, the citron was known to classical antiquity. By the 10th c. the Arabs had sour oranges,

and by the 12th century lemon, sour orange, citron, and pummelo had all made it as far as Spain and North Africa. By the 13th century lemon, sour orange, citron, and what is probably lime are described from northern Italy. The sweet orange is mentioned in a few documents from the second half of the 15th century as growing in Italy and southern France, and seems to have been fairly widely grown by the early 16th century. In 1520 or thereabouts the Portuguese brought a new and superior sweet orange variety from China, which then spread around the citrus-growing areas of Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. Mandarin oranges do not seem to have made it to Europe until the early 19th century. The grapefruit seems to have developed out of the pummelo in the West Indies in the 18th c. (Batchelor and Webber). Sour oranges are still grown for use in marmalade; the usual variety is the Seville orange.

Artichokes and Cardoons

According to some sources, including McGee, the globe artichoke was known in classical antiquity; others describe it as bred out of the cardoon sometime in the later middle ages, probably in Muslim Spain. The latin word is "*cynara*;" our word "artichoke" comes from the Arabic "al kharshûf." Some modern sources describe the cardoon as a kind of artichoke, while others regard it as a different vegetable ancestral to the artichoke. My guess is that the classical "*cynara*" was the cardoon, making the globe artichoke familiar to us late period.

Molasses

Molasses is a residue from the process of refining sugar. Treacle was originally the name of a medical mixture one of whose ingredients was honey. It originated in classical antiquity and survived into the Middle Ages; at some point molasses or sugar syrup began to be used instead of

honey for the base. "When the production of molasses in Britain's refineries out-stripped the needs of both apothecaries and distillers, it was sold off in its natural unmedicated state as a cheap sweetener. Its name of molasses was taken by the early settlers to America. But in Britain in the later seventeenth century the alternative term 'common treacle' came into circulation, and thereafter it was known simply as treacle." (Wilson).

Since, according to Wilson, England had its own sugar refineries by 1540, molasses might have been used as a sweetener in England before 1600. The word first appears in English in 1582 and all of the pre-1600 references are to its existence abroad. Molasses is, however, mentioned by Hugh Platt in the 1609 edition of *Delights for Ladies*; I have not been able to find a copy of an earlier edition. Presumably molasses would have been used earlier in areas where sugar was grown, such as Spain, Sicily and the Middle East.

Chemical Leavenings

So far as we can discover, both baking soda and baking powder are far out of period. According to the 1992 Old Farmer's Almanac, Saleratus (Potassium Bicarbonate) was patented as a chemical leavening in 1840. Hartshorn (Ammonium Carbonate) was used for stiffening jellies by about the end of the sixteenth century (Wilson) but we have found no reference to its use as a leavening agent prior to the late 18th century.

New World Foods

Potatoes

Sweet potatoes are described in 1555 as growing in the West Indies. By 1587 they are said to be "brought out of" Spain and Portugal, and described as venerous (aphrodisiacal). In 1599 Ben Johnson describes something as "above all your

potatoes or oyster pies.”

Ordinary potatoes, according to the OED, were described in 1553 and introduced into Spain shortly after 1580. They reached Italy about 1585 and were being grown in England by 1596. By 1678 the potato is described as “common in English gardens.”

The *Larousse* gives somewhat earlier dates—1539 or 40 for the original importation into Spain, 1563 for the introduction into England (“but its cultivation was neglected there”) and 1586 for the reintroduction by Sir Francis Drake. In 1593 several farmers were engaged to grow it in France, but in 1630 “the Parliament of Besançon, from fear of leprosy, forbade the cultivation of the potato.” In 1619 “Potato figures among the foods to be served at the Royal table in England.”

Both sorts of potatoes were being grown in parts of Europe before 1600, but it is not clear whether either was common enough to have been served at a feast. If served, potatoes would almost certainly have been regarded as a novelty. I know of no period recipes using potatoes. According to Crosby, the sweet potato arrived in China “at least as early as the 1560’s.”

Corn

"Corn," in British usage, refers to grains in general, most commonly wheat. The earliest reference in the OED to maize, the British name for the grain that Americans call corn, is from 1555. All of the pre-1600 references are to maize as a plant grown in the New World. Knowledge of maize seems to have spread rapidly; a picture of the plant appears in a Chinese book on botany from 1562. Pictures appear in European herbals from 1539 on. Finan concludes that they represent at least two distinct types of maize, one similar to Northern Flints, the other similar to some modern Caribbean varieties. Grains are variously described as red, black, brown, blue, white, yellow and purple.

How soon did maize become something

more than a curiosity? Leonhard Fuchs, writing in Germany in 1542, described it as “now growing in all gardens” [*De historia stirpium*—cited in Finan]. That suggests that in at least one European country it was common enough before 1600 so that it could have been served at a feast—although I know of no evidence that it in fact was, and no period recipes for it. On the other hand, John Gerard wrote, in 1597: “We have as yet no certaine prooffe or experience concerning the vertues of this kinde of Corne, although the barbarous Indians which know no better are constrained to make a vertue of necessitie, and think it a good food: whereas we may easily judge that it nourisheth but little, and is of a hard and euill digestion, a more convenient food for swine than for man” (Crosby). Gerard’s conclusion is still widely accepted in Europe. In West Africa, however, maize was under cultivation “at least as early as the second half of the sixteenth century...” and in China in the sixteenth century (Crosby). There is also a reference to its being grown in the Middle East in the 1570’s (Crosby).

Before leaving the subject of maize, I should mention that there have been occasional attempts to argue that it either had an Old World origin or spread to the Old World prior to Columbus. Mangelsdorf discusses the arguments at some length and concludes that they are mistaken.

I know of no evidence that either corn starch or corn syrup was used in period.

Tomatoes

The first European reference to the tomato is apparently one in a book published in Venice in 1544; it describes the tomato as having been brought to Italy “in our time” and eaten in Italy “fried in oil and with salt and pepper.” It appears from later references that tomatoes were used as food in both Spain and Italy from the 1500’s on. The first printed recipes using tomatoes appear in Italian at the end of the 17th century and are

described as “alla Spagnuola.” The first use of “Tomato” in English occurs in 1604 in a description of the West Indies (OED). As late as 1753, an English writer describes tomatoes as “a fruit...eaten either stewed or raw by the Spaniards and Italians and by the Jew families in England.” But another writer, at about the same time, asserts that the tomato is “now much used in England,” especially for soups and sauces. (Most of this is from Longone.)

It appears tomatoes are out of period for northern Europe and late period for southern Europe, but that no period recipes more elaborate than “fried in oil and with salt and pepper” are known.

Capsicum Peppers

The term “pepper” refers to two entirely different groups of plants. The spice pepper, both black and white, is the fruit of any of a group of related Old World trees and is routinely mentioned in period cookbooks. The capsicum peppers, which include both hot peppers (chili, cayenne, paprika, etc.) and sweet or bell peppers, are New World. According to the OED, the first English use of the word “chili” is in 1662. According to Dewitt and Gerlach, there is a Spanish reference to hot peppers from the New World in 1493; apparently the seeds had been brought back by Columbus. They assert that peppers are mentioned in Italy in 1526 and in Hungary (in a list of foreign seeds planted in a noblewoman’s garden—as “Turkish Red Pepper”) in 1569. They also say that “according to Leonhard Fuchs, an early German professor of medicine, chiles were cultivated in Germany by 1542, in England by 1548, and in the Balkans by 1569.” Assuming that both the dates they give and those they attribute to Fuchs are correct, it sounds as though chile peppers, at least, had spread through much of Europe by 1600. This does not, however, imply that they were in common use. We have not found any period recipes using capsicum peppers, nor

period references to their being served at feasts.

Beans

Some beans are New World, some Old World. Crosby lists “lima, sieva, Rangoon, Madagascar, butter, Burma, pole, curry, kidney, French, navy, haricot, snap, string, common, and frijole bean” as American and mentions that soybeans are Old World. Broad beans, aka fava beans, are also Old World, as are lentils, chickpeas and the black-eyed bean (*Vigna unguiculata*). According to Crosby, the haricot bean “was in Europe by at least 1542, for in that year the botanists Tragus and Leonard Fuchs described and sketched it. It was probably grown in appreciable quantities in France by the end of the century; otherwise, why would the Englishman, Barnaby Googe, write of it as the 'French bean' in 1572?” There is also one reference to kidney beans and French beans being grown in the Middle East in the 1570's (Crosby). Some Old World beans were known in Asia but not, as far as we know, in Europe or the Middle East; these include soy beans in China and mung beans in India.

Peanuts

With peanuts as with corn, there has been some controversy over origin. The OED describes them as native to the New World and West Africa. Higgins discusses the evidence at some length and concludes that the peanut is a New World plant introduced into West Africa early in the sixteenth century, probably by the Portuguese, and into the East Indies at about the same time, probably by both the Portuguese and the Spanish. European explorers in Africa a century later observed peanuts, maize, cassava, and tobacco, and concluded that they all were native. He cites Chevalier, Auguste, “Histoire de L'Arachide.,” *Rev. Bot. Appl. & d'Agr. Trop.* 13 (146 & 147): 722-752. According to Cosby, peanuts were grown in China in the sixteenth century.

There is some archeological evidence for peanuts in China at a much earlier date, briefly discussed by Simoon; my conclusion from his discussion is that the evidence is probably wrong.

The OED reports no uses of “peanut” (or “groundnut” as a synonym for “peanut”) prior to the eighteenth century.

Pumpkin, Squash, Gourd

It seems to be well established that at least three of the four cultivated species of Cucurbita (*C. pepo*, *C. moschata* and *C. maxima*) existed in the New World long before Columbus; the fourth (*C. ficifolia*) is “ordinarily not thought of as a cultivated plant” (Whittaker), but apparently has been cultivated in the past. Whitaker argues, on the evidence of the absence of these species in the fifteenth century European herbals and their presence in the sixteenth century ones, that they were introduced into Europe from the New World. A variety of *C. pepo* similar to the squash now known as “Small Sugar” is illustrated in an herbal of 1542. What appears to be a field pumpkin is illustrated in 1560, with other varieties appearing in later herbals during the century. Whitaker concludes that “none of the cultivated species of Cucurbita were known to the botanists of the Western world before 1492.” If so, all varieties of pumpkins, squash, and vegetable marrows are inappropriate before 1492; some were known in the sixteenth century, but may or may not have been sufficiently common to be used in feasts.

There is, however, a plant translated as “gourd” in both Italian and Islamic cookbooks before 1492. *The Four Seasons of the House of Cerruti*, which is 14th century, shows a “Cucurbite” that looks exactly like a green butternut squash—a fact of which Whitaker seems unaware when asserting the absence of all varieties of Cucurbita from pre-sixteenth century sources. It seems likely, however, that his conclusion was correct, and that what is shown in the picture and used in

the recipes is not *C. pepo* but *Lagenaria sicerea*. For details see Paris et. al.

“The white-flowered gourd, *Lagenaria sicerea*,” seems to “have been common to both Old and New Worlds” (Whitaker). I am told that the Italian Edible Gourd is a species of *Lagenaria* and available from J. L. Hudson, Seedman (www.jlhudsonseeds.net/). Simoons describes a *Lagenaria* used in modern Chinese cooking. We have obtained what we think is the right gourd from a Chinese grocery store and used it in period recipes with satisfactory results. The taste and texture are similar to zucchini but less bitter. The Chinese, or perhaps Vietnamese, name for one variety, which the grower assured us had white flowers, is “opo.”

Pineapple and Guava

These are New World fruits that were being grown in India in the 16th Century (Crosby).

Blueberry and Cranberry

It appears from comments by Simmons that the term “blueberry” describes a number of different New World species of the genus *Vaccinium*; the bilberry, which is a member of the same genus, is Old World. The blueberry produces “larger and better flavored berries than the European bilberry.” According to McGee, “The cultivated blueberry, a native of the American east, north, and northwest, has been purposely bred only since about 1910”

According to McGee, cranberries are also species of *Vaccinium*. According to several earlier sources, there is disagreement as to whether they are members of *Vaccinium* or belong in a separate genus, *Oxycoccus*. There are both old world and new world cranberries, but “the commercial cranberry ... is an American native.” (McGee) The word “cranberry” seems to have come into use with the new world variant of the berry.

It sounds, in both cases, as though a

jelly made from modern berries would correspond pretty closely to something that might have been eaten in Europe in period, but individual berries would look noticeably different from their old world relatives. We do not know of any period recipes using either berry.

Spices

According to the OED, the word “allspice” is first used in 1621 and “vanilla” in 1662. Both are from the New World. They might have been used earlier in Spain or Italy, since South American foods seem to have reached those countries earlier than England.

Cocoa

A drink made from cocoa was drunk by the Aztecs; according to the *Larousse*, it was unsweetened, flavored with vanilla, and drunk cold. Cocoa was brought back by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century; they flavored it “with chillies and other hot spices” and made it “into a soup-like concoction.” The first recorded use of chocolate in England was in 1650; Wadsworth published a recipe, apparently translated from Spanish, in 1652.

Black cites chocolate almonds being produced by 1670 and the use of chocolate “to flavour little light cakes called ‘puffs’” and as a dinner dessert, with one recipe dating from 1681. Clotilde Vesco gives several recipes using chocolate which she dates to the fifteenth century (!) and attributes to documents in Florentine archives, if I correctly interpret the passage, but she gives little information about the originals and I suspect has either misdated or mistranslated them. Perhaps some reader whose Italian is better than mine can pursue the matter further.

The OED gives the first use of “Chocolate” in English as 1604, in a history of the Indies. References to drinking it start in the 1660's. The word “Cocoa” appears much later.

My conclusion is that a drink made from cocoa beans is in period, at least for Spanish

personae, although the drink would be very different from modern cocoa, but that the use of chocolate as a food or an ingredient in foods is probably out of period.

Turkeys

There seems to have been some confusion initially with the guinea fowl, an Old World bird also called a turkey, making it unclear which early mentions refer to what we now call turkeys. There are, however, artistic representations of Turkeys from the 16th century as well as recipes and other references, making it reasonably certain that turkeys were being eaten in Europe before 1600.

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This essay is still growing; if you come across relevant information, please write.

Scottish Oat Cakes: A Conjectural Reconstruction

"the only things they take with them [when riding to war] are a large flat stone placed between the saddle and the saddle-cloth and a bag of oatmeal strapped behind. When they have lived so long on half-cooked meat that their stomachs feel weak and hollow, they lay these stones on a fire and, mixing a little of their oatmeal with water, they sprinkle the thin paste on the hot stone and make a small cake, rather like a wafer, which they eat to help their digestion." (Froissart's *Chronicles*, Penguin Books translation.)

So far as I know, there are no surviving period recipes for oat cakes. This article is an attempt to reconstruct them, mainly on the basis of Froissart's brief comment.

Rolled oats—what we today call "oatmeal"—are a modern invention. I assume that "oat meal" in the middle ages meant the same thing as "meal" in other contexts—a coarse flour. The only other ingredient mentioned is water, but salt is frequently omitted in medieval recipes—Platina, for instance, explicitly says that he doesn't bother to

mention it—so I have felt free to include it. The oat cakes Froissart describes are field rations, so unlikely to contain any perishable ingredients such as butter or lard, although they may possibly have been used in other contexts.

Consistent with these comments, the following is my conjectural recipe for oatcakes as they might have been made by Scottish troopers c. 1400:

½ c steel-cut oats ¼ t salt ¼ c water

Combine all ingredients and let the mixture stand for at least fifteen minutes. Make flat cakes ¼" to ⅜" in thickness, cook on a medium hot griddle, without oil, about 3-5 minutes. The result is a reasonably tasty flat bread, though inclined to be crumbly.

(An earlier version of this article was published in *Serve it Forth: A Periodical Forum for SCA Cooks*, Volume I, Number 2 (April 1996). Information on that publication, which unfortunately is no longer coming out, is at home.pcisys.net/~mem/sif_home.html.)

Hildegard von Bingen's Small Cakes

Some time ago I found on the web a fictitious—I am tempted to say fraudulent—recipe entitled “St. Hildegard's Cookies of Joy.” I gather that versions can be found offline as well. It is a modern spice cookie recipe, including baking powder, sugar, butter and egg.

The original on which the recipe claims to be based, from a 12th century book on healing, consists of two sentences from the entry on “nutmeg.” They read as follows:

"Take some nutmeg and an equal weight of cinnamon and a bit of cloves, and pulverise them. Then make small cakes with this and fine whole wheat flour and water. Eat them often. ..."

As you can see, this not only does not contain baking powder, which had not yet been invented, it does not contain sugar, butter, or egg either.

The following is an attempt to reconstruct what Hildegard actually intended. The only addition is salt—my justification for that being Platina's comment in his cookbook to the effect that he doesn't mention salt because everyone knows to add it.

1 t nutmeg	1 c whole wheat flour
1 t cinnamon	¼ c water
½ t cloves	¼ t salt

Mix the spices with the flour, stir in the water and knead until it is smooth. Divide into four equal portions, roll each into a ball, flatten it a little. Bake on a greased cookie sheet at 300° for 30 minutes, turning them over after the first fifteen.

It is clear from context that the cakes are intended mainly for medicinal purposes; as Hildegard writes:

“It will calm all bitterness of the heart and mind, open your heart and impaired senses, and make your mind cheerful. It purifies your senses and diminishes all harmful humors.”

It doesn't taste bad, either.

Reference

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To Prepare a Most Honorable Feast

by Maistre Chiquart

translated by Elizabeth of Dendermonde

And first, God permitting to be held a most honorable feast at which are kings, queens, dukes, duchesses, counts, countesses, princes, princesses, marquis, marquises, barons, baronesses and lords of lower estate, and nobles also a great number, there are needed, for the ordinary cookery² and to make the feast honorably, to the honor of the lord who is giving the said feast, the things which follow.

And first: one hundred well-fattened cattle, one hundred and thirty sheep, also well fattened, one hundred and twenty pigs; and for each day during the feast, one hundred little piglets, both for roasting and for other needs, and sixty salted large well fattened pigs for larding and making soups.

And for this the butcher will be wise and well-advised if he is well supplied so that if it happens that the feast lasts longer than expected, one has promptly what is necessary; and also, if there are extras, do not butcher them so that nothing is wasted.

And there should be for each day of the feast two hundred kids and also lambs, one hundred calves, and two thousand head of poultry.

And you should have your poulterers, subtle, diligent, and wise, who have forty horses for going to various places to get venison, hares, conies, partridges, pheasants, small birds (those which they can get without number), river birds (those which one can obtain), pigeons, cranes, herons, and all wild birds – what one can find of whatever wild birds. And they should turn their attention to this two months or six weeks before the feast, and they should all have come or sent what they could obtain by three or four days before the said feast so that the said meat can be hung and each dealt with as it ought to be.

And they should provide for each day of

the said feast six thousand eggs.

Again, for the said feast there should be provided two *charges* [about 320 pounds] of the major spices, that is white ginger, Mecca ginger, cinnamon, grains of paradise, and pepper.

The minor spices: of nutmeg six pounds, of cloves six pounds, of mace six pounds, and of galingale six pounds; again, 30 loaves of sugar, 25 pounds of saffron, 6 *charges* of almonds, one *charge* of rice, 30 pounds of amydon, 12 baskets of candied raisins, 12 baskets of good candied figs, 8 baskets of candied prunes, a quintal [about 110 pounds] of dates, 40 pounds of pine nuts, 18 pounds of turnsole, 18 pounds of alkanet, 18 pounds of gold leaf [!?!], one pound of camphor, one hundred ells of good and fine tissue for straining; and these things are for nothing but the use of the kitchen. And again, there should be for the said feast two hundred boxes of sugar-spice pellets of all sorts and colors to put on potages. And if the feast lasts longer one will thus be provided with extra.

And for the profit of the lord who gives the feast, and in order to satisfy the need more promptly and quickly, one should grind to powder the aforesaid spices which are necessary for the said feast, and put each separately into large and good leather bags.

And in order to better prepare the said feast without reprehension or fault, the house-stewards, the kitchen masters, and the master cook should assemble and come together three or four months before the feast to put in order, visit, and find good and sufficient space to do the cooking, and this space should be so large and fine that large working sideboards can be set up in such fashion that between the serving sideboards and the others the kitchen masters can go with ease to pass out and receive the dishes.

And for this there should be provided large, fair, and proper cauldrons for cooking large meats, and other medium ones in great abundance for making potages and doing other things necessary for cookery, and great

² The phrase I translate “ordinary cookery” probably means the food prepared for the servants and the rest of the household as opposed to that prepared for the lords.

hanging pans for cooking fish and other necessary things, and large common pots in great abundance for making soups and other things, and a dozen fair large mortars; and check the space for making sauces; and there should be twenty large frying pans, a dozen large casks, fifty small casks, sixty *cornues* [bowls with handles], one hundred wooden bowls, a dozen grills, six large graters, one hundred wooden spoons, twenty-five slotted spoons both large and small, six hooks, twenty iron shovels, twenty rotisseries, with turning mechanisms and irons for holding the spits. And one should definitely not trust wooden spits, because they will rot and you could lose all your meat, but you should have one hundred and twenty iron spits which are strong and are thirteen feet in length; and there should be other spits, three dozen which are of the aforesaid length but not so thick, to roast poultry, little piglets, and river fowl. And also, four dozen little spits to do endoring and act as skewers.

And there should be two casks of vinegar, one of white and one of claret, each of eight *sommes* [110 gallons], a good cask of fine verjuice of twenty *sommes* [275 gallons], and a cask of oil of ten *sommes* [137 ½ gallons].

And there should be one thousand cartloads of good dry firewood and a great storehouse full of coal, and you should always be sure of having more in case of there not being enough.

And so that the workers are not idle, and so that they do not lack for anything, there should be delivered funds in great abundance to the said kitchen masters to get salt, pot-vegetables and other necessary things which might be needed, which do not occur to me at present.

And in order to do things properly and cleanly, and in order to serve and accomplish it more quickly, there should be provided such a large quantity of vessels of gold, of silver, of pewter, and of wood, that is four thousand or more, that when one has served the first course one should have enough for serving the second and still have some left over, and in the mean time one can wash and clean the vessels used during the said first course.

And as at such a feast there could be some very high, puissant, noble, venerable and honorable lords and ladies who do not eat meat, for these there must be fish, marine and fresh-water, fresh and salt, in such manner as one can get them.

And as the sea-bream is king of the other sea fish, listed first is the sea-bream, conger-eel, grey mullet, hake, sole, red mullet, dorade, plaice, turbot, sea-crayfish, tuna, sturgeon, salmon, herrings, sardines, sea-urchin, mussels, eels, boops, ray, cuttle-fish, *arany marine*, anchovies, eels, both fresh and salted.

Concerning fresh-water fish: big trout, big eels, lampreys, filleted char, fillets of big pike, fillets of big carp, big perch, *ferrés*, *pallés*, graylings, burbot, crayfish, and all other fish.

And because at this feast there are some lords or ladies as was said above who have their own master cooks whom they command to prepare and make ready certain things, for such there should be given and made available to the said master cook quickly, amply, in great abundance and promptly everything for which he asks and which he needs for the said lord or lady or both so that he can serve them to his taste.

And also there should be 120 quintals of best cheese; of good and fine white cloth six hundred ells to cover the sideboards, fish, meats, and roasts; and sixty ells of linen cloth to make the colors of the jellies; and of white broadcloth to make the colors like the color of hyppocras, to make a dozen colors.

And there should be two large two-handed knives for dismembering cattle, and a dozen dressing knives for dressing; and also, two dozen knives to chop for potages and stuffings, and to prepare poultry and fish;

also, half a dozen scrubbers to clean the sideboards and the cutting boards, and a hundred baskets for carrying meat to the casks, both raw and cooked, which one brings to and from the sideboards, and also for bringing coal, for roasts and wherever it is needed and also for carrying and collecting serving vessels.

And if it happens that the feast is held in winter you will need for the kitchen for each night sixty torches, twenty pounds of wax

candles, sixty pounds of tallow candles for visiting the butchers' place, the pastry-cooks' place, the place for the fish, and all the doings of the kitchen.

And for the making of pastry there should be a large and fair building close to the kitchen which can be made for two large and fair ovens for making meat and fish pastries, tarts, flans and *talmoses*,³ *ratons*,⁴ and all other things which are necessary for doing cooking.

And for this the said workers should be provided with 30 *sommes* [about 412 gallons] of best wheat flour for the aforesaid needs, and should be sure of getting more if the feast lasts longer.

And because, by the pleasure of the blessed and holy Trinity, the which without fail gives us amply of all good things, we have good and fair and great provisions for making our feast grandly, it is necessary for us to have master cooks and workers to make dishes and subtleties for the said feast; and if it happens that one is not provided with the said cooks and workers, one should send a summons to places where one can find them so that the said feast can be handled grandly and honorably.

Notes: Master Chiquart was chief cook to the Duke of Savoy and in 1420 composed *Du Fait de Cuisine*, from which the above is taken. He goes on to give both meat-day and fish-day menus for his feast, which is to last two days and consists of dinner and supper on both days, and he includes recipes for most of the dishes. These range from the simple to the extremely elaborate; his entremet consisting of a castle would take another article to describe.

It is often said that medieval food was highly spiced; since most medieval recipes do not give any quantities at all it is hard to tell if this is true or not. Chiquart, however, lists amount of meat for his whole feast by number of animals and amount of spices by weight. My lord, Cariadoc, has calculated the approximate amount of meat (on the

assumption that Chiquart's animals were smaller than ours) to get a total of about 70,000 pounds of boneless meat, plus whatever amount of meat Chiquart got from game; this gives a ratio of spices to meat of about 1:100 by weight. This is not far from what he and I use for medieval dishes when we prepare them to our own taste, suggesting that the "heavily overspiced" theory is incorrect.

Reference:

Terence Scully. *Du Fait de Cuisine par Maistre Chiquart, 1420*. (Ms. S 103 de la bibliotheque Supersaxo, a la Bibliotheque cantonale du Valais, a Sion.). Vallesia v. 40, pp. 101-231, 1985.

(Published in Tournaments Illuminated #84)

³ A kind of cheese and egg pie.

⁴ A sort of cake: see recipe for Rastons, p. 9.

To Make a Feast

The first step in planning a feast, even before choosing recipes, is to make a rough estimate of the available resources. How many people are willing to spend most of the event helping you cook? How many more are willing to spend a few hours chopping onions or rolling meatballs? How many ovens and burners does the kitchen have? Is your group—or the kitchen you are using—well provided with ten gallon pots and twelve inch frying pans? How much money will be available to spend on the feast and how many people should you expect to feed? The answers to questions like these will determine what sort of a feast it is practical to put on. If you are feeding a hundred people by yourself using one stove, you had better plan on something simple—perhaps a thick soup, bread, cheese, and fruit. With eight assistant cooks, four stoves and a fair number of helpers, you can plan something a good deal more elaborate.

Once you have a rough estimate of resources, the next step is to work out a tentative menu. To do that you require a source of period recipes. There are two places to find them: primary sources (cookbooks written in period) and secondary sources, modern cookbooks giving worked-out versions of recipes from primary sources.

The problem with primary sources is that they rarely give information on details such as quantities, temperatures or times. That makes working out the recipes fun but time consuming; you will want to cook each dish several times, noting details of how you did it and modifying your instructions according to how it turns out, before serving it to a hall full of guests.

The problem with secondary sources is that they cannot always be trusted. If all you have is the modern version of the recipe, it is hard to tell if it is a careful and competent interpretation of the original, a careless and incompetent interpretation, or a modern recipe distantly inspired by something period. This applies to secondary sources produced within the SCA as well as to those produced elsewhere. It is not safe to assume that just because a cookbook has the name of

a kingdom or barony on it, the recipes inside are from the Middle Ages; in our experience, the odds are that they are not. The same is true for recipes printed in T.I. or C.A. Sometimes they are period, sometimes they are not—and sometimes they say they are period and are not, which is the worst case. We therefore suggest that if you use secondary sources you restrict yourself to ones which include the original recipes as well as the worked out versions. Always remember that what the author has added to the original is simply his guess; you are free to substitute your own.

Suppose you have obtained a suitable number of recipes, directly from a primary or secondary source or indirectly through the local cooking guild or someone in your group who got them from such a source. Before definitely deciding to use one, cook it and try it. That will give you an idea both of how it tastes and of how much trouble it is to make.

In drawing up your menu, there are three points to consider. The first is the balance of flavors and textures. It is unlikely that you will want to cook a feast made up mainly of roast meats, or mainly of stews, or containing only spicy dishes or only bland dishes. Imagine eating the feast; if you think you would be bored half way through, you have the wrong menu. Avoid having any one ingredient in every dish; if there are eggs in everything, anyone allergic to eggs cannot eat. Try to include one or two substantial meatless dishes so that vegetarians will have something to eat. Also, remember that different people have different tastes. You will probably want some exotic dishes; there is little point in doing a genuine medieval feast and having it taste like something from Denny's. On the other hand, some of your guests will have plain tastes; there should be something for them too. My own policy is to put the more exotic dishes early in the feast, so that those who do not like them can fill up with the plainer dishes later. Besides, people are more likely to try something strange when they are hungry—and they might like it.

The second consideration is whether the feast you are planning is one you can cook.

Do you have enough oven space for the number of pies you are planning? Are you doing more labor-intensive dishes than you have labor? How expensive are the ingredients? Once you have the menu worked out you will do detailed calculations to answer these questions, but it is useful to keep them in the back of your mind while designing the menu.

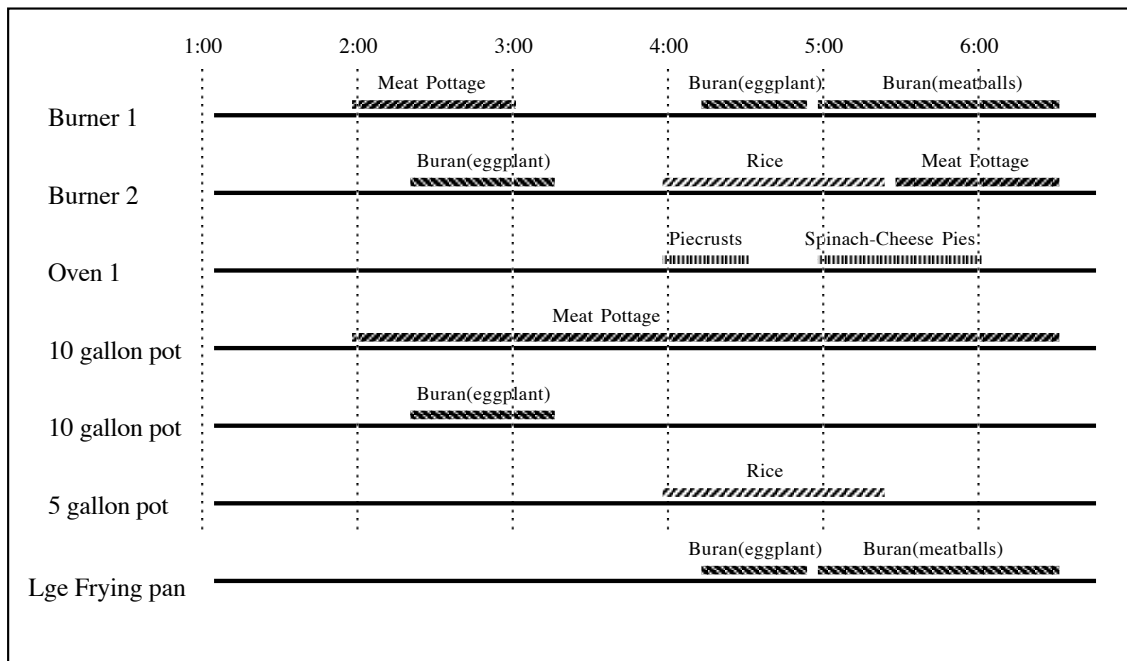
The third consideration is quantity. If you are serving eight main dishes, your guest does not have to make a full meal out of each of them. Our rule of thumb is to allow a total of half a pound of meat per person. That means that for every dish you estimate the total amount of meat, including fish and fowl and not counting fat, bones, or skin, add it up for all the dishes and divide by the number of people. If you have a lot of bulky non-meat dishes—soups or pies thickened with egg and cheese, for example—you might want to reduce the total to a third of a pound. If you are not certain how many guests will show up, you may want to make contingency plans—ways of expanding or contracting your feast at the last minute.

You now have a tentative menu. Next you will want to work out a set of detailed plans showing what is done when and how much it all costs. One convenient way of

doing this is to use time lines. Make a list of all the fixed resources that you are afraid you may not have enough of—ovens, burners, large pots, electric frying pans. List them down the left side of a sheet of graph paper. Across the top of the sheet mark the time, starting whenever you plan to start cooking and ending when the last dish is served. Draw a horizontal line for each item. Mark on that line what the item is being used for at each time. The result (for a few items and a few dishes) will look something like the figure below.

To make sense of the diagram, start with the meat pottage (recipe on p. 22). It occupies a 10 gallon pot from 2:00 until 6:30, when it will be served. The first stage in cooking it is to boil the meat; this is done on burner 1 from 2:00 to 3:00. The pottage is then taken off the burner, which is then free to be used for something else. The meat is taken out of the broth, cut up, and put back in along with beef broth, bread crumbs, and spices. At 5:30 the pot goes back on the stove, this time on burner 2 (burner 1 is by that time being used for something else) and is brought to a boil; the rest of the ingredients (chopped parsley, grated cheese, and eggs) are stirred in.

Starting at 2:20, the second 10 gallon pot is used on burner 2 to boil the eggplant



which is one of the ingredients of buran, a medieval Islamic dish (p. 90). After that is finished, a 5 gallon pot of rice goes onto the burner. The rice is being cooked early because all the burners are needed for the last hour before the feast; a five gallon pot full of food should stay warm for a long time after it comes off the stove.

Starting about 4:15, the eggplant that was earlier boiled is fried in sesame oil, using the large frying pan on burner 1. When that is done the frying pan is rinsed out and used to fry the meatballs that are the other main ingredient in buran.

Obviously, lots of things are happening that are not shown on the chart. Meatballs and pie crusts must be made, pie filling mixed, and so forth. The chart was drawn on the assumption that none of those processes used scarce resources; there are plenty of plates to pile the meat balls on and rolling pins for rolling out pie crusts. Equally obviously, unless this is a very small and very oddly balanced feast, what is shown is only part of the chart; other resources are being used for other dishes.

The purpose of drawing up such a chart is not to figure out exactly what everything will be used for at every instant. That is not possible; something is certain to go wrong, and your plans will have to be revised on the spot. What the chart does is to show you whether or not it is possible to cook the feast you have planned in the kitchen you are using and where problems are likely to occur. If, after juggling alternative schedules, you discover that there is no way to produce the feast without using two more burners than you have, you can change your plans accordingly. Perhaps you should have one more baked dish and two fewer fried ones. Perhaps you should make an effort to get a couple of really large pots, thus allowing more food to cook on each burner. Perhaps you could shift the frying off the stove onto a couple of electric frying pans. Whatever the solution, it is better to discover the problem now than in the middle of cooking the feast.

In describing the time line, I have left out the most crucial resource of all—cooks. Ideally, for a large feast, each cook should be in charge of one dish—for a small feast, two.

Some cooks may be able to do more than that, if there are dishes that can be completed early in the day and others that need not be started until fairly late, or if there are some very easy dishes. Cooking rice, for instance, is not a full time job, although cooking five gallons at once is trickier than you might expect. To decide which cooks do which dishes, the simplest procedure is to show them the recipes and let them choose for themselves. Once a cook has chosen a recipe, he should arrange to cook it for himself at home at least once.

The number of cooks puts a limit on how many dishes you can prepare on the day of the feast. One way around that limit is to do some of your cooking earlier. That is fine, as long as you restrict yourself to dishes which taste just as good the second day as the first. Too much pre-cooking of too many things and you end up spending a lot of time and effort to produce the sort of meal you expect to get in a college cafeteria.

Your time lines tell you whether you can cook the feast you plan; you still need to find out whether you can pay for it. Make up a shopping list, showing how much of every ingredient you will need. Then check out a couple of supermarkets to find out how much everything will cost. Add it all up and you have a rough estimate of the cost of the feast. With luck the real cost will be lower, since you will do a more careful job of shopping when you are actually buying the food.

You now have a reasonable idea of what you need to do the feast. If it is consistent with what you have, you are ready for the next stage. If not, revise your menu, change your plans, or find additional resources.

Once your plans are made, the next thing to do is to arrange a practice dinner. This is a dinner party for and by the cooks; you may also want to invite the autocrat of the event. Each cook prepares the dish or dishes he will be making for the feast, in a quantity appropriately scaled down for the number present. The dishes are served in the order in which they will be served in the feast.

The practice dinner serves several purposes. The most important is to test out the feast as a whole. Does the balance of the

dishes seem satisfactory? Is there enough food to fill everyone up, but not enough to provide vast quantities of left-overs? Should there be more of some dishes and less of others? You get much better answers to such questions by cooking the feast and eating it than by staring at recipes.

A second purpose of the practice feast is to get more precise information on what will be needed to produce the real feast. As each dish is prepared, the cook should note down what tools are required, how large a pot was needed for the amount made, and about how much time each step took. If rolling enough meatballs for eight people takes one cook five minutes, then rolling enough for 240 people will take about two and a half man-hours; that is useful information. If enough gharibah to serve eight people fills a quart pot, then enough for 240 will require about an eight gallon pot. After the practice feast, you can use the information to redo your time lines more precisely. If you decide that you should have more or less of some dishes, you can alter the shopping list accordingly. At this point you should also make a list of all the tools you will need. It is possible to roll out pie crust with a wine bottle, but a rolling pin works better.

In estimating how long things will take, remember that five gallons of water takes a great deal longer to come to a boil than does a quart. That is why, on the sample time line, I allowed an hour and a half for cooking rice, a task that normally takes about half an hour. If you have a chance, you may want to actually measure how long it takes a very large pot of water to come to a boil on the stove you will be using to cook the feast. That will help you decide how much extra time to allow for cooking large quantities.

A third purpose is to spot unexpected problems. You should have discovered all such problems already in the process of drawing up the time lines, but don't count on it.

A fourth and last purpose of the practice feast is to let the cooks get to know each other, in a more relaxed context than cooking a real feast.

After the practice feast is over and you and the other cooks have finished discussing

its implications, you are ready for the final stage of planning. Give the autocrat and the chief server a list of dishes and ingredients so that they can answer questions from people with allergies or religious restrictions. Make sure that everything on your list of necessary equipment is being brought by someone. Redo your time lines, taking account of what you have learned and of any changes you have decided on. If possible, leave some margin for error. Try to schedule a couple of hours free for yourself, sometime in the afternoon; that way you will be available to help with any crisis that develops. If the crisis does not develop until later, you can always spend the two hours helping to roll meatballs.

Now you are ready to start shopping. Decide what has to be bought the day before the feast and what can be bought early; this depends in part on the availability of refrigerator and freezer space. Check supermarket ads during the week before the feast; someone may have chicken leg quarters on sale for \$.29/lb. Investigate bulk food sources and see how their prices compare. In Chicago, there is an area called the Water Market where onions are sold in fifty pound bags and squash in forty pound boxes. If the prices are good enough, it may be worth buying forty pounds of squash and giving fifteen away. To locate bulk sources in your area, you might try the business-to-business phone book, if there is one. Or ask someone friendly at a local restaurant where they get their food. Perhaps the chief cook for the last event your group did can tell you the best place for bulk eggs or meat.

Remember that, while the cost in money of producing the feast is important, so is the cost in time. Boned lamb shoulders may cost a little more per pound of meat than unboned ones, but they save a lot of time. What is sold as washed spinach will have to be rewashed, but the process will take a lot less time than if you start with unwashed spinach. You do not want to be penny wise and hour foolish.

In addition to the food, you will also want to buy things such as dishwashing soap, wax paper for rolling out piecrusts, plastic wrap for covering things, paper towels, sponges and scrubbies, scouring powder, and

whatever else you expect to need. Don't forget to bring dish towels and one oven thermometer for each oven.

Another thing to do at this stage, if you have not already done it, is to locate a good grocery store near the event site. I have still not figured out why I ended up short ten pounds of eggplants for the Tregirtse Twelfth Night feast—but I am glad I knew where to send someone to get them.

The cooking of the feast will probably begin before the event; if you are making mead, it may be a week, a month, or a year before. If you are baking bread, you probably want to do it the day before the event, so it will be fresh. Some stews are just as good the second day as the first, although if the stew is thickened you have to be very careful to keep it from scorching when you warm it up. Cold nibbles, such as hais, hulwa, prince biscuit, currant cakes, and the like keep well for a long time; they can be made whenever convenient. Arrange to have a reasonable number of helpers at this stage of things. Rolling hais is a simple process, but if you are doing it by yourself for two hundred people in the intervals between kneading bread, putting bread in ovens, and taking bread out of ovens, you may not get much sleep.

It is now the day of the event; you, the food, the pots, the rolling pins, and three boxes of assorted odds and ends have arrived in the kitchen. Colored labels on ingredients identify which course each is for (an idea suggested to us by another experienced cook). You have marked all of your pots and tools and told everyone else to mark theirs. Some of them will have forgotten, so be sure you have tape and a waterproof pen. It may be a good idea to make a list of what everyone has brought, to make it more likely that everything will get back to where it belongs.

Your assistant cooks arrive. Make sure they know what is happening. Show them where the time line is and where you have the equipment and food. The idea of having each cook in charge of a dish is to minimize the degree to which everything depends on

you.

As things start happening, try to keep track. See who needs help, who has help to offer. When it turns out that necessary ingredients are missing, make up a shopping list and arrange a grocery store run. Arrange to set one of your volunteer workers to washing things; that way clean pots and utensils will be available when needed. Check the oven temperatures with your thermometers; their thermostats may not be accurate. As you get close to the time the feast is scheduled to be served, check with the autocrat on timing. If the event is running an hour late, there is no point in delivering the feast on time and having it all eaten cold; you may have to alter your plans accordingly. When the feast actually starts, coordinate the delivery of the dishes with whomever is in charge of serving. Dishes stay warm better in large pots on the stove than sitting in bowls for half an hour waiting for servers who are doing something else.

After the feast is done, the next stage is cleanup. When you agreed to be head cook, you made it clear to the autocrat that neither you nor the other cooks intended, after spending the first nine hours of the event cooking the feast, to spend the next three cleaning up, so someone else is in charge of that. Your job is to notify whomever that is that you are now finished with the kitchen. After everything has been washed, it is your job to make sure that everything borrowed gets back to its owner; you are the one who borrowed it. You may also want to make sure that the leftover meat pottage goes home with you, one of the other cooks, or someone else who will appreciate it, instead of being dumped.

You are now done. If nothing went catastrophically wrong, you have done a good job. Note down the problems for next time, thank everyone who helped you, especially the lady who showed up in the kitchen at noon and washed dishes for six hours, go home and go to bed.

[by Cariadoc and Elizabeth]

An Islamic Dinner

Islamic feasts in the Society are only occasionally cooked from recipes from period sources; yet Islam was a literate culture early in our period, with the result that there are a number of surviving cookbooks from the 10th to the 15th century. My lord Cariadoc and I have been cooking from the cookbooks available in English for some years and now have a large stock of tested Islamic recipes, so I decided to cook a dinner for the Grey Gargoyles' Spring Tournament completely from medieval Islamic recipes. I had three objectives in designing the menu, in addition to making a good dinner that my friends would enjoy: I wanted to show something of the range of medieval Islamic food; I wanted to make it a very low-work feast, so that more of us could enjoy the tourney; and I wanted to reduce the cost as much as possible. Other considerations included balance of flavors, allowing for allergies, and limited kitchen space.

Menu

There are a number of recipes for relishes or dips in the period Islamic cookbooks. The feast started with one of these, *Badinjan Muhassa* (p. 111), served with bread. Unfortunately, I knew very little about medieval Islamic bread other than the fact that it existed, but I assumed that modern pita bread would be a reasonable guess. *Badinjan Muhassa* is based on eggplant, ground and toasted walnut, and raw onion; eggplant is probably the most common vegetable in medieval Islamic cookbooks. This version of the recipe is from a 10th century collection; another version is in the 13th-century cookbook of al-Bagdadi.

The main course consisted of *Tabâhajah* from the manuscript of Yahya b. Khalid (p. 97), a *Cooked Dish of Lentils* (p. 99), and *Andalusian Chicken* (p. 77), served with rice. The *Tabâhajah* is from another of the cookbooks in the 10th-century collection. It

is one of those rare period recipes which gives exact quantities for most of the ingredients. It consists of meat (we used lamb) marinated, cooked in oil, and topped with chopped greens. The marinade is based on *murri*, a condiment widely used in medieval Islamic cooking. Real *murri* was made by a lengthy process involving fermentation; so far as we know it has not been used since the 15th century. However, there exists a period recipe for quick and cheap imitation *murri*, and we made up a supply of that for the marinade. Judging by comments, and by how little was left over, the *Tabâhajah* was the real hit of the feast.

The *Cooked Dish of Lentils* consists of lentils cooked with onions and spices, with eggs cooked on top at the end. It is one of the easiest dishes I know of, the only real work being chopping the onions, and is a favorite with our after fighter practice crowd. It also provides a main dish for vegetarians (at least those who eat eggs). Both this and the *Andalusian Chicken* are from an Andalusian (Moorish Spanish) cookbook of the 13th century by al-Andalusi.

The original title on the recipe for *Andalusian Chicken* was just "Another Dish," so I gave it a more descriptive name. It is made by frying the chicken with oil and some seasonings "until it is gilded," simmering it in the juice of onion and green coriander (*cilantro*), and finally thickening the sauce with breadcrumb and egg.

Of the three main dishes, the lentil dish has neither meat, wheat nor dairy products, the *Tabâhajah* has neither eggs nor dairy products, and the chicken has neither onions nor dairy products, so that someone with any single one of these common food allergies would be able to eat at least one dish. With only three main dishes, I could not allow for multiple allergies. In order that our guests could find out what was in the food, the servers, both kitchens, and the autocrat were provided with a list of all ingredients in each dish, including drinks and desserts.

We served two drinks in addition to water: sekanjabin (a sweet mint drink, p. 125) and a lemon drink (p. 125). Both of these are made by making a flavored sugar syrup, which keeps without refrigeration, and diluting it to prepare the drink. Sekanjabin is mentioned by al-Nadim in the 10th century and still survives today; we used a modern Middle-Eastern recipe. The lemon drink comes from an anonymous 13th-century Andalusian cookbook which has a great many recipes for syrup drinks of this sort.

For dessert we served a plate of several pastries and sweets. Khushkananaj (p. 116) is a pastry made with flour and sesame oil with a filling of almonds, sugar, and rosewater. Hais (p. 124) are little balls made of dates, ground nuts, breadcrumbs, and butter. They are a fair amount of work, but as they keep well (the original recipe recommends them as travelers' food) they were made a week in advance. Both of these come from the 13th-century eastern Islamic cookbook of al-Bagdadi. Hulwa is a general term for sweets or candy. There is a recipe (p. 122) for several kinds of hulwa in the 15th-century eastern Islamic cookbook of Ibn al-Mabrad. One kind is rather like modern divinity and can be made with either sugar or honey; we made it for the feast with sugar. A second kind of candy we made is Makshufa (p. 122), from al-Bagdadi's cookbook, made with sugar, honey, almonds, and sesame oil.

Serving

In the anonymous Andalusian cookbook there is a discussion of whether food should be served with each kind on a separate dish or with everything on one platter: "Many of the great figures and their companions order that the separate dishes be placed on each table before the diners, one after another; and by my life, this is more beautiful than putting an uneaten mound all on the table, and it is more elegant, better-bred, and modern" [p. 24 verso-25 recto in the Arabic original]. In spite of his strong words, I decided on the inelegant version. We served each table a

large platter with rice on top of which were the chicken, the lamb and the lentils next to each other. The Badinjan Muhassa and the bread were served first in small bowls, and all the desserts for each table on one plate.

Practical Considerations

Cost: It is usually worth checking out wholesale prices for the most expensive and largest quantity items in a feast; for meats, it is worth figuring out the cheapest cut that will work for the dishes you are cooking. We bought boneless lamb shoulders and chicken leg quarters from a wholesale butcher who happens to be our seneschal. If the butcher had not been a member of the group we would have had to cut up the lamb and cut the chicken legs and thighs apart ourselves rather than getting it done for us, but we still would have gotten a much better price than at the local grocery. Often ethnic or health food stores will have some foods in bulk that would be available in your local grocery only in small quantities at high prices; we got nuts and some of the spices in bulk at an Indian grocery store. Serving one meatless main dish (the lentils) also helped to keep the cost down. The total cost of the food was about \$475 for almost 250 people. [*This would have been in about 1990.*]

Quantity: My usual rule for estimating quantities is that all dishes put together should add up to about half a pound of boneless meat per person, a little less if there are a lot of hefty meatless dishes or if you don't expect people to be very hungry. Given that this was a tournament, I expected people to be hungry. I allowed a quarter pound of lamb per person and 7 ounces of chicken with bone, which comes to about another quarter pound of boneless meat. How much of the other dishes we wanted I estimated by experience. I checked these estimates by serving a "practice feast" a few weeks before the event: the whole feast done in miniature for 8 people. (This also helps to spot other potential problems with a feast.)

What fed the whole crowd, with a few

main dish leftovers and a moderate amount of dessert leftovers, was: 25 recipes of Badinjan Muhassa, 64 recipes of Tabâhajah, 21 recipes of Cooked Dish of Lentils, 32 recipes of Andalusian Chicken, 3 recipes of Hais, 8 recipes of Khushkananaj, 5 recipes of Hulwa, 6.5 recipes of Makshufa, 5 recipes of sekanjabin, and about 3 gallons of lemon syrup.

Work: I deliberately chose low-work dishes, and ones where some of the work could be done in advance. The walnut for the Badinjan Muhassa was ground and toasted a few days before the feast, and the Badinjan Muhassa was mixed up the day before the feast. The murri for the Tabâhajah was made the week before. The hardest part of making Andalusian chicken is turning onions and green coriander into juice. We did that in advance with the help of an unmedieval blender and food processor, turning the kitchen green in the process, and froze the juice. The onions for the lentil dish were chopped the day before; the desserts were made anywhere from a week to a day in

advance, depending on how well they would keep. The use of only one platter per table for the main dishes and rice reduced the amount of washing-up to be done.

Kitchens: Our site has two small kitchens, the smaller one with a four-burner stove and the larger with a six-burner stove. Since the food was cooking in very large pots, only two pots could fit onto the smaller stove and four onto the larger. Both the rice and the lentils could start cooking on the stove and then be removed to finish cooking by their own heat; five gallons of lentils or nine gallons of rice will stay hot enough to cook for a long time. (By the same token, leftovers should be put in small containers before being refrigerated after the feast: that much food in one mass will stay warm enough to spoil for a long time even in the refrigerator.) We therefore cooked the rice and lentils first and the lamb and chicken afterward on the same stoves.

[by Elizabeth; originally published in *Tournaments Illuminated* #105]

How to Make Arrack

Sugarcane is also used for the preparation of intoxicating liquor, but brown sugar is better for this purpose. There are various ways of preparing it. They pound *Babul* bark mixing it at the rate of ten sers to one man of sugarcane, and put three times as much water over it. Then they take large jars, fill them with the mixture, and put them into the ground, surrounding them with dry horse dung. From seven to ten days are required to produce fermentation. It is a sign of perfection, when it has a sweet, but astringent taste. ... This beverage, when strained, may be used, but it is mostly employed for the preparation of arrack.

They have several methods of distilling it; *first*, they put the above liquor into brass vessels, in the interior of which a cup is put, so as not to shake, nor must the liquid flow into it. The vessels are then covered with inverted lids which are fastened with clay. After pouring cold water on the lids, they kindle the fire, changing the water as often as it gets warm. As soon as the vapour inside reaches the cold lid, it condenses, and falls as arrack into the cup.

The *Ain-i-Akbari*, 16th c. Indian

Making this is probably illegal in the U.S. The method of distillation is one I first encountered in a modern survival manual.

A Dinner at Pennsic

My lord and I have the custom of cooking dinner for our entire encampment one evening at Pennsic, working from period recipes. On this occasion we were cooking for 25 people. Our constraints are that there are only two of us, although we usually get some help; we have a fairly good kitchen set-up, but it does not so far include an oven; we do not keep a cooler at Pennsic; and we wanted to do something simple enough that we could be assured of being able to wash the dishes in daylight.

The easiest sorts of food to cook over a campfire are spit-roasted meat and dishes in a large pot or frying pan. As no one in our camp was making a grocery store run that day, we decided against meat. Greens, eggs, and butter were the most perishable foodstuffs we were using, and all will keep for a day or two without refrigeration as long as you do not leave them out in the sun; also, eggs are available on site. As we make them, two of the recipes have meat broth. They could, however, be made suitable for a medieval fast day out of Lent (or for a modern vegetarian) by using vegetable broth instead, as the original recipes merely say "good broth." I figured that to feed that number of people we would probably need three large pots of food, so we might as well make three different dishes as well as dessert.

There are several medieval versions of noodles and cheese, both English and Italian. We chose Losyns (p. 68) as it specifies that the noodles be made in advance and dried, allowing us to do so at our leisure before we came. The name of the dish is presumably related to lasagna, so one could make long flat noodles, but we interpret it as the losenges of heraldry and make diamond-shaped noodles. We generally use a mixture of whole wheat and white flour, on the theory that most medieval flour would not be as fine as our modern white flour. "Poudre douce" (sweet powder) is a spice mixture used in both this and the following recipe; we do not know exactly what is in it, but our guess is sugar, cinnamon, and ginger. We mixed it up before we came.

The Carrots in Potage (p. 22) recipe is originally for turnips in potage, with "pastunakes" (carrots or parsnips) or skirrets (a root vegetable we have been unable to find) given as alternatives. It works fine with all three of the vegetables we have tried, but carrots are the easiest to be sure of finding in a modern grocery store. For the Fried Broad Beans (p. 17), we bought dried fava beans in advance at a specialty food store. The greens we used (cabbage, parsley, and spinach) were period ones which we could buy locally; other times we have used turnip, mustard, or dandelion greens.

For a dessert, the most obvious choices are fruit, sweets one can make in advance and bring, such as Islamic candies and pastries or late-period English cakes, and things you can do in a frying pan. Since we were eating fruit and nibbles we had brought with us for most of our breakfasts and lunches, we decided on Murakkaba (p. 119), an interesting solution to the problem of how to make a thick cake without an oven. There are also English recipes for fritters we could have made, but the murakkaba was such a hit the previous year that we decided to repeat it.

Equipment needed:

Two large pots (1 ½ to 2 gallon) with lids, plus a third to heat wash water; two large frying pans for broad beans, one of which gets re-used for murrakkaba; about four bowls, one quite large; a cutting board; a sharp knife or two; several big spoons and ladles; a measuring cup and spoons (if you don't want modern-looking ones, take a period-looking mug and spoons and measure how much they will hold at home); and a cooking set-up which allows two large pots and two frying pans on the fire at once.

Quantities

What we made, which fed our 25 people almost exactly, was: 4 recipes of Losyns, 4 recipes of Carrots in Potage, 4 recipes of Fried Broad Beans and 3 recipes of Murakkaba, done as 2 cakes.

[by Elizabeth; originally published in
Tournaments Illuminated #113]

Part II: Articles

Articles Written in Persona

Concerning Gemstones

*In the name of ALLAH,
The Merciful, the Compassionate,
Who is sufficient unto us,
upon Whom we depend and Whose aid we invoke,
by Whose mercy this work may serve the people of the Six Kingdoms
(for it is for that, that it is intended);
and it is written "Upon ALLAH we rely,"
and from Him also do we invoke the peace
on all of His prophets and worshippers,
who are sincere in obeying Him,
for there is no strength and no power
except with ALLAH,
The Exalted, the Almighty!*

The Philosopher wrote concerning gemstones, and Theophrastos, and Pliny, and after them many wise men in the East and the West, that is to say among the Arabs, the Persians, and the Moors, as for instance Ibn al-Jezzar, Abu Ali ibn Sina and al-Tifaschi, and also some philosophers of the Franks have written about stones. Many attribute magical properties to certain gemstones, and according to others these stones have such properties but they are not magical, being according to the nature of the stone. And Allah alone knoweth all.

It is my purpose to tell a little of how gems are cut, and into what shapes, and



what gems are used among the different peoples of the earth; it is my hope thus to be of service to the people of the Six Kingdoms, most especially to those who would know what sorts of jewelry it is most fitting to give as gifts to friends of other

nations, and also to such as themselves desire to work with gemstones.

Concerning their Shaping

There are two ways I know of that gems may be worked to the desired shape. The first is told by Theophilus, a Frankish craftsman; these are his words:

Rock crystal is water hardened into ice, which is then hardened through many years into stone. It is cut and polished in this way. Take some chaser's pitch, about which we spoke above, and put it into the fire until it melts. Then cement the crystal with it to a long piece of wood of comparable thickness. When it is cold, rub it with both hands on a piece of hard sandstone, adding water, until it takes on the shape you want to give it, then on another stone of the same kind but finer and smoother until it becomes completely smooth. Now take a flat, smooth lead plate and on it put a moistened tile (which has been abraded [to dust] with saliva on a hard hone) and polish the crystal until it becomes brilliant. Lastly, put some tile dust moistened with saliva on a goat skin that is neither blackened nor greased, stretched on a piece of wood and fastened on the underside with nails. Rub on this until

it is completely clear.

In the same way onyx, beryl, emerald, jasper, chalcedony, and the other precious stones are cut, ground and polished. A very fine powder is also made from fragments of crystal. This is mixed with water and put on a smooth flat piece of lime wood and the same stones are rubbed on it and polished. Hyacinth, which is harder, is polished in the following way. There is a stone called emery, which is crushed until it is like sand, then placed on a smooth copper plate and mixed with water and the hyacinth is shaped by rubbing on this. The washings which run off should be carefully collected in a clean basin and allowed to stand overnight. On the following day the water should be entirely removed and the powder dried. Afterwards put it on a smooth flat limewood board, wet it with saliva, and polish the hyacinth on it. Gems made of glass are also ground and polished in the same way as rock crystal.

With regard to hard stones, it should be said that sapphire and ruby are very hard, and also certain sorts of the stone called asterias, that has a star in it; these would certainly require the use of emery. The stone chrysoberyl, that some call chryselectrum, is golden or pale green and has a line shining in it like the eye of a cat, and it is very hard, and so is the golden stone that Pliny calls chrysolithus, but that is called topazos by later writers, and also the stone balas, that some say is a sort of ruby. It may be that all of these would require emery for their polishing, but I cannot say for I have not polished stones in this fashion.

The other way in which stones may be shaped is on a wheel, and it is done so for the most part in civilized lands. The wheel may be of stone, or of wood or metal or wax and have on it powdered emery or other such stuff mixed with water. Tripoli is also used for polishing stones. Sometimes the wheel is turned by a bow; the string wraps around the shaft of the wheel and the craftsman turns the wheel by moving the bow back and forth with one hand, while

with the other he shapes the stone against the turning wheel. I have heard also of wheels turned by the feet, and even of great stone wheels turned by water, but those I have not seen.



The stone adamant is so hard that it is said that it cannot be shaped or polished, but it is set in its natural shape, sometimes flat, sometimes like two pyramids joined at their bases, and then it is set with a sharp point upright and will write on glass. Others say that adamant may be polished, or even shaped, by rubbing one against another, but this I have not seen or done. Also I have heard that certain men have the art of striking the stone so that it breaks in two pieces, the break as smooth as if it had been cut with a saw and then polished.

Concerning the sawing of stones, Theophilus writes:

If you want to cut up a piece of crystal, fix four wooden pegs on a bench so that the crystal lies firmly between them. They should be spaced so that each of the pairs is so closely fitted above and below that a saw can just be drawn between them and cannot be deflected anywhere. Then insert an iron saw and throw on sharp sand mixed with water. Have two men stand there to draw the saw and to throw on sand mixed with water unceasingly. This should be continued until the crystal is cut into two parts; then rub and polish them as above.

Concerning the engraving of stones, this may be done in several ways. In the simplest, a small sapphire or adamant is fixed to the end of a rod and with it designs are cut into the stone. Then again the rod may be rotated with a bow; this is called a bow drill. One can use in the same way a drill of wood with a paste of water mixed with emery or some other such stuff. Also the stone can be engraved against a turning wheel. All of these methods have been used in the countries of the East and the West and among the Romans. Theophilus says little



about engraving stones and I do not know how it is done among the Franks, or if they have the skill for such work.

Sometimes when a stone is being shaped, the lapidary discovers a flaw, or some foreign matter within the stone. If the stone is of little price he may elect to grind it down on the wheel until the flaw is gone. To do this with a stone of great value would be costly, as the weight would be reduced by the grinding away of much that was perfect and whole in order to remove a little that was imperfect; no man of sense would so waste his money or his patron's. Instead it is common practice to make a cut in the surface of the stone where it is flawed, removing the flaw and polishing the sides of the cut. It is for this reason that one often sees a stone with such polished cuts in the top of it. And as for emeralds, those of great size are never flawless, and so the flaws are permitted to remain.



Concerning their Shapes



Gemstones are for the most part cut in one of two ways. Either the stone is cut with a rounded top and bottom (I have heard that the Franks call such a stone a cabochon, for that it resembles in their eyes a small cabbage) or it is polished all over, keeping the natural shape of the stone that no weight be lost (and this is of special importance in stones of great price, for they are valued in large part by their weight) and a hole drilled through it. Stones of the first of these two sorts are set in jewelry, held by a bezel or by claws; the second sort can be strung on a necklace or affixed to a piece of jewelry by a wire through the hole, as is done among the Romans. And the stones cut in the first way have sometimes their backs hollowed instead of domed, and then polished, that the color may be more clearly seen, and this is done especially with garnets. Also in setting stones often a foil, of gold or of some other



metal, is put behind the stone to brighten it and improve its color. Among certain Frankish peoples, and especially the English, it was of old the custom to cut and polish garnets in thin slices and set them upon a foil of gold marked like a game board, done so fine that there might be eighty lines to the inch. I have seen this work myself and it is most skillfully done, so that it is a wonder to me that it was done by men who knew nothing of the Prophet (on him be the peace and the blessings of Allah!) or of the philosophers.

There are other ways in which stones are cut, but these are for the most part new fashions and I doubt whether a man of good judgment ought to follow them. Some take stones that are to be drilled and cover them all over with small flat surfaces, polished, called facets, taking care always to follow the shape of the stone (if it be a valuable one) and waste as little weight as may be. Others, who have stones that are to be set and not drilled, instead of cutting them rounded put facets of the same sort on them. This I have seen done in two ways. With some stones (it may be those of greatest price) there are many small facets, following the shape of the stone as with drilled stones and having no special pattern. With others there are only a few; the top may be one facet, and the four sides each flat, and perhaps as many as eight facets on the bottom side. All this work is done in Persia, and I have seen the stones; I do not know what the fashion may be among the Franks, but doubtless they will in time copy it, for stones cut in such ways sparkle in the sunlight and are pleasing to the taste of simple people. Another way in which stones are cut is to take the form of the stone as it comes from the earth, and this for some (most especially emeralds, but also rock crystal and others) is, as it were, a solid of Euclid, with its surfaces plane, and to polish these surfaces, and then drill the stone. It may be that from this ancient practice the idea of faceting arose. As for how stones are set, that would be a matter for a treatise on

jewelry, and that (if Allah is willing!) I shall do at another time.

Concerning the Different Peoples

All stones were known to the Romans in the old days when they ruled both Romes, the old and the new, for Pliny wrote of them all. In these times still the Romans know many stones, and whether any known to the old Romans are lost to them I cannot say. Certain stones they favor most especially, and these are emeralds and pearls, also garnet and crystal they make much use of. They use other stones also, but the especial skill of their jewelers is with enamels, and none in the East or the West is more skilled in that craft.

The Franks in the old times, and especially those of England, who were very great jewelers, used agate and almandine (that is a kind of garnet), also amethyst and amber and jet, the last two being found on the coasts of England. I have heard that onyx and crystal were known to them. It may be that they knew other stones also, but that I cannot say.

In these days the Franks know the use of many stones. But often for one stone they use many names or one name signifies stones that are wholly different. Thus the ruby and the ballas ruby and the garnet are all at times called by the one name: carbuncle, that signifies a red stone. And their philosophers cannot agree among themselves concerning the naming of stones.

The Northmen are a people who live north of the Franks; I have seen a little of their work and it is very fine. I have heard that they use garnets and crystal and also amber and walrus ivory, but I think they must know the use of other stones also, for many of them are pirates and raid very far. They have even raided in the West, in al-Andalus. It is said that the fighting there was very bloody; many women, children, and Northmen were killed. Also some of them take service with the Romans and doubtless bring treasures from New Rome, which they

call the Great City.

The Irish are a people that live at the end of the world, beyond the English. It is said they use amber and crystal, and make fine jewelry.

As to the peoples of the East and the West, that is the Persians, the Arabs, and the Moors, they know all stones and make use of them.

Thanks be to ALLAH, the Merciful, the Compassionate, that it has been granted to me to complete this treatise to serve the people of the Six Kingdoms, as is the will of ALLAH, the One, the Only.

Notes & Bibliography

The above description of medieval lapidary technology is in part conjectural, based on what is known about classical technology and pre-industrial Persian techniques. In general, techniques are described as “rumors”, etc., if it is reasonably certain that they existed prior to A.D. 1600 and possible (but not certain) that they existed in the author's period: the 11th or 12th century. Water-driven lapidary wheels are an example.

There is no way to be certain that a particular natural gemstone was not used in a given historical period. Even if all modern sources are in areas then inaccessible, some other deposit might have been known in the past and either lost or exhausted. Even if no jewelry using the stone exists from the period, that might mean only that it was sufficiently rare that no pieces survived.

But where no positive evidence exists in contemporary writings nor in surviving pieces that a particular stone was used, and where the known sources would in the past have been difficult of access, one may reasonably suppose that it was either totally unknown or at least rare—and in the latter case probably confused with some more common stone that it resembled. Stones which I believe would not have been known in Europe in the Middle Ages have been omitted from the list of medieval gemstones

appended to these notes. Such stones are:

Alexandrite: First known discovery was in the 19th century, but it is found in Ceylon, which was an important source of gem rough in period.

Black Opal: First known discovery was in Australia.

Jade: Although prehistoric jade weapons are known from Europe, and although jade was used extensively in China from very early times, it does not seem to have been known as a distinct stone in Europe until the 16th century, when it was introduced from South America by the Spanish. In the Middle East it probably became known about the 13th century as a result of the Mongol conquest of Persia. Individual objects containing jade from earlier periods have been reported, but according to Ogden all of the specimens he checked turned out to be other green stones. Jade would presumably have been misidentified as some other green stone, possibly jasper, plasma, or chrysoprase.

Labradorite: A novelty when it was discovered in Labrador in 1780. Deposits also exist in Norway, Finland, and Madagascar, but were apparently unknown until recently.

Star Diopside: While it might be one of the stones referred to as “asterias,” there seems to be no evidence that it was known prior to the 20th century.

Tanzanite: African in origin, apparently first discovered in the 20th century. Its color is the result of heat treatment.

Tiger Eye: The main sources are in southern Africa and were discovered in the 19th century—it was regarded as a novelty at the time.

Tourmaline: Gem tourmaline is said to have been introduced to Europe by the Dutch (from Ceylon) in 1703, but Ogden describes one definite example from classical antiquity and two others of uncertain date, one of which may be medieval. I have also seen stones identified, I think correctly, as tourmaline in period Persian pieces in a display at the

Metropolitan Museum in New York. Both Pliny and al-Tifaschi mention stones that, from their description, are rubellite—pink tourmaline.

Faceting. Persian faceted stones of the sorts described above date back at least to the 12th century; there is an example (a faceted sapphire in a gold ring) in the Walters collection in Baltimore. In the 15th century faceted stones began to replace cabochons in western European jewelry. The table cut and the earliest forms of the rose cut appear to have originated about 1500, the systematic rose cut, the Mazarin, and the early forms of the brilliant cut in the early 17th century. Beads with polished flat surfaces were made in classical antiquity.

Diamonds. Diamond crystals are normally either platelets or octahedra; the latter, set point up, is the *point naïf* or writing diamond, a form commonly used before the invention of the table cut. During the Middle Ages and Renaissance diamonds were sometimes backed with black foil; Cellini recommends tinting the back surfaces with lamp black, backing the stones with a reflector, or both. Large irregular stones, at least in the East, were “faceted” in such a way as to minimize weight loss—covered with facets conforming to the original shape of the stone. Neither procedure gave anything like the effect of modern cuts. It was only in the 17th century that the diamond began to become the most important gemstone.

Names of Stones Known in Period. In the list below, stones are given by their modern names; other names are also listed, usually in their Latin form (from Pliny). Nomenclature was neither consistent nor stable over time; in many cases a writer such as Albertus had to guess which of the stones he knew corresponded to particular stones listed by Pliny. Chrysolite and (golden) topaz exchanged names sometime during the Middle Ages. Sapphire was originally the name of the stone now called lapis lazuli.

agate
 almandine (a variety of garnet)
 amber [succinas] [chryseletrum]
 amazonstone*, eumentres
 amethyst
 aquamarine
 aventurine*
 beryl
 carnelian
 chalcedony
 chrysoberyl, cat's eye [chryseletrum]
 chrysolite, topaz
 chrysoprase
 citrine [chryseletrum] [topasion]
 coral
 diamond [adamant]
 emerald [smaragdus]
 garnet [carbunculus]
 heliotrope, bloodstone
 hematite
 ivory
 jasper
 jet, kcabre [gagates] [succinus]
 lapis lazuli, sapphire, zamech, ultramarine
 malachite [smaragdus]
 moonstone [silenites] [asterias?]
 mother of pearl, celontes [silenites]
 obsidian
 onyx
 opal, exacontalitus, pantherus
 pearl, margarita
 peridot
 plasma
 prase
 rock crystal, crystallus, iris [beryllus]
 rose quartz
 ruby [carbunculus] [jaqut (Arabic)]
 sapphire [hyacinth] [adamas] [jaqut (Arabic)]
 sard
 sardonyx
 spinel, balas ruby [carbunculus]
 star garnet [asterias?]
 star ruby [asterias?]
 star sapphire [asterias?]
 sunstone (probably known in Roman and
 medieval times, but identification not certain)
 topaz, chrysolite
 tourmaline, badjadi (Arabic), lychnis or mild
 carbuncle (Pliny)
 turquoise
 zircon, jargoon, jacinth [hyacinth] [lycurium]
 zargun (Persian)

[Modern names first documented after A.D. 1600 are marked with an asterisk; names in brackets probably referred to several gems; a question mark designates an uncertain identification.]

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Concerning Trees and their Fruit

*In the name of ALLAH,
 The Merciful, the Compassionate;
 I rely upon ALLAH,
 the Unique, the Victorious.
 It is said, "Upon ALLAH we rely,"
 and from Him also do we invoke a benediction
 for all his Prophets and worshippers
 who are sincere in obeying Him,
 for there is no strength and no power
 except with ALLAH,
 the Exalted, the Almighty*

It is known to all who have studied the writings of the ancients concerning natural history, or have enquired of wise and learned men experienced in the arts of the orchard, that fruit trees do not grow true to their seed. So it is that one may find a tall and sturdy apple, bearing fruit sweet as the milk of paradise and fair as the breasts of the maidens that there delight the spirits of the blessed, and yet when the seeds of those apples are planted they grow up, perchance, into dwarfish and twisted trees, bearing fruit ugly to the eye and sour to the taste. It is for this reason that wise men long ago devised the art of grafting, by which a portion of a branch cut from a fruit tree of surpassing virtue is grafted to a tree of more common sort, and even as the son of a noble man grows up like unto his father although raised among beggars, heretics, or Franks, so does that branch grow and flower and put out the selfsame fruit as the tree from which it was cut. It is by this art that the finest fruits known to man are multiplied by a thousand times, and so it is that when a tree is long dead its scions may yet flourish and cuttings from them be grafted to yet more trees, and the same tree may live in its descendants until the day of judgment and be then (Inshallah) born away into paradise. So it is, by man's wisdom and the Mercy of Allah (the Compassionate, the Merciful) that we may even today eat of those self same cherries that were written of by Pliny (upon whom be Peace), he who wrote much concerning the art of grafting in the seventeenth book of his

History of the World, although the tree from which he plucked those cherries, and the trees grafted of that tree, are long ago dust blown in the winds of the world.

Now it is one of my delights to have meals prepared according to the teaching of those who have written before me concerning the art of cookery, and so I bethought myself that rather than having recourse to the common fruits of the market I would seek out for myself those ancient strains which delighted the master cooks of times gone by (upon whom be Peace) and discover whether scions of those trees could still be found beneath the dome of Heaven. After search and long study, I discovered certain orchards where such trees grew, and men of wisdom and discernment who made it their life work to find such strains of fruit as have been praised by the learned aforetime, to seek them out where they might grow and take cuttings of them, that their line not perish utterly from the earth. I discovered also merchants who dealt in such trees, offering them for a small price to such as delight in things ancient and noble. From one such I procured three trees, two apples and a plum, to set about my house, and even as I write these words, the apples bloom outside the window of my chamber.

Having so, by the Mercy of Allah, satisfied my desires in these matters, I bethought myself of others of the folk of the Seven Kingdoms, and most especially of those who delight in the art of cookery, and it seemed to me fitting that I set down for them

what I had discovered, and so I have done. But it is Allah who knows all things.

Notes to the Above

My trees were purchased from J. E. Miller Nurseries, which carries at least two apples and one plum of varieties dating from before 1650; I have found their trees, service, and prices entirely satisfactory. The most extensive collection of old and unusual varieties of fruit trees in the country used to be that of Southmeadow Fruit Gardens, which carried about a hundred and eighty varieties of apples as well as many varieties of other fruits. Their illustrated catalog cost eight dollars and was well worth it; it is the best source for information on old fruit varieties that I know of. Unfortunately, I am told that the proprietor is no longer alive and the nursery no longer a reliable supplier. The catalog is available online: <http://www.southmeadowfruitgardens.com/FruitTreeCatalog.html>

The following list of varieties which may reasonably be supposed to have existed before 1650 is drawn mainly from the Southmeadow catalog; where dates are given, they represent the earliest definite mention of the variety.

Pre 1650 Fruits

Apple

Calville Blanc D'Hiver (1627)
 Court Pendu Plat (16th century—possibly Roman)
 Devonshire Quarendon (1690)
 Drap d'Or (=Coe's Golden Drop?)
 Lady Apple (1628)
 Old Nonpareil
 Pomme Royale
 Reinette Franche
 Roxbury Russett (Early 17th century)
 Scarlet Crofton
 Sops of Wine
 Summer Rambo (16th century)

White Pearmain (1200!)

Fenouillette Gris

Golden Reinette

Peach

Grosse Mignonne (1667)

Nectarine

Early Violet (1659)

Pears

Buerre Gris (1608)

Rousselet de Reims (1688)

Bartlett (Williams Bon Chretien)

“of ancient origin”—may or may not be pre-1600.

White Doyenne (“Sementium”) (1550)

Plums

Green Gage (Reine Claude)

Prune d'Agen

Nurseries Said to Carry Antique Fruits

Adams County Nursery and Fruit Farms, Aspers, PA 17304. [www.acnursery.com]

Bountiful Ridge Nursery, Princess Anne, Maryland 48009.

C & O Nursery, 1700 North Wenatchee Avenue, Wenatchee, Washington 98801.

Lawson's Nursery, Route 1, Box 294, Ball Ground, Georgia.

Henry Leuthardt Nursery, East Moriches, New York 11904.

J.E. Miller Nurseries, Canandaigua, New York 14424. [www.millernurseries.com]

New York State Fruit Testing Association, Geneva, New York 14456.

Stark Bro's Nurseries, Louisiana, Missouri 63353. [www.starkbros.com]

Trees of Antiquity, 20 Wellsona Road, Paso Robles, CA 93446

[<http://www.treesofantiquity.com>]

Waynesboro Nurseries, P.O. B. 987, Waynesboro, Va 22980.

[www.waynesboronurseries.com]

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Some Receyptes

*Praised be ALLAH,
 Creator of days and appointer of times,
 Who hath brought every creature to life
 and provided all manner of sustenance;
 beasts has 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.
 ALLAH bless His chosen prophet our lord Mohammad and his family.
 Verily, he heareth prayers.*

It is known that the Franks (cursed be they for unbelievers) go against the law of Allah; unclean meats they eat, and they are great dunkards. Therefore, that all men may see and know these things, in writing receyptes of the Franks I shall not refrain from putting down those that make use of unclean meats or drinks forbidden by the law. For it is my purpose in these writings to show a little of the cookery of many peoples, those of the East and the West, and also the Franks, and if any who read this know concerning the cookery of the Romans, I pray that they write it down and send it to me, for I know it not.

And since the receyptes of the Franks, who are ignorant of learning, are less clear than those of al-Islam, I shall write a little concerning their meaning, and with one or two show how I have found they may best be done, and what quantities are to be used. But Allah alone knoweth all.

Receyptes of the English Franks

Caboges

Take fayre caboges, and cutte hem, an pike hem clene and clene washe him, and parboyle hem in fayre water, an þanne presse hem on a fayre bord; an þan choppe hem, and caste hem in a faire pot with goode freysshe broth, an wyth mery-bonys, and let it boyle: þanne grate fayre brede and caste þer-to, and caste þer-to Safron and salt; or ellys take gode grwel y-mad of freys flesshe, y-draw

þorw a straynor, and caste þer-to. An whan thou seruyst yt inne, knock owt the marw of the bonys, an ley the marwe ii gobettys or iii in a dysshe, as þe semyth best, & serve forth.

Fylettys en Galentyne

Take fayre porke, þe fore quarter, and take of þe skyne; an put þe porke on a fayre spete, and rost it half y-now; þan take it of, an smyte it in fayre pecys, & caste it on a fayre potte; þan take oynonys, and schrede hem, and pele hem (an pyle hem nowt to smale), an frye in a panne of fayre grece; þan caste hem in þe potte to þe porke; þan take gode broth of moton or of beef, an caste þer-to, an þan caste þer-to powder pepyr, canel, clowys, an macys, an let hem boyle wyl to gederys; þan tak fayre brede, an vynegre, an stepe þe brede with þe same brothe, an strayne it on blode, with ale, or ellys sawnderys, and salt, and lat hym boyle y-now, and serve it forth.

Rys

Take a porcyoun of Rys, & pyke hem clene, & sethe hem welle, & late hem kele; þen take gode Mylke of Almaundys & do þer-to, & sethe & stere hem wyl; & do þer-to sugre an hony, & serue f.

Mortrewys de Fleyssh

Take Porke, and sethe it wyl; thanne take it uppe and pulle a-way the Swerde, an pyk

owt the bonys, an hakke it and grynd it small; thenne take the sylf brothe, & temper it with ale; than take fayre gratyd brede, & do there-to, and sethe it, an coloure it with Saffroun, & lye it with yolks of eyroun, & make it even salt, & caste powder gyngere, a-bouyn on the dysshe.

Tannye

Take almaunde Mylke, & Sugre, an powdere Gyngere, & of Galyngale, & of Canelle, and Rede Wyne, & boyle y-fere: & þat is gode tannye.

Cryspes

Take Whyte of Eyroun, Mylke, & Floure, & a lytel Berme, & bete it to-gederys, & draw it þorw a straynore, so þat it be renneng, & not to styf, & caste sugre þer-to, & salt; þanne take a chafer ful of freysshe grese boyling, & put þin hond in the Bature, & lat þin bature renne dowun by þin fyngerys in-to þe chafere; & whan it is ronne to-gedere on þe chafere, & is y-now, take & nym a skymmer, & take it up, & lat al þe grece renne owt, & put it on a fayre dyssche, & cast þer-on Sugre y-now, & serue forth.

Now those who are accustomed to the receyptes of al-Islam will at first find these of the Franks strange, that they say not how much of each thing goes into the dish, and for that reason I will give the quantities that I use with two of the dishes. But for those who are accustomed to cooking it will not seem difficult to try the receyptes with such quantities as they think right, and whether in the East or the West or among the Franks I have not found much in a dish to be the same when two different cooks have made it, save the name only.

It happened once to me that I traveled in the land of al-Baran, I and my brothers and our ladies together, and we were guested by the folk of that land. And after the dinner I spoke to the cook, saying “Noble Ivan, master

of your craft, what is this most excellent dish you have set before me, for all of this feast of yours is such as I hope for when I feast with the blessed in paradise, but this dish is the crown of all.” And he answered “Oh my lord, what have I accomplished save with your aid; this is your own receypte that I had from the hand of one for whom you wrote it.” And I tell you it was true; it was my receypte but my dish it was not.

But before I began that tale I had promised to tell the quantities I use with certain of the Frankish dishes. And one is the dish Caboges, and for that I use one head of Caboge, neither very large nor very small, and 2 ratl of beef broth and 4 ratl of marrow bones. The Caboge head I cut in four pieces and put it into boiling water, and when the water boils again, or a little later, I take the cabbage out and let it cool until I can touch it with my hands, then press the water out of it (and with it goes some of the flavor that might be too strong) and chop it, and then boil it with the broth and bones until it is soft, a third of an hour it might be, and then add salt to taste and a very little saffron and half a ratl or so of bread crumbs, enough to make it thick, and simmer a little longer before I serve it.

And as for the cryspes, if you use the whites of four eggs, one quarter ratl (that is three uqiya) of milk, three or four uqiya of flour, something less than one uqiya of berme, one uqiya of sugar and a dirham of salt, and after frying your crispes in hot oil you turn them over, drain away the oil when they are done, and sprinkle them with more sugar, you will find no better dish for a meal’s end, not even the sweets of the East and the West, concerning which I will write another day.

Notes

The recipes are from *Two Fifteenth Century Cookery-Books*, Thomas Austin Ed., EETS, first published in 1888 and in print when I last checked. Since one purpose of this article is to encourage readers to try working from the original recipes, I have reproduced them without modernizing the spelling.

Understanding fifteenth century recipes is not as hard as it seems; the main trick is to sound the words out instead of trying to recognize them by how they are spelled. The spelling is inconsistent from one recipe to another. It is useful to know that “u” is often used where we would use “v” (serue it forth) and that “p” is pronounced “th.” As a further aid, you may find the following sample translation useful, as well as the glossary at the end of this note.

Cryspes

Take egg whites, milk, and flour and a little yeast and beat them all together, and put it through a strainer so that it is running and not too stiff, and cast sugar therto, and salt; then take a frying pan full of fresh oil boiling, and put your hand in the batter, and let your batter run down by your fingers into the pan; and when it has run together on the pan and is done, take a pancake turner and take it up and let all the oil run out and put it on a clean dish and cast thereon sugar enough and serve it.

Anyone with information to offer on Roman cookery should realize that to a medieval Moor “Roman” means Byzantine; I already have Apicius. Anyone who wishes to

correspond on period cookery or who is interested in translating period cookbooks (from medieval French, medieval German, medieval Portuguese, medieval Dutch, or modern Spanish) should write to me.

Glossary

Berme: Yeast. Possibly ale sediment.
Canel or Canelle: Cinnamon
Clowys: Cloves
Galyngale: Galingale, used in Thai cooking.
Gyngere: Ginger
Lye: Mix or combine.
Macys: Mace
Marw: Marrow
Mary Bonys: Marrow bones
Mylke of Almoundys: Almond milk.
Nym: Take
Pepyr: Pepper
Ratl: 16 oz=1 pint=12 Uqiya= 120 Dirham
Rys: Rice
Sethe: Boil
Stepe: Soak
Sawnderys: Saunders, used as red coloring
Swerde: Rind
Temper: Mix with
y-fere: Together
y-now: Enough

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One day al Fadl ibn al-Rabī', the vizier of al-Amin, asked the scholars Abū 'Ubaida and al Asma'ī what each had written on the subject of the horse. "Fifty volumes," Abū 'Ubaida replied. "And thou?" al Asma'ī replied that he had written only one volume.

The vizier then called for a horse and invited Abū 'Ubaida to identify and name its parts. He declined to do so, saying that he was a philologist, not a farrier. When al Asma'ī was asked the same he went over the horse, naming every part, limb and bone—and the bedouin have a name for everything—and quoting ancient verses to prove each word.

The vizier gave the horse to al Asma'ī and ever after, so he tells us, when he was going to visit Abū 'Ubaida and wished to annoy him, he would ride that horse.

(Based on an account in A. J. Arberry's *The Seven Odes*)

Some Receyts

*In the Name of ALLAH
The Compassionate, the Merciful,
Lord of the Three Worlds;
I rely upon ALLAH,
The Unique, the Victorious.
It is said "Upon ALLAH we rely,"
and from Him also do we invoke a benediction for all of His prophets and worshippers
who are sincere in obeying Him,
for there is no strength and no power
except with ALLAH,
The Exalted, the Almighty.*

Now in my first chapter I wrote concerning the receyts of the English Franks. In this chapter I shall give some of the receyts of the Italian Franks. But lest you think that I concern myself only with the doings of the unbelievers, in the next I will give some of the receyts that we use in al-Andalus.

The island of Italy is attached to the southern coast of Frangistan. In the north of that island is the dwelling of the Caliph of the Franks, and he rules in the city that was the capital of the Romans before the Franks conquered it from them. Much of the south was for a long time held by the Romans, and there also were settlements of our people. But of late it has been seized by a warlike tribe of the Franks, and also most of the island of Sicily, the holding of the Aghlabids. Even so in our fathers' time was Sicily seized by the Romans, yet we won it back. And so shall it be again, Inshallah.

But I said that I would write concerning the receyptes of the Italian Franks, and so I must do so. I set them out as they came into my hands.

Pottage from Meat

Take lean meat and let it boil, then cut it up finely and cook it again for half an hour in rich juice, having first added bread crumbs. Add a little pepper and saffron.

When it has cooled a little, add beaten eggs, grated cheese, parsley, marjoram, finely chopped mint with a little verjuice. Blend them all together in a pot, stirring them slowly

with a spoon so that they do not form a ball. The same may be done with livers and lungs.

Mirause of Catalonia

Put together on a spit capons or pullets or pigeons well cleaned and washed and turn them over the hearth until they are half cooked. Then remove them and cut them in pieces and put them in a pot. Then chop almonds that have been toasted under warm ashes and cleaned with some cloth. To this add some bread crumbs lightly toasted with vinegar and juice and pass all this through a strainer. This is all put in the same pot with cinnamon and ginger and a good amount of sugar and left to boil on the live coals with a slow fire until it is done, all the time being stirred with a spoon so that it does not stick to the pot. It is quite nourishing, long in being digested; it warms the liver and kidneys and fattens the body and stirs the belly.

Catalonia, from which this recipe is reputed to come, is a Frankish province on the border of al-Andalus. It lies to the north of Valencia, the city ruled by Roger Canbitur (curses be upon him for an unbeliever), a wicked man but a marvel of Allah for valor and prowess. It is said that he is now dead; Allah grant that it be so.

Fried Gourd

Scrape off the skin from the gourd and cut it sideways in thin slices. When it has boiled once, transfer it from the pot onto the

board and leave it there until it has dried out a little. Then roll it in salt and good white flour and fry it in oil; when it is done and put on a platter, pour a garlic sauce over it, with fennel blossoms and bread crumbs so dissolved in verjuice that it looks thin rather than thick. It would not be amiss to pass this sauce through a strainer. There are those, too, who use only verjuice and fennel bloom. If you like saffron, add saffron.

A Garlic Sauce with Walnuts or Almonds

To almonds or walnuts that have been coarsely ground, add as much cleaned garlic as you want and likewise, as need be, grind them up well, sprinkling them all the while so that they do not make oil. When they are ground up, put in white bread crumbs softened in juice of meat or fish, and grind again. And if it seems too stiff, it can be softened easily in the same juice. It will keep very readily for a long time, as we said about mustard. This dish is little nourishing, remains a long time in the stomach, dulls the eyesight and warms the liver.

Fricitella from apples

Morsels of apples that have been cleaned and cored, you fry in liquamen or a little oil, and spread them on a board so that they dry. Then roll them in a preparation such as we have described earlier, and fry again. If you lick this up, be advised that it will be bad for you.

In an earlier recipe, the preparation in which the fricitellae are rolled is described thus: *To grated cheese, aged as well as fresh, add a little meal, some egg whites, some milk, a bit more sugar, and grind all this together in the same mortar.*

As to the liquamen which this recipe speaks of, that is the clarified fat of pork, which the Franks use in their cooking, being ignorant of the laws of Allah (the Compassionate, the Merciful). I believe that tail, such as we use to fry with both in the East and the West, would do as well.

Notes

In order to give readers a chance to work out period recipes for themselves, I have given them in their original forms. The worked out versions can be found in part I of this volume.

Verjuice is the juice of unripe grapes, crabapples, or other sour fruits. I frequently substitute dilute vinegar. "Tail" (referred to by Cariadoc, not Platina) is fat from sheep tails, used as a cooking oil in medieval Islamic recipes. Liquamen in Platina is pork fat; it seems to have no connection with the liquamen used extensively in Roman cooking. Rodrigo Diaz el Compeador (Roger Canbitur to Moorish contemporaries), more commonly known as el Cid, died in 1099.

"Island" (Jazīrah) in Arabic also means "Peninsula," and causes much confusion in geographical matters. Richard Burton, The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night.

The source for the recipes is Platina, *De honesta voluptate*, Venice, L. De Aguila, 1475, Elizabeth Buermann Andrews tr., Volume V from the Mallinckrodt Collection of Food Classics, ©Mallinckrodt Chemical Works 1967. The comments are from the perspective of Cariadoc, c. 1100. "It is Allah that knoweth all things."

(Originally published in *Tournaments Illuminated* #86, Spring 1988)

"I am the Master of the world, and to that task I am sufficient. But to master two spans square, that is beyond me."
(*al-Ma'mūn, Caliph and chess player*)

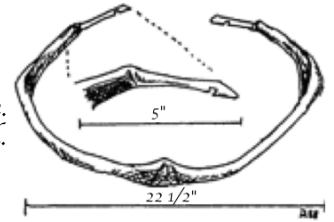


Final Stage of construction. Dotted line shows finished form of nock

Concerning the Archery of al-Islam

*In the name of ALLAH, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
My Lord, ease my task for me, O Thou who art bountiful.
Praise be to ALLAH, just, all knowing, all powerful
He who protects His friends, He who shatters his foes,
Who grants victory to the Faith, who subdues Unbelief
He who pays to all mankind its due, punishment or reward*

*Praise to him that has rendered His supporters victorious and subdued His enemies
And blessing and peace of ALLAH upon our lord Muhammad, Bearer of the True Message, and to his Family and his Companion train.*



Now I have heard that among the Franks, when a man desires a bow, he hacks off a branch from a tree, cuts in each end a notch, strings it, and that they call a bow. But among us it is otherwise.

To make a bow is the work of a year. The core is made of wood, most commonly in five parts, although some use more or less. These parts are the grip, the two limbs, and the siyahs. The parts are spliced together and glued with great care; when the bow is complete, one cannot see where one ends and the next begins. This work is done in autumn, and then also the horn is sawed and fitted to the core. In the winter the horn is glued to the belly of the bow and bound there, and the glue is permitted to dry for some months. In spring the sinew is applied to the back of the bow. During the summer the bow is strung and shaped, and at the last painted.

Those familiar with the bows of al-Islam will know that they bend one way unstrung and the opposite way when they are strung. And when the bow is strung and held to be shot, the belly of the bow is towards the archer, and that is horn; the back of the bow is away from the archer, and that is sinew. And a bow is like a man, for it may be bent bellywise, but if it is bent backwards it will snap. The bow is made of wood, horn, and sinew even as a man is made of bone, flesh, and arteries and is bound together by glue as the man by blood. As to the size of the bow, it is commonly about one cubit and two thirds and one quarter of a cubit (50.2

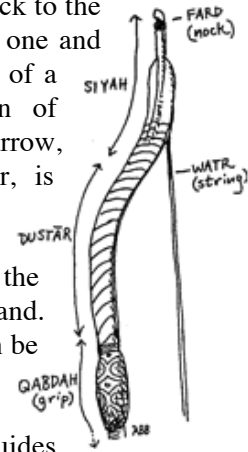
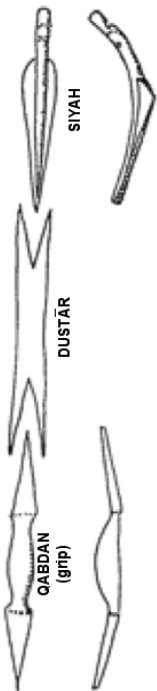
inches total), measured from nock to nock, but some are longer or shorter. And the measure used is the carpenter's cubit, for that is of the same length throughout al-Islam.

The string is best made from raw wound silk; some bind it with glue. Others make it out of animal hide suitably treated. The long arrow should have a length that permits the head to come to the thumb on the bow hand when the middle of the right index finger is brought right back to the lobe of the ear. This comes to one and one-eighth cubits and one-half of a qirat (30 inches) for a man of medium height. The short arrow, which is used with the sipar, is about half of that length.

The sipar is a sort of small shield which straps onto the wrist of the archer's bow hand. The point of the arrow can then be drawn back behind the bow, resting on the sipar; when the arrow is released the sipar guides the arrow back to the bow and from there where it is aimed, *inshallah*. There are other sorts of arrow guides as well. With such devices, short arrows or darts can be shot great distances to annoy the horses of the enemy.

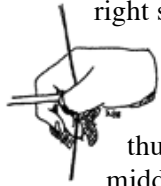


It is established in authentic tradition that the Prophet said, "The angels attend no human sport save archery." Therefore one should regard going to the shooting range as

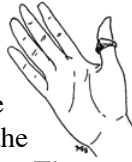


going to the mosque, being aware of the exalted status of the guests that there attend you, and should make the lesser ablution before beginning to shoot.

To use the bow, the arrow goes on the right side above the bow hand,



and the string is gripped with the thumb. The end of the



thumb is held down by the middle part of the first finger. The nock of the arrow lies in the notch between the thumb and the fleshy part of the hand just below the first finger. Some archers wear a thumb ring to protect the ball of the thumb from the string when it is released. Others use a leather guard for the thumb. There are even some who shoot without any thumb guard at all.

In shooting for sport, there are many games. One is flight shooting, in which the contest is not in striking a target but in casting an arrow as far as may be. Those very skilled in this art can shoot an arrow for half a mile, or it may be a little more.

Another game is gourd shooting, in which the target is on the top of a tall pole. The archer rides past the pole and shoots up at the target, as if he were hunting a bird. The story is told of one archer who had a saddle made for him with a low back. At a great festival, while competing in the gourd shoot, he rode past the mast so that all

watching thought he had missed his shot, then leaned right back with his head on the rump of his horse and, shooting up and back, struck and broke the gourd.

As to accuracy, a good archer shooting at sixty bows distance (*75 yards*) should be able to put his arrows into an object five spans across (*about 3 feet*).

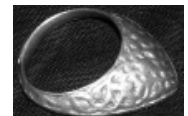
When hunting lions, one must remember that the lion is also hunting, and his manner of doing so is to run behind the horse, leap up, and drag down the rider. Therefore he who would hunt lions prepares for it by riding along, shooting arrows into the hoofprints made by his horse. In this way he develops skill in shooting a target just behind him.

For this exercise, and also for shooting an enemy in a well, or at the bottom of a wall, or an enemy close beside you when you are mounted and he is not, it is well to be skilled in the manner of shooting that is called jarmaki. To do this, after drawing your bow you tuck your head under your right arm so that your bow hand lies against the nape of your neck. In this position you can shoot an arrow straight down without leaning out, or to the rear of your horse on either side.

I write with the purpose of sharing my small knowledge of these matters with those desirous of wisdom, but it is Allah only that is all-knowing. May my words be



Pleasing to Allah and to His Messenger—
may Allah bless him, his house
and his Companion Train
and grant them
peace



“Every time the archer shoots he should invoke God—exalted be He—with the words, ‘in the name of God’ and, whenever he makes a hit, he should praise Him to whom belongs all power and glory. He should regard accurate shooting as proceeding from the bounty of God—exalted be He—and the divine guidance and assistance. If he misses, he should not become exasperated or despair of God’s refreshing justice, nor should he revile himself or his bow or his arrows. To do so is to commit an outrage and a violation of all that is just because a man who behaves in this way in his ignorance attributes his failure to those persons and things to which no blame attaches. Those who do this sort of thing, therefore, will incur the rancor of both angels and mankind and sin to no avail. Anger is, furthermore, the chief cause of low scoring.”

Taybugha.

Notes to the Above

Most of the material above is based on (or lifted almost verbatim from) *Saracen Archery*, an annotated translation of *The Complete Manual of Archery for Cadets*, written in the fourteenth century by Taybugha al-Baklamishi al-Yunani. Anyone seriously interested in the subject of Islamic archery should read both it and Klopsteg.

Some readers may be interested in the range of the Middle Eastern bows and how they compared to the English longbow. In discussing range, it is important to distinguish between the range achieved in flight shooting, a sport in which the objective was to shoot an arrow as far as possible, and the range at which a bow was effective in combat.



For flight shooting, the best information available is from the Ottomans. There is some uncertainty over the exact length of the units in which ranges were measured, but it appears that Ottoman archers in the eighteenth century achieved shots of over 900 yards. In the eighteenth century, English longbow enthusiasts regarded 350 yards as about the maximum distance that a bow could throw an arrow (Payne-Gallwey, Klopsteg). As of 1967, the modern world record (for a hand bow) was 851 yards 2 feet 9 inches.

Latham and Patterson conclude, from a variety of sources, that short arrows used with an arrow guide of some sort could be effective for harassing fire at ranges of about four hundred yards; full length arrows would have had a shorter effective range. It appears from Payne-Gallwey’s observations of English castle architecture that the effective range of the longbow was less than three hundred yards and may have been less than a hundred and seventy.

Readers of Payne-Gallwey should be warned that his book contains at least one important error. The illustration of how a thumb ring is worn and used has the ring upside down, as judged by all other sources I have seen and my own experience. Use of the ring as shown might be hazardous to the user's thumb. The book also contains an illustration of the author shooting a Turkish bow. He is using the standard modern release (three fingers on the string) and shooting off the left side of the bow in the European fashion.

References

- Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, Bt, *The Crossbow*, Bramhall House, N.Y., 1958.
 J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson, *Saracen Archery*, Holland Press, London 1970.
 Paul E. Klopsteg, *Turkish Archery and the Composite Bow*, Evanston, IL 1947.

(This was published in the *Compleat Anachronist* pamphlet on Archery in 1988)

My name was originally intended as a variant on the name of Carahue of Mauritania, a Muslim character in the chanson *Ogier le Danois* (and in Poul Anderson's modern fantasy *Three Hearts and Three Lions*). Many years later, when I had learned more about medieval Islam and become more concerned with historical accuracy, I asked a friend in the Society who was a professional linguist if he could find an Arabic name that would be mispronounced "Cariadoc" by Europeans, on the model of names such as "Saladin" and "Avicenna." The following letter to T.I. was the result; I am not its author.

An Epistle



And afterwards. Be it known to all who read this missive that it befell upon a day some two years past that his Grace was journeying through the Kingdom of the East, and he came to take rest and respite in a city of the cities of that kingdom, and that in the very city nearby which this scribe ekes out a meager living plying the pen. Now at the hour of his evening ease, after he had partaken of a sumptuous feast and was of merry humor, I approached him begging permission to ask of him a question—for long had it been my aspiration to win his favor (and some little reward to sweeten life for myself and my *ḥarīm*) by fashioning for him a monogram seal in the manner of the nobles of al-Islām. For albeit men of the Nazarene faith may bear arms in which are portrayed a

In the name of ALLĀH ,
 the Compassionate, the Merciful,
 written to the People of the six Kingdoms,
 be they True Believers in the Revelation
 granted to our holy Prophet Mohammad
 (upon Whom be the Peace and the
 Blessings of Allāh!) or be they
 of the Faith of the Nazarenes
 or of the Jews, or yet of
 any other faith, that they
 intercede with his Grace,
 Sir Cariadoc, Duke Tregirtsee,
 Shaykh among Kings, on behalf of al-Ḥajj
 ʿAbd-al-Rahman ibn al-Raʿis
 that he show Princely Grace to that
 humble Slave of the Pen, but more, if
 aught in this incur his Princely Wrath,
 that he might throw the Kerchief of Pardon
 to his Servant in the Name of ALLĀH,
 the Compassionate, the Merciful!

multitude of living beings, such images are forbidden to us with the certainty that on the day of judgement Allāh will call upon the makers of images to give their creatures life and verily they shall be confounded. Now this *amīr*, being of our faith, bears the bow in his arms and no living creature yet, as a muslim of great nobility and widespread fame, such a monogram seal would be most fitting to his use. Yet I was uncertain in this as the name Cariadoc is unfamiliar to the ʿArab tongue, and spoke thusly to him: "O shaykh among kings, long have I studied written knowledge and heard the words of wise men and am amazed and have long wondered that a son of the Moghreb and a follower of the ordinances of our Lord Mohammad (upon whom be the peace and

the blessings of Allāh) should bear the name Cariadoc. How came this to be?" To this the *amīr* responded: "Are thou in fact a man of the pen and a learner of all things, open and hidden?" To this I answered: "O bastion of the faith and protector of the faithful, what am I if not that which thou even hast said?" Then spake his Grace: "Then ask me further no askings, but within one month return to me with the true answer to thine own question and receive a boon of me—or know it not and learn instead the measure of my disfavor!" I fell to my knees quaking with fear for my life and pleaded: "O flowing fountain of mercy, o waterfall of generosity, too short is the time allowed. To this task would scarcely suffice a full year!" Spake the *amīr*: "Take then a year—take two, but bring me then proof of thy wisdom and erudition or surely I shall put a swift end to thy insolence!"

Thereupon I fled from the presence and came at last by I know not which streets and byways to mine own house, wherein dwelt with me as my *ḥarīm* my wife, a Frankish lady, met and won on my travels in the lands of the Franks and very wise (although sharp of tongue as is the custom among Frankish women), and told to her all that had transpired to the last word. "O thou great tub of lard!" spake she, "o thou fool of the fools, who will never learn to keep his chattering mouth shut tight in the presence of the wealthy and the powerful—this time thou hast at last encompassed thine own destruction! Who bade thee pester and importune princes with thy accursed questions? Better shouldst thou stay at home where thou canst do little harm—or better yet, betake thy complacent butt out into the marketplace and set it down along the wall of the mosque in the hope that some greater fool and sluggard than thou may come to thee and require thee to ply thy pen in his business, and thus earn us aught to place some food on our empty table, o father of useless questions, o paragon of sloth!"

To these endearments (for the Franks are indeed a strange people) I responded: "O joy of my liver, do not yet despair. Recall the tale of the wise man who was given a term of five years within which to teach a

donkey to speak with the language of men. When asked why he did not despair, he answered: 'Five years is a long time. Before they have passed the *Ṣultān* may die—or the donkey may die—or I may die—or the donkey may learn to talk!' With a full two years before me I may yet find the answer to this riddle." Thus answered my *ḥarīm*: "So hie thee to thy books (clutter enough to break the spirit of full ten of the strongest of baggage camels) and rummage about for thy life's sake, o father of phrases worth little in dirhams or dinārs"

Now long I searched in the works of the great historians but found no man from among the true believers who bore the name Cariadoc. Thence I turned to wise and learned men among the Franks and they assured me that this be a Frankish name and one at home in the farthest northwestern reaches of Frankland. Since I reasoned that no Moorish prince and true believer might have from birth such a Frankish name, I concluded that Cariadoc is in truth not his name at all—but rather nothing more nor less than the *amīr's* true name as it sounded in the ears and reissued mispronounced by the tongues of the Franks. For his Grace has twice worn the crown of the Middle and twice the crown of the East, and as a muslim prince ruling over a land of several beliefs he has kept the covenant according to the sunnat of the Prophet (upon whom be the peace and the blessings of Allāh) treating all with tolerance and justice. What could be more natural than that the Franks of his realm, hearing their King's name spoken in the ṤArab tongue, a language foreign to their ears, should imitate it with a name of similar sound?

This once granted, it remained to me to ascertain which of our names might be mispronounced by the Franks as Cariadoc. Certainly there is no such name—but there is an attribute which has a similar sound. And is not a ruler often called by his attribute rather than by his given name? Does one not speak of the great *khalīf* Hartūn calling him by his attribute, *al-Rashīd*? The attribute hidden in the pronunciation Cariadoc can be

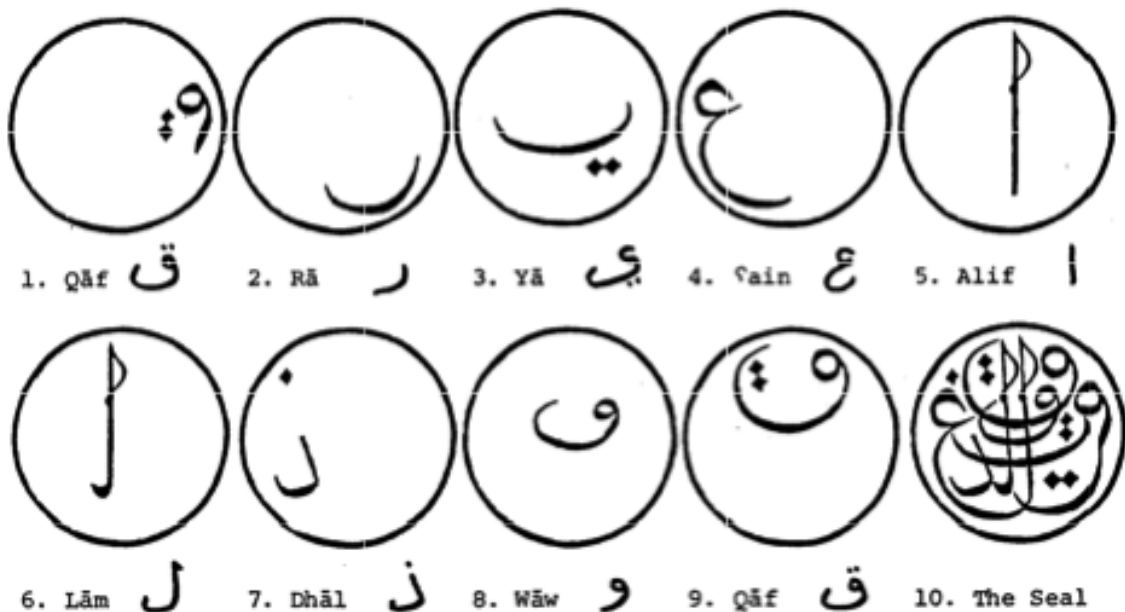
none other than the ṠArab tongue's *Qarī Ṡ-al-Dhūq*, meaning nothing other than: 'he whose taste is exquisite'. And is not that a most fitting attribute for an *amīr* renowned far and wide for his exquisite taste, both aesthetic and gastronomic?

With the end of the second year approaching and a great quaking of fear arising within me as the day of finality looms up before me, I set about the task of preparing the monogram seal which would contain my answer to his Grace's riddle. It is the nature of such seals to arrange the letters of the text not as they flow from the pen in writing, but rather so as to please the eye of the beholder. After consultation with a master better schooled than I in the calligraphy of seals with heart in mouth I prepared the monogram. For those who read this missive and are not familiar with the writing of the ṠArab tongue, let me explain. The attribute *Qarī Ṡ-al-Dhūq* is written with nine letters since short vowels are not written unless they stand first in a syllable; the nine letters are: q, r, ī, Ṡ, a, l, dh, ū and q. They are placed into the seal area from right to left, beginning across the lower part

of the area and progressing upward. The initial q and r are joined as in normal writing, but to fit the seal all other letters are written in their unjoined forms (the joining of Ṡ to a being a flourish of the design).

In the name of Allāh the Compassionate, the Merciful, I beseech ye, o people of the Six Kingdoms, to intercede on my behalf with his Grace, shaykh among kings, to accept this monogram seal as the correct answer to the riddle he gave me—for who might learn the *amīr*'s personal name when it is kept a secret for all? And I beseech ye to entreat his Grace on my behalf that he grant me the lowly position of *qādī* in my own village of Al Niyya so that I may serve the *amīr* and all true believers here through my performing weddings, witnessing wills, and settling minor civil disputes, and therewith support myself and my *ḥarīm* with the income therefrom so that I no longer need importune the wealthy and the powerful with pleas for alms in the name of Allāh the Compassionate, the Merciful!

[Letter, Tournaments Illuminated no. 46, Spring 1978]



Articles About Persona

Concerning a dream

The Society is, among other things, a joint fantasy, and one that is very difficult to maintain. The true magic comes when within a Society event we believe, if only for an instant, that we are truly in the Middle Ages. Take that away and what remains is only dress, no more than a gathering of twentieth century people who like to dress up and talk about history—or dress down and hit each other with rattan.

Many things can break a fantasy. A zipper cannot, if it is discreetly hidden, but talking about zippers at an event, whether defending or attacking them, can and does. So does discussing motorcycles. So, more subtly, does every attitude and tone of voice that reflects the feelings and beliefs of the twentieth century, hidden behind a colorful disguise. For the fantasy to work we must, each and all, believe in it as best we can while it is happening.

One of the most serious temptations is the opportunity to make a joke out of the contrast between our medieval reality and the twentieth century reality surrounding it. It is always easy to get a laugh by introducing a contemporary idiom into a medieval speech or juxtaposing an armored knight and an automobile. Easy and deadly; every such joke cracks the illusion, drains a drop of life blood from the fantasy.

Even if we all make the effort, it is difficult to maintain the fantasy in the face of its own inconsistencies. An Anglo-Saxon lady could not co-exist with a courtier from Renaissance Italy or Tudor England. Here again, by making a point of these clashes (“Perhaps you are my great-grandmother”) we make it harder to integrate the inconsistent elements into a single whole. Perhaps the best solution is to imagine that, because of our personas’ limited historical and geographical knowledge, we interpret different times as if they were only different

places. My friend Aelfwine comes from Anglo-Saxon England, which is somewhere off in that direction; Michael of York comes from over there. Anglo-Saxon England and Norman England in fact did not coexist, save briefly and bloodily, but they could have coexisted, in different places, and in the Current Middle Ages (which have, after all, no geographical location of their own in the world of the first Middle Ages) they do. Here we all are, drawn from different lands (some of which happen to have the same names but different dates, a peculiarity we would do well to ignore), met together in a land that has no particular place and time save its own.

Additional inconsistencies are forced upon us by the presence of the modern world in the middle of our fantasy. Sometimes they can be ignored, sometimes mastered by creative naming. “Dragon” for automobile is one such attempt, although not an entirely fortunate one. It is well enough to call something a dragon when it comes roaring by, but prudent folk do not travel to a feast in the belly of a dragon. Perhaps “wagon” or “wain” would be better. “Car” would be entirely proper if we were all attuned to its archaic and not its current meaning, which alas we are not.

The quest for authenticity, while an eminently worthy part of our activities, poses dangers of its own to which I, for one, have too often succumbed. One cannot, within persona, criticize anything—food, clothes, poetry—for inauthenticity. Being oneself a medieval person, one has no basis from which to recognize it as inauthentic. One tempting solution is to disguise the criticism as a question. “I have never seen anything like that, my lord, where does it come from?” The hearer may take the question as question (although, if he really is being inauthentic, he has no answer within

the fantasy) but the questioner knows well enough what he is about. He has broken the fantasy for himself, within his own mind, if nowhere else. Better to leave all such questions for conversations the next morning, between mundane persons inhabiting those same fleshly shells that walked some hours before as lords and ladies through the enchanted lands.

In accordance with which principle, as

this letter could not have been written by a medieval Moor, I must sign myself

Sincerely Yours

David Friedman

[Guest editorial, *Tournaments Illuminated* no. 42, summer 1977]

Staying In Persona and Other Things: An Opinion

In observing and talking with other people in the Society, one area where I find a good deal of disagreement is the subject of staying in persona. The disagreement is often stated in terms of being for more or less authenticity, but that is, I think, a mistake. The controversy is not about how much authenticity one is in favor of but about what dimensions of our activities in the Society we are to be authentic about.

It is useful, in discussing this issue, to distinguish between the question of whether authenticity is desirable and the question of whether, in any particular case, it is desirable enough to be worth what it costs to get it. A simple example is the matter of wearing eyeglasses. Suppose you have an Anglo-Saxon persona. Further suppose you are very nearsighted and the two things you most like to do in the Society are fighting and archery. You may decide that being authentic in the matter of eyeglasses, while desirable, is not desirable enough to be worth giving up the things you are in the Society to do. Authenticity is a good thing, but in this particular case it costs more than you are willing to pay. I would use the same terms to describe the situation of a sixteenth century persona who chose to wear modern eyeglasses instead of buying a special pair of medieval looking ones—because she had more important things to spend her limited income on. In one case the cost is in money, in the other in inability to do things, but the principle is the same.

Having made that preliminary point, I next wish to discuss the question of why authenticity is valuable. There are several reasons. The simplest—and, I think, the most important—is that we are playing a game in which we imagine, while we are playing it, that we are medieval people living in a medieval world. Your inauthenticity, if sufficiently obvious, makes it difficult or impossible for me to play the game. It is hard to imagine oneself in the Middle Ages while flashbulbs are popping or radios blaring rock music.

A second reason is that we are amateur scholars engaged in studying the life of the past by trying to live it—sometimes described as experimental archeology. Authenticity is a way of getting the experiment right—and the outcome of the experiment gives us further insights into what really was authentic. To take a simple example, one could make a rough estimate of the size of a medieval loaf of bread by trying to make a recipe that specifies other ingredients by weight and bread crumbs by the number of loaves used.

A third reason, and one that is important for many members of the Society, is that trying to be authentic is itself a game (too often a highly competitive one); in this context the rules are essentially arbitrary, but there have to be some rules in order for there to be a game, and historical authenticity is the rule we have chosen.

If these are the functions that

authenticity, whether in speech, dress, or behavior, serves, then we can compare the authenticity of different dimensions of what we are doing by seeing to what degree, in each, our inauthenticity prevents us from achieving the objectives that authenticity is intended to promote.

Consider clothing as an example. Think of the lowest level of authenticity—level one—as clothing that would be obviously inauthentic even to someone almost completely ignorant of the Middle Ages, such as an occasional reader of Hagar the Horrible. Blue jeans and a T-shirt would be a good example. Level two is the sort of vaguely medievalish clothing that we see a good deal of—a long dress of indeterminate origin plus something on the hair for a lady, a belted T-Tunic and pants for a gentleman. Level three seems authentic at a casual glance—the zippers are hidden and the pattern and material not obviously modern. One could go on to discuss higher levels, but for my present purposes it is not necessary.

What is wrong with level one clothing is that it breaks the effect for everyone. Level two does the same thing to a lesser degree for those who know something about medieval clothing. The higher levels do not seriously interfere with other people's enjoyment, although anything short of perfection may fail fully to achieve the objectives of recreational scholarship or authenticity as a game.

The question to ask, with regard to clothing or anything else, is not "how authentic should we be;" putting it that way suggests that there is some level of authenticity that everyone must achieve and which there is no point in surpassing. More authenticity is always better than less—up to the point where a professional scholar could distinguish the garment from an original only by its age. What we differ in is how much authenticity we are willing to pay for, given its cost. Someone who likes dressing well, is good at making clothes, and has lots of money to spend on handwoven fabrics, will quite properly choose more authenticity

in garb than will someone with the opposite characteristics.

Where the level of authenticity is very low, one person's inauthenticity makes it harder for other people to play and enjoy the game, so it is generally most important to improve authenticity in the areas where it is lowest. Getting people to wear tunics instead of T-shirts is a significant step in making it possible for us to imagine, at least for a few minutes, that we are really in the Middle Ages; replacing costume jewelry with jewels that are made out of silver, gold, and real gems is mostly a matter of one person playing the game more perfectly for its own sake. Both are desirable, but the former should probably have the higher priority.

If we try to apply this common set of standards to the many dimensions of the Society as it now exists, what do we see? In clothing, level one—blue jeans and T-shirt—is rare and frowned upon. Most people at events are in level two or level three clothing, and a healthy minority are doing better than that. The situation is similar but a little worse with regard to armor; there is more obviously out of period armor on most tourney fields than obviously out of period clothing surrounding them. It is worse still with regard to cooking; while the situation varies from kingdom to kingdom, blatantly modern foods are much more common than blue jeans at Society feasts.

Let me now go to the other extreme, to something with regard to which almost all of us are and always will be at level 1: language. My persona ought to speak Arabic, Berber and perhaps Latin; others should be fluent in Anglo-Saxon, Old Norse, etc. It would be nice if we all knew those languages (provided most of us had a language in common—Latin would do for most educated personae). Imagine how much more real the Society would feel. Unfortunately, learning to speak a foreign language is a great deal of work. Most of us, myself included, are simply not willing to put that much time and effort into achieving even a very low level of authenticity in that

particular dimension. We content ourselves with trying to use a few archaic words and locutions—the equivalent (for other than late period English personae) of wearing a long shirt outside our blue jeans and belting it in to make it look a little like a tunic. It is not that authenticity with regard to language is not valuable, merely that it costs more than we are willing to pay.

Authenticity is valuable in all the dimensions of what we do, most valuable when its lack is obvious to those around us and so threatens their ability to believe in the game while they play it, but our willingness to be authentic in various dimensions is limited by what it costs us, in time, effort, and money. This brings me finally to the subject of staying in persona.

With regard to staying in persona—what we speak about, what we know, what our expressed opinions and attitudes are—most of us, most of the time, are at the blue jeans and t-shirt level. This is true, in my experience, across all kingdoms and most groups. Someone almost completely ignorant of the Middle Ages could walk once across the feast hall or field of an event and tell, by the conversations around him, that he was in the twentieth century. In most events, a majority of the conversations he would hear would be obviously out of period; certainly there would be more conversations which sounded sufficiently modern to seem strange to the medieval ear (language aside) than conversations that sounded sufficiently medieval to seem strange to the modern ear.

This would be an unavoidable situation if staying in persona were as difficult as learning a new language. Many of those I have discussed the matter with seem to think it is; their argument is that while a few people may have the resources of scholarship and verbal fluency to “pull off” a medieval persona, most of the Society

cannot do it, or at least not without devoting so much effort to the attempt as to take the fun out of the Society for them.

This argument confuses the step from level one to level two with the step from level one to level five. It is as if we excused blue jeans and t-shirts by assuming that the only alternative was a handsewn outfit made from handwoven material colored with period dyes. I am not suggesting that we should all become professional scholars or professional actors, specializing in our own personae—only that we should make at least some minimal attempt to act like the people we claim to be.

The first step is to avoid saying those things that we all know are inappropriate to the medieval context. No computers, no cars, no football games. It will require a little effort the first few times, but it takes no skills or knowledge that we do not all already have. A good second step would be to introduce into our conversation or behavior some element that seems appropriate for our medieval persona and inappropriate to our mundane one. For an Arab that might mean eating with only the right hand, for a Norseman swearing by Thor, for a medieval Christian crossing himself at appropriate occasions.

These things would not constitute doing a “good job” of staying in persona, any more than a belted T-tunic and pants are a “good job” of dressing medievally. The latter is about the minimum level that we feel should be acceptable in dress—what we expect of a new member or permit ourselves when we are being sloppy and casual—and the former are the equivalent in persona. The one is about as difficult as the other, and they have comparable effects on the overall feel of an event.

[An earlier version of this was published in the *Crown Prints*]

Concerning Knighthood

If a man act in honorable wise when he gains thereby glory, repute, or the love of a fair lady, none may know if he is in truth an honorable man. When he chooses between honor on the one hand and all that he desires on the other, then may his honor be known. The man who, fighting for a crown he fiercely desires, yet accepts without dispute the blow that ends his hopes, is in truth honorable—the more so when no soul but himself would have known the blow was true had he said otherwise. He who refuses to accept the blow until he can no longer do so without open shame is no honorable man, howsoever gentle and courtly he may appear in other lists, where there is nothing to be won or lost save that reputation which men miscall honor.

It has been the custom in certain lands

that, when a knight is to be dubbed, the King calls the knights to assemble, whereat the eldest approaches the throne to complain that there is one absent who has by right a place among their company. To this the King assents, and calls out him who is to be dubbed. And all this is in token that a knight is made neither by King nor all the chivalry assembled; their part is but to recognize that he has made himself a knight. Neither belt, spurs, nor chain makes up a knight, nor yet the accolade of any King.

And as kings and knights are but men and fallible, so may they be mistaken, and some may wear the three tokens who are not knights, and some be truly knights who wear neither belt, spur, nor chain. But Allah alone knoweth all.

The Little Things

Staying in persona does not mean saying you are a different person. It means being a different person. One of the hardest, and most interesting, parts is getting the little things right. Before you worry about inventing ancestors for seven generations and an elaborate personal history—things which few people tell strangers in any case—it is worth first learning as much as possible about the little things that anyone from your time and land would have known. The more such details you integrate into your medieval self, the better you can convince others (and yourself) that you are your persona.

One way of doing this would be as a group project, involving two successive gatherings a few weeks apart, both held out of persona. In the first, each person tries to stump the others with questions their personae could have answered without thinking—the sort of questions that you could answer without thinking if they were asked of your twentieth century persona. The questions must be ones for which the answer

can be learned; invented answers are not allowed.

I suspect that most of us, myself included, would find that we did not know the answers to a majority of the questions. Those who were sufficiently interested could then go home, or to the library, and try to find the answers to as many as possible. In the second gathering, we would come back together to report to each other the answers we had succeeded in finding.

I have not actually participated in such gatherings, but I have spent some time thinking up questions—to some of which, for my own persona, I do not know the answers. Here they are. All are intended to apply to your persona prior to your arrival in the Current Middle Ages.

What kinds of money do you use? What are the relative values of the different kinds? How much does dinner at the inn cost? How much does a horse cost? How much does a skilled worker make per month?

What system do you use to describe

what time it is? When does one day end and another begin? How do you tell time (sundial? clock?)?

What system do you use for describing dates? What is your calendar like?

Can you read? If so, what have you read? What poems, tales, etc. have you heard told?

What do you know about history? Have you heard of Alexander the Great? Julius Caesar? Charlemagne? Vergil? Saladin? What do you “know” about each?

What do you know about geography? What is the most distant country you have heard of? The most distant country you have met someone from?

Who is your immediate overlord (title and/or name)? Who is your ultimate overlord?

What is your religion? What duties (prayers, fasts, dietary restrictions, etc.) does it impose? What do you (your persona) know about its doctrines and history?

What do you eat for breakfast? Lunch? Dinner? What do you drink? Where do your food and drink come from? How is the food cooked (style of cooking, tools, how does the oven work, etc.)?

What sorts of wild animals live in your area? Which are dangerous? Which are good to eat? How are the latter hunted?

What clothes do you wear? What are they made of? Where do they come from?

What crops are grown in your part of the world? What goods, if any, are exported, and how are they transported? What goods are imported?

What language(s) do you speak? What language(s) do other people in your town (city, barony...) speak?

If you or one of your friends wrote a poem, what form would you use? What about a song?

What “mythological” beasts do you know about? Which ones do you believe in? What do you believe about them?

Most of these questions are specific to your persona and so may seem to violate the requirement that the answers be researched

instead of made up. But in most cases, although research may not tell you for certain what would be true of your persona, it will limit you to a few alternatives. A twentieth century American might plausibly have any of a number of different things for breakfast, but there are far more things that he would not have.

Some of you, after reading the list (and perhaps making some additions of your own) will conclude that only a professional scholar can stay in persona. There are few things that must be done perfectly in order to be worth doing, and staying in persona is not one of them. The more such questions you can answer the better a job you can do. Finding the answers—recreational scholarship—is one of the things the Society is about. And fun.

A few answers:

“Beer, manchet and fish or meat were the usual breakfast of the members of the Percy family, according to the Northumberland Household Book of 1512. The parents were served with a quart of wine as well as a quart of beer, but wine was evidently thought unwholesome for the children, who received beer alone.” C. Anne Wilson, *Food and Drink in Britain*, p. 376. She also asserts that pottage was a common breakfast, especially for the poor, in England in the middle ages.

“... the Caliph’s breakfast was served him, of the remains of the previous evening’s supper, cold lamb or chicken, or some such dish.” Eric Schroeder, *Mohammad’s People* The reference is to the Caliph Mu’awia.

“There are others who sprinkle ground pepper over the food when it is cut for eating; this is a practice of the Christians and Berbers.” From *Manuscrito Anonimo*, a 13th century Andalusian cookbook.

Some Tricks

To stay in persona is convincingly to be another person. The first one you must convince is yourself. To do so, I find it useful to deliberately adopt certain tricks of behavior in order to remind myself that I am now Cariadoc and not David.

Some are ways of speaking. I do not speak Arabic (and hardly anyone at an event would understand me if I did) but I can and do adopt medieval Muslim locutions. One example is the practice of always following the name of God with some admiring comment. The most common is “The Compassionate, The Merciful,” but sometimes I use “He that upholds the Heavens without pillars above us” or some other phrase borrowed from period sources. Another is following the name of a good Muslim who is dead with “on whom be peace” and the name of a prophet or a particularly holy man with “on whom be the peace and the blessing”—and adding to the name of a notable non-Muslim the phrase “curses on him for an unbeliever.” (I usually omit that one, out of consideration for the perils of being a Muslim in a predominately Christian society.)

Medieval (and modern) Arabs eat only with the right hand, using the left for all unclean purposes. I think it likely that a medieval Moor, coming from a similar culture and one heavily influenced by the Arabs, would do the same. Cariadoc does not use his left hand in eating. The practice is not only (I think) authentic; it also provides me with a silent reminder of who, at the moment, I am.

For similar reasons, I do not wear glasses at events. Doing without glasses when I am in persona is not merely a matter of being authentic—it is also a striking way of reminding myself that I am in a different world. Fuzzier. As an adult, Cariadoc has never seen the stars clearly and cannot recognize a friend across the length of a hall. Those are some of the ways in which he is a different person from David.

These tricks are mostly ways of convincing myself that I am a different person, although they may help to remind other people as well. Most of them are specific to my persona. The equivalents for your persona I leave for you to discover; they almost certainly exist.

The Last Sermon

There is after death, the Prophet presently said, a Day of Dooming and Reparation; and there will be no more favor shown me on that Day than any other man. Therefore if I have struck any man among you an unrequited blow, let him strike me now. If I have offended any, let him do as much now to me. If I have taken any man's goods, let him now receive it again. Make me clean of all guilt, that I may come before God guiltless to man.

Nay, God's Apostle, they cried weeping, all wrong of thine is wiped clean out; and we are the guilty toward thee! Only one man stood up and reminded Muhammed of three dirhams he had given at his bidding to some poor man.

Better to blush in this world than the Other! The Prophet said, and paid him what he owed. Then he got to his feet again, and went back into Aisha's hut, and that was the last time the people saw his body alive.

Some Sources for Islamic Persona

Not all, not even most, Muslims were Arabs. Islam may have been the first world civilization; in period it stretched from Spain to Malaya. Muslims might be Arabs, Berbers, East or West African Blacks, Indians, Kurds, Mongols, Persians, Turks, They were all united by a common religion and a common religious language, but divided by numerous religious factions, languages, and cultures. In order to be a medieval Muslim, you will find it necessary to learn about both medieval Islam and the particular culture your persona belongs to.

You will find yourself learning two sorts of things: physical and historical details and what it felt like to be a medieval Muslim. The best way to learn both, but especially the latter, is to read books that your persona might have read—or written. Such books give you both detailed information on the world your persona lived in and a first hand view of how it looked to people who lived in it. So I will start my list of sources with primary sources—things written in period.

Primary Sources

The Koran: This is the one book that every educated Muslim knew. Islamic literature and conversation was full of Koranic references, and Islamic Law was in part based upon the Koran.

The Thousand and One Nights. The story of Scheherazade, which provides the frame story for the Nights, is mentioned by al-Nadim in the 10th century; the surviving texts are considerably later, possibly 15th century. The Burton translation (16 volumes!) is a delight; Payne is also supposed to be very good. Anything under eight hundred pages and calling itself the Arabian Nights is likely to be an abbreviated and bowdlerized version, intended for children. The stories give you a sample of period fantasy fiction and, along with the

footnotes, provide a good deal of information on period Islamic attitudes and society.

The Fihrist of al-Nadim, tr. Bayard Dodge, Columbia University Press 1970. This is something between an annotated bibliography and an encyclopedia. It is a list of every book al-Nadim has read, organized by subject—I think the total is in the thousands. It is not easily read through at a sitting, but dipping into it gives one a good picture of the intellectual world of an educated tenth century Muslim.

The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge, by al-Muhassin ibn Ali al-Tanukhi, D. S. Margoliouth, tr. Al-Tanukhi was a tenth century judge who found that the anecdotes people were telling were no longer as good as the ones he remembered from his youth and decided to improve the situation by writing down all the ones he could remember. The book is a wonderful first person view of the Middle East in the tenth century.

An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munkidh, Philip Hitti tr. Usamah was a Syrian Emir; his memoirs, dictated in his old age, describe events during the period between the first and second crusades.

The Shahnamah. This is a famous Persian epic by Firdouzi, which any late Persian persona would be familiar with. *The Epic of the Kings*, Reuben Levy tr., revised by Amin Banani, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London: 1967,1973,1977 (ISBN 0 7100 1367 1) is a prose translation, with some omissions. *A King's Book of Kings*, available from the Metropolitan Museum in New York, contains copies of the miniatures from an extraordinary illuminated manuscript of the Shahnamah and is a good source for late Persian clothing.

Khalila wa Dimna: This is a collection of beast fables in Arabic, based on a Persian translation of an Indian collection (The

Panchatantra).

The Travels of Ibn Battuta: Ibn Battuta was a fourteenth century Islamic world traveller who traveled at least as far as India and claimed to have made it to China. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, by H.A.R. Gibb, (Cambridge: 1958, 1962, 1971—the final volume was completed by C.F. Beckingham after Gibb's death and published in 1994) is the only complete English translation of his memoirs. The account is detailed and filled with interesting anecdotes; it describes travels to or through East and West Africa, Arabia, Iraq, Persia, Constantinople, Anatolia, Southern Russia, Afghanistan, India, China, Andalusia and points between. Most of it is probably true, although there is some doubt about the Chinese portion.

The Maqaddimah of ibn Khaldun, tr. Franz Rosenthal, Princeton University Press, Princeton (1967). This is the introduction to a world history by a famous Moorish scholar c. 1400. It gives you a picture of the world as seen from that time and place. It is also considered one of the first great works of modern political science.

Arab Historians of the Crusades, selected and translated from the Arabic sources by Francesco Gabrieli, translated from the Italian by E.J. Costell, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969, 1978. This is a collection of extracts from contemporary Arabic accounts of the crusades.

Books of Traditions. Islamic law is based on the Koran and the Traditions of the Prophet—accounts of things that Mohammed said and did. The attempt to collect traditions and verify their authenticity was a major scholarly project for many centuries. Some of the most famous collections are those of Al-Bokhari and ibn Muslim. They are useful both as things your persona might have known and as snapshots of Arabic life at the time of the Prophet.

Saracen Archery by J.D. Latham and W.F. Paterson, Holland Press Ltd., London 1970. This is a modern annotated translation of a period treatise on archery. It is useful as

a source of information on both Islamic archery and an archer's life in Mameluke Egypt.

Secondary (and out of period primary) Sources

Mohammad's People, by Eric Schroeder, The Bond Wheelright Company, Portland, Maine (1955). This is something between a primary and a secondary source—a history of the early centuries of al-Islam made up of passages from period sources fitted together into a reasonably continuous whole. It is very readable and gives you a feel for the history of Islam as your persona might have known it.

The Modern Egyptians by Edward Lane, 1860 (facsimile from Dover). This is a detailed account of Egyptian life in the early nineteenth century. If it were only period, it would be exactly what an Islamic persona needs. Given that Islamic society has been relatively conservative in recent centuries, large parts of what it describes are probably accurate for our period—the problem is that, without additional evidence, one does not know which parts. Still, a guess is better than nothing—and the next book provides some of the author's expert guesses.

Arabian Society in the Middle Ages, by Edward Lane, Curzon Press: London, Humanities Press: N.J., 1987 reprint of 1883 edition, edited by Stanley Lane-Poole, based on the notes to the 1859 edition of Lane's translation of the 1001 nights. This is a readable and entertaining description of Arabian, in particular Egyptian, society in our period. While Lane is careful about details such as the dates of introduction of tobacco and coffee, it is not always clear how much of what he is saying is based on period sources and how much on his observations of early 19th century Cairo, described at greater length in *The Modern Egyptians*. He cites period sources but rarely dates them, and never cites translations—probably because they did not exist when he was writing.

Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah & Meccah, by Sir Richard F. Burton, Dover, N.Y. (1964 reprint of 1893 edition). This is another first hand account of part of the 19th century Islamic world, by a famous English adventurer, scholar, and linguist.

A History of the Maghrib by Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, Cambridge University Press, London 1971.

The Berbers in Arabic Literature by H.T. Norris, Longman, London & N.Y., 1982. These two books contain a lot of interesting information on the history and culture of the Maghrib–North Africa and Muslim Spain.

Arab Painting, Richard Ettinghausen, Macmillan, London 1977. Lots of pictures, so a good primary source for clothing.

David Nicolle, “An Introduction to

Arms and Warfare in Classical Islam,” in *Islamic Arms and Armor*, Robert Elgood Ed., Scolar Pr 1979.

The Crusades Through Arab Eyes by Amin Maalouf, translated by Jan Rothschild, Schocken Books, N.Y. 1985. This is a history of the crusades from the Muslim side, based on contemporary Arabic sources.

Everyday Life in Ottoman Turkey, by Raphaela Lewis, Dorset Press, N.Y. (1971).

Social Life Under the Abbasids, 170-289 AH, 786-902 AD, by Muhammad Manazir Ahsan.

Cookbooks

Period Islamic cookbooks are listed on pages 2-3.

Mohammed's Death

Abu Bakr, coming in haste, found Umar still at the door, with a crowd around him, crying: “These fainthearts are saying the Prophet of God is dead — he is alive! And be those tongues torn out!”

In the hut, Aisha was wailing and tearing her face with her nails. Muhammad's body lay with his own mantle thrown over it. Abu Bakr uncovered the face and bent down, till his brow well-nigh touched the brow of the Prophet of God. Then he drew the mantle over the face again, and went out. Umar was still shouting to the crowd.

“Gently, Umar!” Abu Bakr said. Then he turned to the people and spoke. “Lo! As for any who worshipped Muhammad, Muhammad is dead. But as for him who worshippeth God, God is the Living One and He dieth not.” And he recited from the Koran the verse:

MUHAMMAD IS ONLY AN APOSTLE; APOSTLES BEFORE HIM HAVE PASSED AWAY. WHEN HE COMETH TO DIE OR BE KILLED, WILL YE TURN ON YOUR HEELS? THE MAN WHO SO TURNETH WILL NOT HARM GOD, BUT GOD WILL REWARD THOSE WHO ACKNOWLEDGE HIM.

It was as if the people had never known till then that such a verse had been revealed. When I heard Abu Bakr recite that verse, Umar used to say afterwards, my feet were cut from under me — ay, I fell on the ground; for then I knew that the Apostle of God, God's Prayer and Peace be on him! was dead.

(Based on the account in *Mohammed's People*)

Adjusting to Reality

The Society is real. That is one of its most attractive and least obvious features. You do not become a great warrior by rolling dice or by showing up at a meeting and announcing that you just defeated ten vikings, three knights, and a giant. You become a warrior by taking a clumsy sword in your hand, strapping a heavy shield to your arm, and spending many hours getting sweaty, sore, and bruised. Eventually, with reasonable luck, you are a competent fighter—but probably not a great one.

The same is true of everything we honor and respect. A poet or storyteller is judged not by how good he tells us he is but by the poems he composes or the stories he tells. The Society is real, not a children's game of "I'll tell you how wonderful I am, you tell me how wonderful you are."

This feature of the Society is one of the reasons for my reservations about elaborate persona stories. Many, although not all, seem to be attempts to claim credit for deeds the teller has not actually done and skills he does not actually have. Their authors fail to recognize—or attempt to deny—the reality of the Society. To the extent that they succeed they convert it, at least for themselves, into a much less interesting game.

Persona development is not inventing a story about what you have done but figuring out who you are. To do so, you need to know something about your history, but not a great deal. The difference between one upper-class early twelfth century Berber and another is small compared to the difference

between either and a late twentieth century American professor. I can figure out most of the differences between myself and my persona without first working out his life story. I have not yet decided exactly where in North Africa my persona was born—and have not yet run out of unanswered questions about my persona whose answers, if I can find them, will not require that information.

In part, my reservations about persona stories are a matter of personal preference; there is no reason someone could not have both an elaborate personal history and a well developed persona, and I know a few who I suspect do. One reason it is only a suspicion is that a real medieval (or modern) person is unlikely to tell people his life story. I have in mind a Norman knight I have known for many years. My sole evidence of what I suspect to be a well worked out persona history is that once, when I was telling William Marshall stories, my friend mentioned that in his youth he had once met the Marshall.

When someone I have just met tells me about his extensive journeys, implausible parentage, and incredible accomplishments, I conclude that he is more interested in being the hero of his own novel than in learning what a real medieval person would be like. My persona, noticing that the great warrior's performance on the field does not match his war stories, concludes that he (like, no doubt, some real people in the Middle Ages) is better at bragging than at fighting.

Implausible Persona Story # 1

Born in Muslim North Africa. As a teenager accompanied his uncle, a diplomat in the employ of a minor local ruler, on trips to both black Africa and Constantinople. Kidnapped by Christian pirates and sold as a slave in Italy, where he converted to Christianity and became a protegé of the Pope.

This is a real person; what is his name?

A Dying Dream

It is not surprising that different members of a large volunteer organization have different opinions as to its purpose and nature, nor is it surprising if, as a result, one group of members feels that others are “doing it wrong” while others feel that the first are “making a fuss about nothing.” In the case of the SCA, I believe one can distinguish two different and incompatible views of what we are doing.

According to one view, the SCA is a group of Twentieth Century people whose hobby is the past. Many of the meetings of the group are loosely modeled on such historical events as tournaments or Twelfth Night revels, and at the meetings the members wear costumes designed to show off one of their interests—historical clothing. It is entirely appropriate that at such meetings people discuss their researches, interests, and activities, and hold contests in which the members compete for prizes based on the authenticity and quality of costumes, cooking, and the like. Individuals choose personae as a way of specializing in some particular place and period, while feeling free to study any other part of the past that strikes their interest. In addition, the creation of a persona allows some members to exhibit their ability to invent an interesting or entertaining fictitious history.

According to the other view, SCA events are not meetings of Twentieth Century hobbyists but joint fantasies. At an event you are your persona, and your knowledge and viewpoints are those your persona would have had, modified, perhaps, by your contact within the society with other personae. While it is appropriate to show how well you can play the game by wearing attractive and authentic clothing or cooking from period cookbooks, it is entirely inappropriate to discuss the authenticity or inauthenticity of the result *at an event*. At an event you *are* your persona; you can hardly discuss the inappropriateness of rayon or potatoes when you do not know such things

exist. Nor is it appropriate to introduce yourself to a new acquaintance with a lengthy history of where you were born and who your parents were and how you happen to have the friends and relatives you do—any more than it would be appropriate to recite your life history when you meet a stranger at a cocktail party. Such discussions can occur only in other contexts—baronial meetings, planning sessions, or conversations before or after events among the Twentieth Century persons whose period personae attended.

Of course, the distinction between the two viewpoints is not as sharp as I have made it sound. Those who believe in the second viewpoint are likely to complain that those who believe in the first view events as costume parties, but even in a costume party there is room for some playacting. The same person who spends most of the event discussing his mundane job and car troubles with his friends may attempt to play a medieval role for a minute or two when being presented in court. And even the strictest believer in staying in persona will find himself mixing persona and Twentieth Century person in borderline contexts—at a fighting practice, for example, where he uses his medieval name but discusses the suitability of various modern materials for making body protection. Similarly, an article in *Tournaments Illuminated* may be either a communication by one medieval persona addressed to others or an article written by and for Twentieth Century people interested in the Middle Ages; one can even mix the two modes to the extent of producing a medieval article with modern notes. Nonetheless, I believe that most of us, most of the time, fall fairly clearly into one camp or another—with some of us wincing when the Queen announces in court that the King is not present because he is home in bed with a heating pad, while others grow increasingly frustrated when a friend not only refuses to answer simple questions about what books he got his information out

of and what time period his costume represents, but even refuses to admit that he understands them.

It is worth pointing out that the disagreement is not about whether one is for or against authenticity. In many areas the first view may lead to as much or more authenticity as the second; a Twentieth Century hobbyist making costumes to enter in a costume competition may know more about how such costumes were made and do a better job of making them than someone who lacks both knowledge and skill but is doing her best to believe, for the evening, that the outfit she faked up from an old square dancing dress and some pieces of scrap cloth was really made from silk bought at the Troyes fair from a merchant who claimed to have brought it all the way from Constantinople. The one area in which the second area can be expected to lead to greater authenticity is in behavior—but even there, one may be trying very hard to act medieval and yet have very little idea how medieval people actually acted.

It is probably clear by now that I myself view the Society in the second way, that I believe events ought to be (but seldom are) joint fantasies in which all present try to act, and so far as is possible think, as though they were, for that evening, truly in the Middle Ages. While I believe that the Society has many attractions as a framework for recreational scholarship and a place to meet diverse and interesting people, I consider that its primary attraction is the opportunity to live, occasionally, in a different world as part of a different sort of society, seeing out of a different pair of eyes and understanding and acting on the basis of a different view of reality. I find it unfortunate that this view of the Society seems to have become rarer and rarer over the years, to the point that many members have not so much rejected as never considered it—and to the point where there are almost no events at which there is any serious attempt to maintain the illusion, save by a few scattered individuals.

Why has this happened? One reason is that staying in persona, however much fun it may be, requires a continuing effort. Even aside from positive actions—doing and saying things your persona would do and say—it requires continual attention, especially at the beginning, *not* to do and say things your persona would not. It requires even more effort when you receive no external support, when the people around you, instead of helping to build and maintain the fantasy, are by their words and actions shattering it, reminding you of the Twentieth Century world around you and expecting you to respond to them as a Twentieth Century person. I believe that many people who join the SCA are inclined to view it as I do; that is why they joined. That, if you can remember that far back, is why most of you joined. It is in new groups that one is most likely to find some belief in the reality of what we are doing. For new members of the Society, the very fact that they are wearing medieval clothes makes them feel that they have left the modern world. For old members, and for old groups, dressing up in fancy clothes and hitting each other with sticks is what they always do on weekends - why should they act or feel any differently than they do the rest of the time?

This brings me to a second reason why the Society as a joint fantasy is dead or dying. For me to stay in persona is at most a minor, and perhaps amusing, aberration for those who view a tournament as a costume party. But for them, and especially those of them who are taking public acts—making announcements, giving awards, doing business before the throne—to speak and act as the Twentieth Century people they are is about as consistent with what I am trying to do as a ringing alarm clock is with sleeping. Ten Twentieth Century people wandering through a medieval crowd can talk about their cars and computer programming in perfect comfort while creating a substantial problem for those present who do not wish to know that either exists; ten personae in a crowd of Twentieth Century people whose

hobby happens to be the Middle Ages are limited to talking to each other and trying to pretend that the other people, or at least their words and acts, do not exist. Hence the attempt to treat SCA events as joint fantasies is very much more vulnerable to unintentional sabotage by those who disagree than is the alternative approach.

Can and should anything be done to alter the direction in which the Society has drifted? Whether you believe it should be changed depends on whether you agree with me about what the Society should be. If you do, there remains the question of whether and how a change might be made. My own opinion is that the only way is for a substantial number of people to discover that staying in persona, making events real, is simply more fun than the alternative. It is difficult for a single individual to either stay

in persona or show others what a real event could be. Perhaps a group of friends, a household or something similar, could make a deliberate effort to come to events in persona, support each other in their roles, and gradually ease the people around them into doing the same. Perhaps a small group, a new shire, could decide to make its own events as real as possible, and gradually spread the idea through the kingdom. Perhaps at some mass event such as the Pennsic War a group of true believers could fence in a patch of enchanted ground for their encampment and let it be known that whoever came inside was undertaking to join them while he remained. Perhaps the idea would spread. Perhaps.

[*Tournaments Illuminated*, No. 63,
Summer 1982]

Enchanted Ground

I will be organizing an authentic encampment at Pennsic. The objective is not merely to have an encampment that looks medieval, but to create an area where the twentieth century does not exist--where everyone is trying to stay in persona all of the time.

If you are interested in participating and would like more information, write or call:

David Friedman
(Duke Cariadoc)
921 Fern St.,
New Orleans, LA 70118
504-861-3585

Several newsletters, Spring 1986

The Enchanted Ground: A Progress Report

“Perhaps a group of friends ... could make a deliberate effort to come to events in persona, support each other in their roles, and gradually ease the people around them into doing the same. ... Perhaps at some mass event such as the Pennsic War a group of true believers could fence in a patch of enchanted ground for their encampment and let it be known that whoever came inside was undertaking to join them while he remained.” (TI No. 63, Summer 1982)

One of the attractions some of us find in the Society is the opportunity to imagine, for at least a few hours, that we are actually medieval people in a medieval world. One problem with doing so is that many other people are playing a different and inconsistent game. It is hard to be a medieval person while answering questions about the sources for my clothes or my food, or even while the people next to me are conducting such a conversation.

Some years ago, I came up with a possible solution for this problem. Set up an encampment within which everyone stays in persona all of the time. Those who wish to discuss D&D or fighter aircraft can do it somewhere else. Those who would like to be medieval people for half an hour but not for a week can visit. If treating the Society as a joint fantasy is, as I believe, more fun than treating it as a costume party, they will enjoy themselves and the idea will spread.

I sketched the idea in a TI article, in the hope that someone would try it. So far as I know nobody did, so eventually my lady wife and I decided to try it ourselves. The encampment has now existed at four events—the twentieth year celebration and the last three Pennsic Wars. This article is a report on what we have learned from that experiment.

While our central objective was authentic behavior—being in persona—we felt that it would be easier to achieve that against an authentic background. One does not have

to worry about how to deal mediievally with Coleman lanterns and boom boxes if there are none. Our first requirement was that participants be willing to stay in persona; our second was that their equipment be reasonably period in appearance.

We located people interested in participating partly by personal contacts and partly by running ads in kingdom newsletters. At TYC, our encampment consisted of the two of us plus one household of our friends. Our first Pennsic encampment consisted of us, two members of that household, and two other couples. The encampment has remained small; at the latest Pennsic it involved fourteen people.

The geography of our encampment is very simple. Our boundary is a gold rope. At the entrance is a sign; the current version reads:

Gentles: Within these bounds the twentieth Century does not exist. You are welcome to join us. We only ask that you restrict your conversation to topics suitable to your persona.

What Works?

The idea of a clearly defined boundary works well in both directions. People who come in usually understand what we are doing and try to be a part of it. Occasionally someone who came in without noticing the sign starts talking about something inappropriate. We cannot explain the problem without ourselves dropping out of persona. The usual solution is to ask the visitor if he will take a walk with us, lead him out of the encampment, and explain the situation there.

For those in the encampment, the boundary provides both a symbol and a safety valve. While we are inside it, it reminds us of what we are doing. If we have to discuss something out of persona, we can always go out of the encampment to do it.

We have not yet held an opening ceremony with a formal exorcism of the twentieth century, but I do follow a policy of not putting up the sign until the pavilions are up and the cars gone.

Another thing that works is the bardic circle, which we try to hold most evenings. Darkness hides a lot. Poems, songs, and stories performed by medieval poets, singers, and storytellers help strengthen the illusion. Most important of all, the essence of the encampment is people not tents, and around the fire at the bardic circle we are interacting as medieval people.

What Doesn't Work

My first surprise was how few people chose to participate. The fundamental reason is not the difficulty of producing period tents and gear—there are many more authentic tents outside our boundaries than in. Nor, I think, is it the lack of people interested in being in persona—as witnessed by the number of evening guests at our bardic circles. The real problem comes from one of the great strengths of the Society, the fact that, like any feudal order, it is founded on strong local bonds. Most people at Pennsic want to camp with their friends.

That cuts both ways. We may not be local, but we are friends; our encampment has become its own local group, almost its own household, even if only for one week a year. Our recruitment has been less than I expected, but our stability has been more.

It is sometimes suggested that an authentic encampment should be isolated, located far away from everything else to preserve its purity. In our opinion, that is a serious mistake. People in our encampment, like people in every other encampment, come to Pennsic to do things—help with the Chirurgeons, merchant, fight, herald. They do not intend to simply sit in the encampment looking authentic. The farther the encampment is from where everything is happening, the less willing people will be to participate in it.

A second reason we do not want to be isolated is that the encampment is intended, in part, as a demonstration of how we think the game should be played, a way of convincing other people that being a medieval person is more fun than being a twentieth century person talking about the Middle Ages. The farther away we are, the fewer people drop in for conversation during the day or to visit our bardic circle at night.

The greatest weakness of the encampment is that it tends to die during the day. With most of us off merchanting or heralding, there are not enough people to bring our tiny medieval society to life. At the most recent Pennsic we thought we had a solution—a series of in persona classes and conversations, loosely modeled on the Platonic Academy of Lorenzo de Medici, to be held in the encampment in the afternoons. Unfortunately we arrived only a week early, and as a result found ourselves camped on a hill more than half a mile from the rest of the war. That the bardic circle survived despite our isolation is a tribute to the stout hearts and strong legs of those who came to join it, but we gave up on the Academy until next year.

For the Future

Our encampment has survived and slowly grown—to that extent it has been a success. To really succeed, however, it must expand beyond one encampment at one war. The fundamental reason for starting it was to create a pattern that other people could use, develop, improve upon.

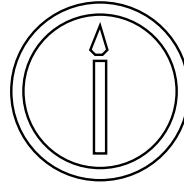
You need not come to Pennsic to be part of what we are doing. Get a long piece of rope and dye it gold. Put it around your encampment, wherever that may be, and hang a suitable sign at the entrance, facing out; the people inside do not know what the twentieth century is and so need not be told that it does not exist. Let your tents be period or nylon as you please. The essential idea of the encampment is not period tents but period people.

(Tournaments Illuminated Summer
1989)

If you want to be part of our encampment at Pennsic, write. If you run your own in persona encampment, let us know how it works out. The badge is registered in my name but intended as the symbol of an in persona encampment; any such encampment is free to use it. Its blazon is "Azure, a candle inflamed within an annulet or."

After this article was published we

made a second and more successful try at running the Academy, and continued it in some later years. The Enchanted Ground itself has now been part of Pennsic for more than twenty years. Growth has been slow and irregular; this summer (2010) we expect a total of 23 participants.



David Friedman
(Cariadoc)

The ascetic Amr ibn Ubayd had been an intimate friend of Mansur before his elevation. He once visited the Caliph.

Come near us and be seated, said Mansur; and let us have some exhortation.

Amr spoke as follows: Thy power would never have been thine if thy predecessors could have kept their hands on it. Then be warned of the Night wherefrom a Day shall dawn after which there will never be another night.

When Amr rose, the Caliph said: We have ordered you ten thousand dirhams bounty.

I do not need it, said the ascetic.

But by God you'll take it, exclaimed Mansur.

By God, I shall not.

What? Cried Mansur's son Mahdi, who was present. The Prince of True Believers swear a thing shall be done and you swear the contrary?

Who is this young man? Asked Ibn Ubayd.

My heir and successor, my son Mahdi.

Thou hast clothed him, the ascetic said, as the righteous are never clothed; thou hast given him a name (for Mahdi means the Divinely Guided who shall come) which is none of his, and smoothed a path for him wherein the more he prospers the more reckless he will be.

Have you any wish I can grant? Asked Mansur.

Never send for me again, but wait till I come to thee, Amr replied.

Then we shall never meet again, the Caliph said.

That is my wish, said he; and went away. Mansur followed him with his eyes till he was gone. Then he turned him to his courtiers again, and said: All of you walk with stealthy steps; you are all beasts of prey, all—only Amr son of Ubayd is different.

(From *Mohammed's People*)

Concerning Consistency or Ignorance is Bliss

One of the things I enjoy about SCA events is the opportunity to be in persona—to act and speak as the medieval person I am pretending to be. In discussing the subject with other members of the Society, one issue that is often raised is the problem of consistency. How, it is asked, can one function as a medieval person at an event? Time travel is not a medieval idea, so how can one medieval person interact with others from hundreds of years before and after his time? How can I, as a North African from 1100 A.D., learn Italian dances from the sixteenth century or cook from a fifteenth century English cookbook?

What is wrong with all of these questions is that they confuse what I know with what my persona knows. I know that my wife's persona is several hundred years later than mine. My persona knows only that his lady wife is a foreigner and a Nazarene. David knows that the gentleman in the starched ruff is from the sixteenth century. Cariadoc knows, having been told, that the gentleman is from a Frankish tribe called the English. Cariadoc also knows that, like most other Franks, the gentleman in question does not face towards Mecca to pray, does not wear a turban, and does wear funny clothes. None of that is in any way inconsistent with what Cariadoc knows of the world—foreigners are like that.

Cariadoc comes from a culture far from the SCA mainstream, so it is easy for him not to know the difference between a tenth century Englishman and a sixteenth century Englishman. But while the average SCA persona may not be quite as ignorant of other people's times and places, he is still much closer, in that regard, to Cariadoc than to David. Most medieval people did not know much history or geography, and much of what they did know was wrong. If you meet a stranger who is wearing odd clothes,

it is much more natural to assume that he is from a distant country, or from a part of your own country where local styles are a bit unusual, than that he is from a different century.

One obvious response is that Cariadoc does not have to recognize sixteenth century clothes in order to know that the gentleman he has just met is from the sixteenth century—after all, the gentleman has just responded to my query of “what are you” by answering “I am a sixteenth century Englishman.” But this is an inconsistency that comes not from being in persona but from being out of persona. Real medieval people did not start conversations with strangers by asking them what century they were from. All we have to do in order to avoid problems with temporal inconsistency is to talk as our personae instead of about them—and not mention any dates.

This brings up a related point—conversation. Some people seem to assume that, in order to be in persona, you must spend most of your time talking about current events—“have you heard the latest news about the crusade/Henry VIII/the Norman Conquest?” If so, then conversing for more than a few minutes would require quite a lot of specialized knowledge, and a conversation among personae from different times and places would rapidly become either obviously inconsistent (“What crusade/Henry who /what's a Norman?") or very confusing.

But consider, for a moment, your ordinary twentieth century conversation. How much of it is about events that will appear in the history books a thousand years from now? The answer, surely, is very little. Mostly we talk about what is happening around us or in our lives—and two people with very different personae are still attending the same event. If we do mention

current events, they are likely to be something like the latest Welsh border raid or last year's bad harvest—neither of which comes attached to a date.

It is sometimes suggested that, in order to do a consistent persona, one would have to talk only with others from the same time and place. One wonders how medieval travelers managed. When Ibn Battuta, a fourteenth century North African, traveled through Anatolia and Southern Russia to India, where he spent several years as one of the chief judges of Delhi, did he have trouble maintaining a consistent persona? The people he traveled among were as foreign to him as my fellow feasters are to me—yet somehow he managed to interact with them while remaining himself. Indeed his experience, like mine, seems to have been that strangers are often more interesting to talk with than people from the next village over.

A different sort of consistency problem is raised by the institutions of the Society itself. Knights, Dukes, Seneschals, Knight Marshals, Masters of the Laurel and Pelican—how do all of these things fit into Cariadoc's world? And, equally puzzling, how does he fit into them—what is a Berber doing marshalling a tournament or ruling a Kingdom full of Englishmen, Vikings, et multae caetera?

The answer again is that I am obviously a foreigner. The Middle Kingdom is not the Maghreb. It is no stranger for a North African Berber to be Earl Marshall of the Middle Kingdom, as I was many years ago, than for another North African Berber to be the chief Malikite Judge of the city of Delhi in India, no stranger for me to have ruled over the mingled populations of the Middle than for Robert Guiscard de Hauteville, a Norman adventurer, to have ruled over the medley of Moslems, Byzantines, Italians, and Jews inhabiting what was to become the Norman Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The customs by which the Middle Kingdom chooses its kings are indeed very odd—they will make a fine traveler's tale for my hearers to scoff at, if I ever make it back to the Maghreb.

Another problem that some people see

with being in persona is the problem of being stuck with your persona's quarrels. How can we conduct a civilized event if Vikings and Celts, Normans and Saxons, Guelfs and Ghibbilenes, Saracens and Crusaders, feel obliged to kill each other in the middle of the dance floor? Is it not necessary, in order to conduct our affairs in relative quiet, to impose an ahistorical ban on period persona violence?

The simple answer is that such a ban is not in the least ahistorical. In period, "enemies" interacted peaceably quite a lot of the time. The Irish and the Norse may have had their little troubles, but that did not keep them from trading, allying, and intermarrying. One of my favorite bits in the memoirs of Usamah ibn Munqidh, a Syrian Emir who was an older contemporary of Saladin, is the part where he is trying to avoid offending a Frankish friend while turning down the friend's offer to foster Usamah's son. Usamah is as eager to have his son fostered among the Franks as a nineteenth century Englishman would be to have his son raised by cannibals in darkest Africa—but, being unwilling to say so, he politely explains that, much as he appreciates the offer, the boy is the apple of his mother's eye, so Moslems and Christians might fight to the death on the walls of Acre, but in Norman Sicily they got along well enough—so well that one of the most famous of the successors of the Norman Kings, the Holy Roman Emperor Frederic II, was suspected by some contemporaries of being a closet Moslem.

Nothing I have said here answers the question of whether being in persona is more fun than other ways of enjoying the Society. Nor have I said much about the techniques to convince oneself and others that one is, for the moment, a medieval person. But I hope I have convinced you that there is no inherent impossibility, no glaring inconsistency, in attending an event as a medieval person at a medieval feast rather than a twentieth century hobbyist at a costume party.

[Published in *Tournaments Illuminated*, No. 101, Winter 1991]

Matters of Opinion

In Defense of Authenticity

Much of the fun of the SCA consists of recreational scholarship—learning how things were done in the Middle Ages (and the Renaissance) and trying to do them. For some of us that means working out recipes from fifteenth century cookbooks—and discovering that, surprisingly enough, they taste good. For others it means making real armour—armour that not only looks right but also works. For still others it means telling stories from the *Mabinogion* or the *Thousand and One Nights*, or making suits of clothes that are medieval down to the underpants.

What I find puzzling and disturbing about the present state of the Society is that, although a considerable number of people do such things and have for very many years, surprisingly little of their work finds its way into our daily life. We have been at it for over twenty years now and yet it is still the case that, in most of the things we do, what we do is much less authentic than what we know—and what we know about how things were really done is much less than what we could know. Thus, for instance, a sizable majority of the dances commonly danced in the Society are not only not period, they are not even seventeenth century. Most feasts in most groups contain no dishes that are cooked from period recipes. Events occasionally feature running-around games for the entertainment of those who are not fighting, but they are virtually never period games—although many such are known. The list could be expanded.

The problem may be in our attitude towards authenticity. Authenticity often seems to be viewed as something to be done, if at all, because one is supposed to do it—not because it is worth doing. A typical example is a pamphlet I recently read on one of the performing art forms. It contained a passage of a few pages discussing what pieces were

period. The passage began with the explanation that those who were entering contests might find the information useful. The implication, clearly enough, was that no performer would care whether a piece was or was not period unless it was being entered in a competition. One result of this attitude is that, in many of the things we do, period work seems to be largely limited to competition entries.

The attitude can be seen most clearly in responses to the suggestion that something not be done because it is not period—for instance, that the fact that “Road to the Isles” is a twentieth century dance based on nineteenth century originals is an argument for finding other and earlier dances. Such a suggestion is usually interpreted not as an attempt to make the Society more interesting by making it more medieval but simply as an attempt to spoil everyone else’s fun. One can get the same reaction by suggesting that since there is no evidence that cold tea was drunk anywhere in Europe any time in period and considerable evidence that chocolate deserts were not made anywhere in the world until late in the seventeenth century, we ought to find other things to eat and drink at our feasts.

The most common objection to such suggestions is that “the SCA is supposed to be fun.” This is true. It is also true of folk dancing, baseball, and video games. Nonetheless, it would seem rather strange to show up at a tournament with ball and bat, or at a baseball game with sword, shield, and armor. Each is a different way of having fun and each implies a particular set of constraints on what you do in order to have fun.

It would not be surprising if the response to the suggestion that something should be more authentic was the reply that authenticity, although a good thing, was in

this particular case more trouble than it was worth. We cannot all do everything perfectly; the same person who researches and uses period recipes might reasonably enough dance modern folk dances on the grounds that he does not know any good period dances and has neither the time nor expertise to research any. But the usual response, and the one with which I am concerned, is not that inauthentic dances are better than no dances—it is that historical authenticity is irrelevant to the normal activities of the society and the attempt to introduce it is therefore an intrusion. The argument is not often put that baldly, but that is what it amounts to.

This brings me to the essential question which is rarely asked and more rarely answered: What is the point of authenticity? If the answer is that its only function is to give more authentic people an excuse to feel superior to less authentic ones, then surely we should forget about it.

Authenticity has several functions within the Society. One of them is to encourage us to learn how things were done in the past by trying to do them, which turns out to be fun—a kind of fun that is hard to find anywhere else. We are very much more likely to figure out how things were done in the past if we feel some obligation to try to do them that way than if we feel free to do “anything that is fun.”

Consider dancing. Sixteen years ago, most of the period dances done in the Middle and East Kingdoms were out of one book—Arbeau’s *Orchesography*. Most of them still are. The reason is not that Arbeau is the only surviving period dance treatise—it is not. It is merely the only one readily available in English.

If one gets bored with the dances in Arbeau, one solution is to use modern folk dances instead. It is easy enough to do—there are lots of good dances, and plenty of folk dancers to teach them. That, for the most part, is what has happened.

If, however, you are unwilling to use dances that are out of period, or if you

regard them as a temporary expedient to be used only until something better can be found, there is another solution—look for more and better period dances. The first step in that direction is to go to the early editions of Playford, which are almost period; the first was published in 1651. The next step is to find translations of earlier dance treatises such as Caroso, or to locate copies of untranslated treatises and try to translate them and work out the dances. If you are a dance master but not a linguist, there are probably other people in your kingdom who are linguists and not dance masters—and could be interested in a joint project.

Why does that not happen? One answer is that it does; there are people in the Society who have worked on dances from period sources other than Arbeau, although very few. I am neither a dancer nor a linguist, but I am a cook, and have gotten volunteer translators from within the Society to translate several previously untranslated period cookbooks. The reason it does not happen very often may be because most of us feel satisfied dancing 19th century folk dances and cooking from Fanny Farmer, and many regard period cooking or period dancing or period almost anything else as something done only in order to win a contest, probably in the hope of getting an award—not as what we should be continually aiming at in everything we do.

So one reason for authenticity in what we do is as a way of encouraging us all to engage in one of the forms of fun that distinguishes the Society from baseball and video games—figuring out how people danced, cooked, sewed, fought, and lived in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Another reason for authenticity is that it helps us to an experience that we cannot get elsewhere—the experience of living, for an evening, in a different world, of being a different person with different beliefs and feelings, seeing, for a little while, out of a different set of eyes. The attempt to do things, so far as possible, in the way they were done is one way of making events feel

real—something more than costume parties held by people whose hobby is dressing up and hitting each other with sticks.

I am not suggesting that we should never do anything at an event that is not entirely authentic. If you have no period dances, folk dances are better than nothing; if you have no period recipes, Fanny

Farmer's beef stew is better than going hungry. What is wrong is being satisfied with folk dances and beef stew, instead of trying to work to replace them with something better.

(Versions of this were published in *Pale* and *Pikestaff* in 1987)

Concerning Contests

It is widely agreed that while the Society has at least enough fighting and politics, it is seriously deficient in most other medieval arts—that it would be both more medieval and more fun if we had more singers, poets, jewelers, cooks, musicians, and artists of many other sorts. The most common solution suggested for this problem is that the arts be encouraged by holding arts contests. I agree with the diagnosis but not the prescription. We ought to have more medieval arts in the daily life of the Society, but I doubt that contests are the way to get them.

One problem with arts contests is that they are among the most unmedieval events we hold. Most, in my experience, feel more like a modern debate tournament than like anything from the Middle Ages. While this may not be inevitable, it is at least difficult to avoid. At an arts contest we are judging not only the quality of the works submitted but also their authenticity. It is hard to do so without judges and entrants discussing what was or was not done in period. Any such discussion forces us to look at the Middle Ages from the outside—as twentieth century students of the period, not as medieval people. No medieval judge evaluated art works, and no medieval craftsman defended them, according to whether or not they were authentically medieval.

A related problem is the tendency in arts contests to judge works on documentation instead of, or in addition to, judging them on authenticity. Obviously, if the artist has reason to expect the judges to

make a mistake—if he knows something about the authenticity of his work which they probably do not know—it is up to him to pass on the information. But the requirement for documentation in arts contests often goes much further than that. Artists are expected to provide evidence to the judges of things that the judges ought to already know, such as what verse forms were used in period. Documentation is treated as an objective in itself, rather than as evidence for the authenticity of the work. In some cases—exotic dancing, for example—entrants get credit for documentation even if all the documentation shows is that neither the entrant nor anyone else knows enough to tell what was or was not being done in period. In effect, the artist is being judged partly as an artist and partly as an amateur scholar. I can think of few better ways of discouraging the arts than to require that every work of art be accompanied by a term paper.

One might be able to solve, or at least reduce, these problems by creating events that function as contests but fit into medieval patterns. One could imagine an occasion at which poets perform before a king or great lord, with the best being rewarded by the gift of a silver arm ring. That is how poetry was encouraged in some period cultures. If, as is likely, the lord who is giving out the prizes does not know enough about period poetry to judge which performances are or are not authentic, he can always have advisors whispering in his ear. The idea is not to avoid considering the authenticity of the work, but rather to

prevent open discussion of the authenticity of the work from destroying the authenticity of the event.

Other arts might compete within the framework of a fair—as often happened in the Middle Ages. The fiction of the event would be that the craftsmen were there to exhibit and sell their work, with ribbons being given by the local lord as a way of recommending particularly worthy craftsmen to his people. For some that fiction would be fact, since many Society craftsmen do produce work for sale. Those who wished to exhibit but not to sell could always explain that they were currently too busy to accept orders.

So far I have been discussing ways in which we could continue to have arts contests while making them feel more like medieval events. I believe, however, that the real solution to the problem does not lie in contests at all. Almost inevitably, contests encourage the idea that art and authenticity are hothouse flowers, suitable for contests rather than for the daily life of the Society. This reinforces the unfortunate tendency of modern American society to regard education and “culture” as things that are good for you but taste bad—like cod-liver oil. The objective of encouraging the arts is not to produce authentic contest entries but to make medieval arts part of the daily life of the Society. The way to achieve that is by practicing our arts within the daily life of the Society and encouraging others to do so.

For those of us who are cooks and are producing feasts, that means developing authentic dishes and serving them at feasts. Since we are cooking not for a handful of judges but for a hall full of hungry people, we had better be sure that they are dishes which people will like—or we will not be asked to do any more feasts. That is a constraint that also applied, in a somewhat more extreme form, to the cooks of the Middle Ages.

For those of us who are cooks and are not doing feasts, introducing our art into the daily life of the Society means bringing a

basket of period nibbles and offering them to all and sundry. That is both an exercise of the medieval virtue of generosity and a way of spreading the news that authentic food can also taste good.

Those of us who are jewelers can and should make medieval jewels, wear them, give them as gifts, sell them. Those who are poets or storytellers should use their art to entertain those who wish entertainment. If we find that we cannot hold an audience, that is evidence that there is something wrong with either the piece we have chosen or the way in which we have presented it. That, too, was a problem that period performers had to deal with.

One reason for the popularity of arts contests as a way of encouraging the arts may be that tournaments are such a visible part of our activities, and fighting one of the two medieval activities that do not seem in need of encouragement. My own view is that we have it backwards. Fighting is popular not because we have fighting contests but because it is something that many people do for its own sake. The prevalence of elimination tournaments is one of the things wrong with the way we do fighting, not one of the reasons for its popularity.

For crown tournaments we must have an objective way of determining who has won; that is why crown tournaments are, and perhaps must be, elimination lists. But I think it is a mistake to make so many other tournaments into small scale imitations of the crown. Elimination tournaments allow the less experienced fighters to do very little fighting. Worse, by encouraging the idea that we are fighting to win a tournament rather than for fun, honor, and glory, they have some tendency to make fighting less fun and less friendly than it might otherwise be.

Furthermore, our elimination tournaments are not particularly medieval; their structure is based on modern sporting events not on medieval tournaments. The winner of a medieval tournament was the

fighter who, after the day's fighting was done, was judged to have fought best—but he did not have to prove it by working his way up a double elimination tree.

Perhaps, if we wish to encourage medieval arts, we should take our model not from fighting but from the other medieval art of which we have at least enough—politics. The people of our kingdoms, as in the kingdoms of old, require no public competitions, no special prizes, to engage in that activity. It is done for its own sake, for the pleasure of the game and the rewards proper to it. The reward of a successful politician is power—the ability to influence what happens within the kingdom—just as the proper reward of a story teller or a musician is an attentive audience and the proper reward of a good cook is a hall full of

happy and well fed people.

If we wish medieval arts to be a part of the life of the Society, to function for us as they functioned in the past, it is to the past we should look for models of how to practice and encourage the arts. If you are an artist, find ways of working your art into the life of your kingdom. If you wish to encourage the arts, recognize and reward the arts you wish to encourage.

I brought three silver arm rings to the most recent Pennsic war, and departed with two. The third left on the arm of a lady singer, who had come to our campfire to delight us with the tale of Cuchulain and the Cattle Raid of Cooley. To the next war I propose to wear seven rings, and, fortune favoring, to bring none away. If one wishes to attract bards, one must use the proper bait.



Concerning the C in SCA

A question that occasionally arises in the Society is whether there is some essential conflict between being creative and being authentic. Must we choose between slavishly copying historical works, on the one hand, and being creatively unmedieval on the other?

The answer is no. It would be difficult to argue that Chaucer was not creative—or Michelangelo, or Dante, or the unknown master who created the Sutton Hoo treasure. Their works could hardly be described as slavish copies of what already existed. Yet each worked within the artistic canon of his own time. Each, to some degree, enlarged that canon by his own work. When they were all done, the year sixteen hundred had not arrived, so nothing that they did can be

properly classified as out of period for the Society.

Just as the creative artists of the past worked within the technical and stylistic limits of their own times and in doing so produced works of great and original art, so we, if we are good enough, can produce our own original works within those same limits. A poet does not have to invent his own verse form, or even his own poetic conventions, in order to write original verse—and few poets do. While a painter may find the lack of modern acrylics inconvenient, there is a vast body of medieval and Renaissance art to prove what can be done without them. The most beautiful jewels ever made, in my judgement at least, are more than a thousand years old, and the most technically

impressive more than two thousand. The treasures of the past provide ample evidence that there is no conflict between originality and authenticity.

In some arts there is a division between author and executor. A great actor or dancer need not be the author of the plays or dances that he performs; a great musician does not play only his own music. Most of the dishes cooked by even the greatest chef are not of his own invention. In such arts, the interpretation of the existing work is itself a difficult and creative act. If the art we are practicing is acting, or dancing, or music or cooking, there is no need to produce new plays, dances, pieces, or recipes in order for our performances and our dishes to be original works. By choosing to execute works that were produced in period, we make it more likely that our execution will be authentic as well as original; we do not have to worry that errors in our interpretation may be compounded by errors in what we are interpreting. We know that a recipe written down in 1226 contains only period ingredients.

What if we wish to create not a period dish but a period recipe—or poem, or play, or jewel? There is still much to be said for starting out by copying surviving works. A medieval cook spent his life learning what medieval cooking was like by eating it and learning how it was done by watching other medieval cooks. That is not an option available to us.

The nearest alternative is to cook a large number of dishes from period cookbooks. The process is not entirely lacking in creativity—medieval recipes rarely include quantities, temperatures, or times—and it is the essential preliminary to any more creative medieval cooking. If, instead, we start our exploration of medieval cooking by inventing our own dishes, what we will be inventing will not be original medieval dishes but original twentieth century dishes, perhaps slightly influenced by twentieth century ideas of what medieval cooking was like.

Similarly, a Society jeweler with the good taste to want to make Anglo Saxon jewelry will be wise to look at as much of it

as he can. Having done so, he will want to make pieces closely based on some of the simpler originals. As he gets better and acquires more of a feel for what an Anglo Saxon jeweler might have done, he may go further afield, while still producing nothing that would look out of place in the Anglo Saxon rooms of the British Museum.

I have been arguing in this essay that there is no conflict between authenticity and originality. That does not mean that authenticity has no other difficulties. There has been a great deal of technical progress since the year sixteen hundred, with the result that it is easier to cook in a modern kitchen than in a medieval one or to make jewelry with modern rather than medieval tools. The use of period techniques is made still more difficult by the fact that if you wish to use period tools to make jewelry you must first make the tools. The result is that most Society artists compromise, using some mixture of authentic and modern techniques to produce their work. It is better to do work that is imperfectly authentic than to insist on being perfect and as a result do nothing at all. The best should not become the enemy of the good.

I have, as it happens, made Anglo Saxon jewelry—but not in an Anglo Saxon jeweler's shop. I have sometimes daydreamed about building the workshop that Theophilus describes in a book written at almost precisely the date of my persona, but I will probably never do it. I do medieval cooking, but mostly in a modern kitchen.

While I accept the necessity for a certain amount of compromise, I also believe that those who manage to do medieval crafts with medieval techniques deserve our admiration and applause. My favorite example is the Sated Tyger, a cookshop at Pennsic which for some years produced and sold a large volume of period baked goods cooked in period ovens. Each year the staff of the cookshop arrived early to build their ovens (named Hansel and Gretel) out of bricks and clay. To bake they lighted a fire inside each oven, heated them up, then replaced the fire with pies. Their medieval cooking was more medieval than mine and I honor them for it.

Peers Errant

From time to time, in one kingdom or another, someone suggests that the peerages should get organized and do something. In my view, this is usually a bad idea. If the peerages were better organized they would be less useful; if they tried to get together and do things they would get less done. The purpose of this essay is to explain why.

To understand the shape of a key, one must first know what sort of lock it is intended to open, so I start with the problem to which the peerages are one of the solutions—the problem of getting things done in a large, decentralized, volunteer organization. Given the present size and structure of the Society, if everything happens through channels very little will happen. If people only engaged in artistic activities after being told to do so by their local MOA who had been told to tell them by the regional MOA who had been told to tell them by the Kingdom MOA who had been ... we would have very little in the way of period arts. The obvious solution is for most people, most of the time, to ignore the official structure and just go out and do things. That is how most of what we make—garb and armor, weapons and songs—gets made.

One difficulty with this is that the individual member of the Society may have no way of knowing which other members are reliable authorities. If someone announces that he is holding a workshop on medieval cooking in his kitchen next Sunday, how can those who attend tell whether he is an expert on the subject or just making it up as he goes along? If one of the local fighters offers to teach you how to fight, how do you know whether he is really competent or someone the other fighters all regard as a blundering blowhard?

One solution is formal organization. If you learn about cooking at a class at a Royal University or from a T.I. article, there is at least a presumption that the information is reasonably accurate. If you learn fighting

from the local Knight Marshall, the odds are reasonably good that he knows something about both fighting and training and is regarded by the other fighters in the group as a responsible person.

This solution, however, brings us back to the difficulty of getting things done in a hierarchical, bureaucratic, “organized” way. It is all too easy for people in a formal organization to end up spending their time writing reports instead of teaching classes, or for a group to consume its time and energy and its members’ mutual good will fighting over who has what office.

The peerages are a different solution. If the person who has announced that he is teaching a class in his kitchen has a Laurel, there is a presumption that the information presented is reasonably accurate. If the person who offers to teach you fighting has been knighted, there is a presumption that he knows how to fight, how to teach, and is a reasonably honorable person. In both cases it is only a presumption. Doubtless there are Laurels who are not careful to make sure what they teach is true before they teach it, just as there are villain knights—and mistakes in T.I. articles. But these are the exception not the rule.

The orders of peerage ought, I believe, to be viewed not as organizations with corporate responsibilities but as groups of individuals, each with the job of going out and doing good in his particular way. The function of the white belt or the Laurel medallion is merely to make it a little easier to do certain kinds of good, by certifying the bearer’s competence.

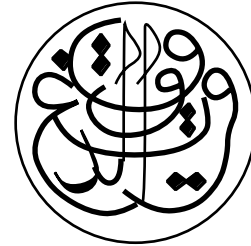
This is, incidentally, a period conception of knighthood, although not the only period conception. Consider the knight errant of the romances, the figure on whom our image of the knight is chiefly based. He is not someone who has received orders from the Minister of Giant Killing to go out, kill a giant, and send back a report in triplicate. Rather he is someone wandering

around the countryside looking for deeds that need to be done, deciding for himself which of them to do and how, and depending on his position as a knight, at most, to get him a certain amount of respect and attention. That, I think, is what peers should mostly do. Hence the title of this essay.

Peers are not the only ones doing it—any more than knights are the only people authorized to kill giants or rescue maidens. A kingdom, a Barony, a Shire flourishes or fades by the number of its people who see themselves as having the job of finding things that need doing and doing them. We are all—sovereigns, peers, and people alike—

knights errant.

“A Kingdom’s no more solid than a sound
That must be built on air unceasingly,”



(Cariadoc)



Amr ibn Hind called before him two poets, uncle and nephew, and told them that he was giving them leave to depart his court to visit with their kin and entrusting them with letters to the Governor of al-Bahrain, instructing him to welcome them well and reward them for their services.

When they had been a little while upon the road, the uncle grew suspicious, for he knew that ibn Hind was a cruel and tyrannical king, and both poets had in the past written satires against him. He therefore proposed that they open the letters, and if they were as they had been told deliver them, but if not, not. But his nephew, trusting in the King, refused.

When they were a little farther on their road, they met a youth, and the uncle asked him if he could read. He replied that he could. “Then read me this.” And the youth read:

“When this letter of mine is handed to you by al-Mutalammis, cut off his hands and feet and then bury him alive.”

Al Mutalammis assured his nephew that his letter would prove to be the same, and urged him to open it, but the nephew refused. The uncle thereupon fled to Syria, but the nephew delivered the letter and was cruelly done to death. And that was the death of Tarafa, who composed the second of the seven odes that are the glory of the poetry of the Arabs in the Age of Ignorance, before the coming of our lord the Prophet Mohammed, peace and blessings upon him, his kindred and his companion train.

(Based on an account in A. J. Arberry’s *The Seven Odes*)

The Bardic Arts: A Comment

In a recent article on filk songs, Mistress Morgana asks what sort of bardic performances are appropriate in the SCA. The question is of interest to me both as a performer and as host of the bardic circle at my encampment at Pennsic. While I agree with Mistress Morgana that we do not want to limit ourselves to works actually composed in period, that does not get us very far towards deciding what should be encouraged or discouraged.

I find it useful to divide performances into three categories: unacceptable, tolerable, and period. The division is based mostly on the degree to which the performance creates or destroys the illusion of really being, for at least a few minutes, in the Middle Ages. Unacceptable is anything that makes it obvious that the performer is a twentieth century person addressing a twentieth century audience. That includes stories about knights going through metal detectors and anything else with obviously out of period references—the “Song of Sir Greenbaum,” for instance. It also includes anything written to an obviously modern tune or in a blatantly modern style, especially take-offs on popular songs. Those are the sorts of things that I do not perform at events (post revels are another matter) and try to keep out of my bardic circle.

The tolerable category consists of pieces that would be recognized as out of period, in form or content, by any reasonably expert observer, but not by a random member of the audience. That includes folk songs with post 1600 tunes as well as songs, stories, or poems that refer to events that are out of period but not obviously so. The tolerable category does not include folk songs prefaced with an apology about not being in period; the song may be acceptable, but the preface is not.

The period category includes works actually composed in period, such as stories from the sagas, Boccaccio, Usamah or al-

Tanukhi. It also includes works written, inside or outside of the Society, in period form on period topics. Examples would include the words, at least, to “Song of the Shield Wall,” “The Raven Banner,” and “Catalan Company”—three of my favorite SCA poems. Stories about events in the SCA also qualify, if told in such a way that they could be stories about people in period. Works in this category are the reason for having a bardic circle.

There are a lot of borderline cases. The tune to “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” is not exactly modern, but most hearers know it is not period. At the other extreme, the words to “Catalan Company” contain echoes of the modern folksong from which its tune is borrowed, but not many people are likely to notice them.

A song that sounds fine to me may seem clearly unacceptable to Mistress Johanna, who is a semi-professional lutenist; a story about Iceland or al-Islam that sounds period to her may strike me as obviously out of period in style or contents. As with most things in the Society, the important classifications are not right and wrong but better and worse. We cannot expect to do things perfectly—even period songs are rarely played on exact replicas of period instruments—but we can agree that the closer we come, in form and content, to works that were or could have been created in period, the better.

There are many dimensions to authenticity and sometimes they conflict. To Johanna, a period song in translation is less authentic than in the original language. But one of the characteristics of the original song as originally performed was that the audience understood it. For an audience that does not understand the original language, the translation is, in that dimension at least, more authentic than the original.

(Published in *The Mews*, summer 1988)

Norse Riddles

(Written for Patri ibn Cariadoc)

The snake with one wing and forty legs
Sheds its scales on the sand.

My sting is in my tail.
I only bite when I have shed my skin.
What snake am I?

Could not bear up
The foe of a mouse,
As a bright eyed bride
Brought down the house.

I met my mate,
Which lost a bet,
But swiftest treasure
Did I get.

Because I was overlooked,
One who could
Gave me to one who could not
To use as he did not intend.
Who am I?

Part of me
Bought all of me
From a bloody weapon's hold;
Whose head am I?

Two men I bound to their deaths,
Yet would not for a third a weapon make.
Who am I?

This branch broke
A Kingdom, drowned a King
It served. Set a term to the
Labors of the longest
Of Snakes, stoutest of steeds.

My gift is victory, my shadow death,
Who bound a lordly beggar's final breath.

I was a hostage for him
Who being brave broke faith;
Now I and my twin brother are parted forever.
Who am I?

We held to our oath though things looked black;
Defenseless men may still attack.
Battling bound blooded the foe,
By our courage caught, for our courage let go.

I am the cup still full, though the hall drink me dry.
I weave the web no sword can cut, no shield deny.
I am the treasure and tale of its taking.
I am the longest lived of all man's making.

In the year 138 the fugitive Umayyad prince, Abd al-Rahman, reached Spain and conquered it for himself. He had the heads of Mansur's appointed Governor and his lieutenants preserved in salt and camphor, and labels affixed to the ears. These, with Mansur's diploma and the black gubernatorial banners, he had put in a sack, borne to Qayravan in Africa, and left by night in the market place.

"Thanks be to God for putting the sea between me and such a foe!" Mansur exclaimed, when he heard of it; and one day thereafter he asked in audience this question: Who deserves to be called the Falcon of Quraysh?

"Yourself, surely, Prince of the True Believers."

"No, the Falcon of Quraysh is Abd al-Rahman, who wandered alone through the deserts of Asia and Africa, and had the great heart to seek his destiny, with no troop at his back, over the sea in an unknown land."

(From *Muhammad's People*)

No Audience

One of the oldest traditions of the Society is the requirement that everyone present at an event make some attempt at period dress. To me, this symbolizes the idea that there is no audience—everyone present is a participant. That is an essential difference between an event and a play. We are all inside the medieval fantasy. Some of us may be playing medieval fighters or actors while others are playing medieval spectators, but we are all playing.

I am reminded of this tradition when I hear someone complain after an event that it was boring—there was not enough entertainment. Such complaints reflect a fundamentally mistaken view of what an event is. They assume it is a show put on by someone else for our entertainment—and that it is therefore that someone's fault if we, sitting in the audience, are bored.

But there is no audience. An event is not a play; it is a stage, on which we all are players. The hosts provide a place, a framework, decoration, usually food. The rest is up to you.

If you are a musician, find other musicians and go play something. If you are a story teller, find some bored people and tell them stories. Start a game of nine man's morris. Gossip with some of your friends about the doings of others. Start an interesting conversation about something your persona might have talked about. Ask the fighter who has just taken off his armor to explain that beautiful blow that he won the fight with.

If you cannot play an instrument, or sing, or tell a story or a poem, or play a period game, and are too shy to gossip, or

start conversations or ask questions of fighters, do not despair. Somewhere in the building someone is cooking dinner, or setting up the hall for court, or doing some other of the myriad things necessary to maintain the framework of the event. Another pair of hands will almost certainly be welcome. However shy you are, after an hour and a half of deboning chickens you should find it easy enough to strike up a conversation with your fellow workers.

Some time ago, I attended an event accompanied by an energetic eleven-year-old. Shortly after we arrived, he vanished. On further inquiry, I discovered that he had volunteered to help someone with something. When I asked him about it, he explained that he had discovered he had more fun that way.

The people who bear the load, who make the Society work, are the people who create the events, write the poems, tell the stories, sing the songs, sew the clothing. If you have just spent two hours deboning chickens then you are bearing your share of the load. If you are a card carrying member of the SCA Incorporated and come to every event expecting to be entertained, you are part of the load being born.

“What do you call the last man out of the kitchen at an event?”

“Your Majesty”

Old joke.

Unfortunately.

(Published in *The Gargoyle's Tongue*
in 1988)

The Prophet used to say:

“Let a man answer to me for what wags between his jaws and what wags between his legs, and I will answer to him for Paradise.”

(Mohammed's People)

Medieval vs Medievalish

I believe that the Society would be more fun if we all made a greater effort to be authentic—to cook feasts from period recipes instead of from Fanny Farmer, to do Renaissance dances instead of modern folk dances, to base SCA swashbuckling on sixteenth century fencing manuals instead of on twentieth century fencing. I further believe that such authenticity is most fun when it is integrated into the daily life of the Society instead of being isolated on a reservation as contest entries.

In trying to explain my views to other Society members, I have come across an argument that I find interesting, persuasive, and wrong. It may be stated as follows:

Coke cans should be kept out of events because they spoil the mood. We all know that medieval people did not use either Coke or cans, so having Coke cans around makes it hard to feel as if we are really in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, most of us do not know enough about medieval cooking to realize that a modern beef stew does not qualify. Most of us do not know enough about dance or music to tell the difference between something that seems vaguely medievalish—Road to the Isles or Joan Baez songs—and something that is actually period. Since we cannot tell the difference, the medievalish works for us just as well as the medieval. So there is no reason for us to try to make what we do any more authentic than it already is.

The conclusion of this argument is not merely that being authentic is sometimes more trouble than it is worth. With that I would agree—which is why I have learned neither Arabic nor Berber, although my persona would have spoken both. The conclusion of the argument is that authenticity, beyond a rather low level, is worthless.

One answer is that authenticity—learning how people did things by doing them—is fun. For many of us that is true, but it provides no reason why those people in

the Society who do not enjoy researching the Middle Ages should make any effort to use what is discovered by those who do. And yet I think there is a reason. I believe that authenticity makes the Society more interesting for everyone, including those who have no interest in researching the Middle Ages. I believe, in other words, that medieval really is better than medievalish.

Why? Part of the answer is suggested by the following paradox: If Coke cans are bad only because we know they are not medieval, then the less we know the better off we are. If only we were sufficiently ignorant, there would be no need to do without Coke cans.

What is wrong with this, of course, is that if we did not know enough about the Middle Ages to realize that Coke cans are not a part of them, we would also not know enough to get any fun out of playing medieval. Much of the enjoyment we get from the Society comes from imagining we are medieval people in a medieval society. The less we know about the Middle Ages, the less interesting that game is.

I have sometimes heard it said that the Society is not really based on the historical Middle Ages at all but on the nineteenth century romanticization of the Middle Ages, as seen in the works of authors such as Scott and Doyle. But if that were all the Society was, it would not work as well as it does. There are, after all, re-creation groups based on works of fiction, such as the Friends of Darkover or the Tuchuks. None of them is as large, as successful, or as interesting as the SCA. One reason, I think, is that no fictional world has the richness of detail, the complexity, the persuasive reality of an actual society. An author has a hard enough time making the little piece of his world that the reader can see through the window of one book seem real. We are basing our game on a story that was written over a thousand years by millions of authors and is real from every direction.

A different way of putting the point is to observe that the medieval works of writers such as Scott and Doyle would have been very much less good if they had had to invent the Middle Ages for themselves. What we see and enjoy in *Ivanhoe* or the *The White Company* is the image, however distorted, of a society that really existed.

If this is true, then the attempt to make

the daily life of the society more authentic, to go beyond medievalish to medieval, serves two quite different purposes. It is an opportunity for recreational scholarship—doing research for fun. It is also a way of preserving and increasing the richness, the detail, the complexity, and the interest of the game we are playing, the fantasy in which we jointly participate.

Yakub bin El-Leyth Es-Saffar, having adopted a predatory life, excavated a passage one night into the palace of Dirhem, the Governor of Sijistan. After he had made up a convenient bale of gold and jewels and the most costly stuffs, he was proceeding to carry it off, when he happened in the dark to strike his foot against something hard on the floor. Thinking it might be a jewel of some sort, a diamond perhaps, he picked it up and put it to his tongue, and, to his equal mortification and disappointment, found it to be a lump of rock-salt. Throwing down his precious booty, he left it behind him and withdrew empty-handed to his habitation.

Next day the governor's treasurer was alarmed to discover that a great part of the treasure and other valuables had been removed; but on examining the package which lay on the floor, his astonishment was not less, to find that not a single article had been conveyed away. The Governor had it proclaimed that if the thief would announce himself, he would be pardoned and rewarded. Yakub, relying upon the promise, presented himself before the governor, and explained that having by inadvertance tasted the Governor's salt in his house, and so become the Governor's guest, he had been unwilling to violate the laws of hospitality by stealing from his host and had therefore put down his booty and departed. The governor appointed him to an office of importance, where he gradually rose in power until he became the founder of a Dynasty.

(Based on an anecdote in *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* by Edmund Lane).

After the assassination of Ali, his rival Mu'awiya, nephew of Othman and governor of Syria, became the fifth Caliph. "So long as our hearts which hate thee are in our breasts," said to him Adi, Hati's son of Taiy, "and so long as the swords we fought thee with hang still on our necks, so long, if thy cunning take half a span, shall our revenge take a span of thee. The peace of the sword, Mu'awiya, lets not the sword sleep!"

"Those are the words of a wise man—write them down, somebody!" was all the Caliph said.

Period Solutions

Many years ago, I constructed for myself a *char aina*, a simple form of Persian body armor made up of four plates, usually rectangular, covering the front, back, and sides of the body. To attach the plates to each other I used leather straps riveted to the metal plates. After using it for a while, I discovered that the system was unsatisfactory; the rivets kept pulling through the leather and having to be replaced.

I then did what I should have done before starting the armor—looked at pictures of surviving *char ainas* to see how they were held together. I did not find a single one in which the leather had been riveted directly to the metal. The most common system was a buckle on one plate and a D-ring on the plate it was joined to. From then on, when a strap pulled out I replaced it with a D-ring on one plate, a buckle on the other, and a strap joining them. That system works fine.

This is a simple example of something quite common in the Society. Many of the problems we encounter in trying to reconstruct the Middle Ages, both simple (how to fasten armor together) and more subtle (how to encourage Medieval arts), were also encountered in the original Middle Ages. In trying to solve such problems, our first step should be to ask how they solved them.

There are two reasons to approach problems in that way. The obvious reason is that the more we use period solutions to our problems, the more accurately we will succeed in recreating the past—which is one of the purposes of the Society. A less obvious, but equally important, reason is illustrated by my *char aina*. The system I originally used not only is inauthentic—it also does not work. We know more than the people of the original Middle Ages about certain things, such as astronomy, mathematics, and physics, most of which are of only marginal relevance to the things we

do in the Society. We know very much less than they did about how to build armor, cook with period ingredients, rule a kingdom, or preserve food without benefit of modern technology. These are things that were matters of great importance to people in the Middle Ages—frequently matters of life and death to those most directly concerned. They therefore devoted a great deal of thought, effort, and experimentation to discovering how to do them—far more than we have.

Since there is no evidence that our intelligence is greater than theirs and since most (although not all) of our superior scientific knowledge is irrelevant to such problems, it is quite likely that the solutions they came up with are better than the solutions we will come up with on our own. If so, then finding period solutions to period problems is not merely a way of making the Society more authentic. It is also a way of building armor that does articulate and does not fall apart, cooking feasts that taste good, building happy and prosperous kingdoms and surviving Pennsic without daily shopping trips off site.

That last problem is one that my lady wife and I have been working on for some years. Keeping meat fresh in a cooler for a week-long war is both inauthentic and a nuisance—not to mention somewhat dangerous. One medieval solution is to slaughter the meat as you need it. Unfortunately, the mundane authorities might object—and a whole cow or sheep is rather a lot of meat for two adults and one child. Another solution is the use of salt fish; we have some, but have not yet done the experimentation necessary to produce a workable period recipe using it.

Our best solution so far is one we discovered in a collection of recipes included in a fifteenth century Icelandic medical miscellany. It consists of two recipes entitled “The gentry’s *salsa*” (or “the lord’s salt”) and “How to use the above

salsa.” The *salsa* is a mixture of spices, salt, and vinegar used to preserve cooked meat. In our experience, it will preserve meat in an unsealed container at room temperature for over three weeks. At both TYC and Pennsic, we have brought pickled meat to the event and used it over a week later.

These examples involve technical problems—building armor and preserving food. The same approach can also be applied to problems of a somewhat more subtle nature. Consider, for instance, the perennial issue of how to encourage the arts.

The most popular solution in the Society is to hold arts contests. Almost inevitably, such contests force the participants, both entrants and judges, to look at the Middle Ages from the outside rather than the inside. The result usually feels more like a modern debate tournament than like anything from the Middle Ages. Neither medieval craftsmen nor medieval judges worried about whether a work of art was or was not authentically medieval.

How were arts encouraged and supported in period? In part, for those arts that produced a tangible product, in the same way that twentieth century arts are in the twentieth century. Jewelers or tailors or painters produced things for their customers to buy. For some arts that works well in the Current Middle Ages as well—armor is a notable example.

Another way of encouraging the arts was for prominent people, especially kings and great lords, to honor and reward artists. In Norse culture, a generous lord was a ring giver—one who rewarded those who pleased him by giving them arm rings of silver and gold. As is clear in the sagas, the recipients included skalds who composed and performed poetry for the King.

The kings of the Current Middle Ages are rarely rich in material things, so giving valuable gifts to express their appreciation of poets may not be a practical option. They

can, and sometimes do, give presents of costume jewelry, but that is not an entirely satisfactory substitute. Much of the point of a gift is in the fact that it costs the giver something and is worth something to the recipient. What the King wants to convey to the artist is not “I am pretending to appreciate your performance” but “I do appreciate your performance,” so a pretend gift does not really serve the purpose. In this as in many other things, one must remember that the Society, despite appearances to the contrary, is real.

Our Kings are rich in things other than gold and silver. For most performers, being asked to sit with the King at high table, being called before the Queen and thanked, being publicly praised, are gifts of great value. And they are gifts that cost something to the giver: time is among the scarcest possessions of princes. In such ways kings can, and good kings do, encourage the arts.

Building a kingdom is the job of the king, but not only of the king. Many of the people of the Society are rich, if not in money then in other things of value. If a king can express his appreciation for a performer by offering him a seat at his table, a vintner can do the same by offering a bottle of his best vintage, a jeweler with the gift of a jewel of his own making. Here again, it is precisely the fact that the gift is of real value to both giver and recipient that makes the compliment a real one.

Long ago and far away, a gentleman whom I greatly respected was given a peerage that he very much deserved. His persona was, like mine, Muslim. After the King granted him his peerage, I presented him with a robe of honor—a robe and turban appropriate, so far as my knowledge ran, to his persona. The presentation of robes of honor was a period Muslim tradition—and, then as now, a way of showing the recipient the honor he had earned.

Words and Things

Cultures develop their own customs and jargon, and the SCA is no exception. Some of ours are based on historical practice; there really were knights in the Middle Ages and they really had squires. Many others were either deliberately invented within the Society or represent one person's historical mistake, converted by a few transmissions into historical fact.

Having our own terms and customs is not wholly a bad thing; a real medieval kingdom would have developed customs of its own, after all. What is clearly a bad thing is when people mistakenly believe that what we are doing is historically accurate, thus putting us in the position of spreading ignorance rather than knowledge. And it seems a pity, when there are perfectly good medieval terms for the things we want to talk about, to use our own inventions instead, thus replacing a part of the real Middle Ages with the invention of a twentieth century mind—usually bearing signs of its origin.

The purpose of this note is to discuss some of the errors.

Knighthood

In the SCA, all knights are in direct fealty to the crown—they are, in medieval terms, tenants in chief. In the real Middle Ages, a knight was no more likely to be a tenant in chief than any other noble. What he owed service for was not his knighting—which in any case, for most of our period, was usually done by someone other than the King—but his land.

In the SCA, the white belt is the token of knighthood; people who are not knights are strongly discouraged from wearing them. In the Middle Ages, a white belt (and white garments) were sometimes used in the knighting ceremony. But I have seen no evidence that knights continued to wear white belts thereafter, or that other people

didn't. If anyone does have such evidence, I would be interested in seeing it.

Rank and Jewels

In the SCA, we have a set of rules defining what kinds of coronets people of different ranks may wear—strawberry leaves for a duke, pearls for a baron, etc. In the real Middle Ages, particular crowns—or particular swords—occasionally had a symbolic value. But so far as I can tell, there was no general correspondence between type of coronet and rank. The one exception I have come across is the crown imperial—a crown with arches, which was supposed to be limited to emperors. The rules we use are apparently based on current British practice, originating in the late 17th century. Thus, for example, Fox-Davies writes: “when it is remembered that the coronet of a baron had no existence whatever until it was called into being by a warrant of Charles II after the Restoration, and that differentiated coronets for the several ranks in the Peerage are not greatly anterior in date, ...” Arthur Fox-Davies, *The Art of Heraldry an encyclopedia of armory*, pp. 279-280.

Many, although not all, SCA kingdoms also have sumptuary laws that define what rank you must be to wear a coronet that is not on the reserved list—most commonly, requiring an AoA for even a plain band of greater than some specified width. Sumptuary laws existed in period; they are summarized in great detail in Chapter 8 of Ronald Lightbown's monumental *Medieval European Jewellery* (published by the Victoria and Albert Museum). Typically, the period laws limited extravagance in general—silk clothes, jewels with pearls, and the like, as well as rich headgear. Often the restrictions apply to all ranks; sometimes they permit richer clothes and jewelry to those of higher rank.

The only example Lightbown mentions

which comes close to fitting the SCA pattern is a set of laws enacted in Messina in 1308 which provided that women “were not to wear chaplets with ornaments of pearls or enamels, though they might wear bands of stuff on their hats. This rule was not to apply to the wives of knights: they might wear garlands decorated ... provided their width did not exceed two fingers’ breadth, and provided they had no fleurons. ... which presumably were reserved for those of baronial or princely rank.” The laws make an exception for maidens, who are permitted to ornament themselves as they like “up to the day on which they are married, and for a whole year afterwards.” And the laws also imposed extensive restrictions on forms of expensive display other than headgear.

Jargon

The place where we collect admission for an event is usually called the trollbooth and the person doing it is often called the troll. This is, of course, not a medieval usage but a modern joke. One problem with finding a period term is that this is not a period job. When a noble invited his friends and neighbors over for a feast, he did not charge them for it. A period term for a related function is “porter”—doorguard. There are doubtless others that could be found.

Groups going to Pennsic or other large camping events often send one member ahead in advance to claim land for them; this person is sometimes referred to as the landlord. Arranging camping space in advance for travelers or troops on the march is a medieval problem. The person who did it was called a “harbinger.”

It is widely believed in the SCA that the period term for “course” was “remove.” It is not true. “Remove” is a post period term for a sort of course within a course—a dish that was removed before the rest of the course or brought in after. The period term for “course” in English is “course.”

Many people in the SCA use the term

“smalls” for children; it is sometimes hard to tell whether they believe it is a period term or merely think it is cute. One sees phrases in period such as “great and small they assembled”—but that does not mean that “smalls” is a synonym for “children” any more than “tall and short they assembled” would mean that “shorts” was a synonym for “short people.” In English, the period term for “child” is “child.” This particular error has spawned another—the belief that “smalls” (short for “smallclothes”) is the period term for underwear. It is a historical term, but after our period.

In the SCA, the person running an event is usually called the autocrat. It is a period term, but that is not what it meant. One alternative would be “seneschal”—the chief servant of a castle—but we are already using that for something else. “Autocrat” has spawned a host of entirely unmedieval terms, such as crashocrat and feastocrat. The person who is producing a feast is the head cook. You may want to find your own period terms for some of the others.

Technology as Magic

Another problem is the common practice of describing out of period things as magical. Tape recorders get referred to as magic boxes, for example, and cameras as soul stealers. Sometimes this is a deliberate effort to be funny by drawing attention to the mundanity; given how hard it is to ignore the twentieth century when you are living in it, I do not think it demonstrates any great wit to talk about tape recorders, cameras, or televisions at an event. But such references are also made by people honestly trying to fit the mundane object into the medieval context.

Their mistake is in confusing the Middle Ages with modern fantasy. Medieval and renaissance literature included references to magic—so does much modern literature. That does not mean that medieval people regarded magic as a normal part of their lives. My persona—or yours—would no

more expect to meet an enchanter, elf or fairy than you or I expect to meet James Bond or Captain Kirk or Elvis. Referring to mundane things in magical terms calls attention to them—our personas’ attention as well our own. If we must refer to such things (much of the time we can simply ignore them) it is better to treat them as casually as possible in a medieval context—to describe cars as wagons, not dragons or fire chariots.

If people must take photographs at events, it is not necessary to talk about stealing souls (“no, white chief, me not mind having soul stolen”). People in the Middle Ages did not have cameras but they did have pictures. There is nothing unmedieval about asking someone if he minds your making a quick sketch of him.

In all of these cases, the problem is not just that a word or idea is out of period but that it is obviously so. There are plenty of

terms that are out of period but that almost nobody knows are out of period—the period English term for a sword guard, for example, is “cross,” not “quillions.” It is better to use the correct term, but failing to do so is not likely to break the medieval mood for many people, since most hearers will not know it is wrong.

Quite a lot of us, on the other hand, know that the social occasion called “tea” is associated with Jane Austen not Jane Seymour, so a Queen’s Arts Tea makes us feel less medieval and more nineteenth century. Although very few of us could say exactly when “minister” acquired its modern meaning of a high officer of state, quite a lot of us realize that Elizabeth I did not have a minister of defense and Elizabeth II does—which is a reason why we shouldn’t call our art officers “ministers of arts.”

On one occasion Amr, still Governor of Egypt, came to Damascus to visit (the Caliph) Mu’awaya, who was now grown old and feeble. His freed slave Wardan was with him. The two old men fell into talk.

“Prince of the True Believers, said Amr, “what pleasures keep their savor for thee nowadays?”

“Women?” said the Caliph; “no—I do not need women any more. To go fine? My skin’s so used to stuffs the softest and richest, I cannot tell what’s of the best any more. And eating—I have eaten delicate dishes so many that I can no longer tell what I like. No, I think I have no pleasure keener now than drinking cool in summer, and seeing my children and my grandchildren go about me. And thou, Amr, what’s thy last remaining pleasure?”

“A bit of cultivable land,” said the conqueror of Egypt; “enough to yield me some fruit, and a little profit over and above.”

Then the Caliph turned to the freedman Wardan. “Thou, Wardan,” said he, “what would be thy last enjoyment?”

“A noble generous deed!” said he. “Some deed that would live in the memory of all remembering men, and earn for me in Eternity.”

“The audience is concluded!” cried Mu’awaya; “that’s enough for today! This slave here, Amr, is a better man than thou or I.”

(Muhammad’s People)

Two Hundred of Your Closest Friends

One of the most unmedieval things about SCA feasts is that we charge for them. A medieval feast hall was not a restaurant. The feasts on which our events are based were dinner parties held by a lord for his retainers and a few—or a few hundred or, in some cases, a few thousand—of his friends. To have charged them for their meal would have seemed wildly inappropriate to all concerned. Generosity was an important medieval virtue. And even if a feudal lord lacked that virtue, there was still a considerable difference between his social role and that of an innkeeper.

This point was brought to the attention of members of our Shire by our seneschal, Dain Greymouse, when we were discussing ways of making our next event feel more medieval. He suggested a simple solution to the problem and persuaded the rest of us to try it. The event was held as a tourney and feast with no site fee and no feast fee—a dinner party for two hundred of our closest friends. It was a successful event, so we did another free event the next year and intend to continue doing at least one a year.

One of the things that helps make our free events possible is that our group has several experienced feast cooks who can produce a feast that is both period and good at a cost of about \$2.50 per person. In addition, we are a University group with free access to one of the best sites in the kingdom (a medievalish student activities building designed, in the early part of this century, by a previous generation of anachronists). With no site rental and low feast costs, a small event (50 people) only costs us about \$125, and even an event for two hundred is only about \$500.

The first time we did it, we persuaded the Student Activities Board that a medieval feast was a worthy activity and deserved a subsidy. The next summer, we were asked to do a medieval feast for a mundane wedding; we made enough money from that to pay for another free event. Before we got around to

doing it, we put on a coronation. His Highness persuaded us to raise our proposed feast fee to something closer to what coronation feasts usually cost, with the result that we made quite a lot of money on the event. Between that and the income from occasional paid demos, we now feel confident that we can put on at least one free event a year.

A free event not only feels more medieval, it also makes it easier to make the event more medieval in other ways. We would like, if possible, to get our guests to leave their cameras at home, to avoid obviously mundane conversations in places where other people will hear them, and in various other ways to help make the event feel as though it is really taking place in the Middle Ages. While some regard such restrictions as an attractive feature of the event, others may see them as at least a mild imposition. It is easier to get people to go along if they feel you are doing something special for them—such as feasting them for free.

The relation between the authentic event and the free event works in the other direction as well. Our ideal free event would have about a hundred people. Not only does that keep the cost at a reasonable level, it also means that, with a limited number of us to run the event, we are not too stretched to do a good job. By making it clear that people who come are expected to be more careful than usual about keeping things period, we can keep the numbers down to a reasonable level—and at the same time, encourage those who want to attend the kind of event we want to put on, while discouraging those who do not. Another way of achieving the same result is to schedule our event against a popular event of the sort we do not like, in the hope that it will draw away precisely the people who would neither enjoy nor contribute to ours.

Of course, it is possible to overdo such an approach. Our second free event was

scheduled (deliberately) against a popular RenFair and (accidentally) against a border war that the King decided to promote, with the result that we ended up with only about forty people—and a very pleasant small event. Maybe next year we'll get it right.

One difficulty with a free event is that it is harder to estimate how many people are coming. We could require advance reservations, but to enforce that would require a troll booth and feast tokens—two of the things we are trying to avoid. Besides, with no feast fee, there would be no cost to sending in a reservation and then changing your mind, so we might get substantially more reservations than guests—just as, at Pennsic, people often rope off space in their encampment for everyone they think might show up. We ask people to tell us if they are coming, but we do not require reservations—everyone who shows up is fed. We try to estimate attendance in advance by requests

for crash space plus talking to local people. In addition, we try to make our feast plans sufficiently flexible so that we can scale the feast up or down at the last minute.

I do not think it is practical to make all SCA events free. Some are so large that they would bankrupt even a very wealthy group. Some groups have no sources of income adequate to pay the cost of even a fairly modest free event. But there are many groups that get a substantial income from participating in renaissance fairs, putting on paid demos, and the like, and many events—indeed, many of the most enjoyable events—are small enough so that such a group can afford to put them on for free. Doing so, at least occasionally, is a nice way of practicing the medieval (and modern) virtues of generosity and hospitality.

(This was probably written c. 1990; food prices are higher now than they were then.)

The only time when his court ever saw Hajjaj happy and genial was one day when Layla of Akhyal was brought before him, she of whom her cousin Tawba of Amir, now long dead, had once written:

*If Layla of Akhyal should come and bid me Peace,
Though the earth covered me over, and heavy flags of stone,
For joy I should bid her Peace again, or the owl of my ghost
Out of the grave should cry to her his mournful cry.*

“They tell me,” said Hajjaj, “that when thou wert passing near Tawba’s grave thou didst not even turn out of the way to visit it. Thou has been unfaithful to him: had he been in thy place, and thou in his, he would never have left thy grave behind him unvisited.”

“God save the Prince! I had excuse,” said Layla.

“What?”

“There were women with me,” she said, “who had heard that poem of his; I would not give them the chance to mock at him for not keeping his word.”

Hajjaj liked this answer, and ordered her a generous bounty. They talked long together; nor did any man ever see him so gay as he was that day.

(Mohammed’s People)

I Have Seen the Past—And It Works

The structure of the Society consists of a rather peculiar mixture of feudalism and central authority. We use feudal terms such as “Barony” and “Baron” but then try to combine them with a modern central administrative system in which the baron’s herald is appointed by the king’s herald, who in turn is appointed with the assent of the Corporation’s herald. Odder still, it is the medieval fiction and not the modern hierarchy that more accurately describe what is really happening in most kingdoms most of the time. Local officers may be warranted by their kingdom superiors, but most of them are actually chosen by their local group.

There is a reason why the Society is more feudal in substance than in form. The essential characteristic of a feudal order is that the key resource is controlled at a low level, with the result that higher level “rulers”—kings, princes, dukes—are coalition leaders rather than autocrats. This is as true of the Society at present as it was of France in the twelfth century. Their key resource was heavy cavalry. Ours is volunteer labor. The result is that, in practice, the most powerful people in the Society are barons or their equivalent—local leaders who can get things done. Our king wins his crown on the tourney field, but to actually accomplish anything he needs the support of the local leadership—just like a medieval king.

I have argued elsewhere that authenticity is often desirable for purely practical reasons—medieval people knew more about making armor than we do, so by imitating them we produce better armor. The same is true of political institutions. The constraints facing the Society (and, I suspect, many other volunteer organizations)

are analogous to those faced by medieval societies, so medieval political structures may work better for us than modern ones. If so, we may be better off encouraging the feudal tendencies of the Society rather than setting up a (functionally inappropriate) centralized system and then using it to pretend to be feudal. In addition, by accepting and building on the actual feudal structure of our organization, we make what we are doing feel, and be, more period and more real.

What follows is a detailed proposal for a medieval solution to one of our current problems—the gap, in large SCA kingdoms, between the King and the Baron. The basic idea is to make possible a new unit, called a county, consisting of several baronies, shires, or the like that want to work together. The Count would be chosen by the member groups, with the approval of the Crown. He would serve much the same functions—symbolic and charismatic leader, arbitrator, coordinator—that are served by the King in smaller kingdoms. He would be, in essence, a coalition leader, someone powerful lords one step down want to follow—which is, I think, what powerful nobles in period mostly were.

One further advantage to the proposal is that it would get us away from the modern idea of identifying geography with politics—of dividing the Middle Kingdom, for example, into regions defined by state boundaries. A County might contain two groups in Illinois, one in Minnesota, one in Indiana and one in Michigan—just as the holdings of William Marshall included part of Ireland, part of Normandy, a chunk of the Welsh Marches, and bits and pieces of land scattered around the Angevin domains.

Counties: A Proposal

1. A county shall be a collection of three or more independent groups (shire, barony, province, or equivalent) in the same kingdom, sharing a common feudal head. The groups need not be geographically contiguous.
2. A county is created by the Crown on the petition of the constituent groups.
 - a. A petition from a barony must be signed by the Baron. It shall be considered invalid if opposed by a majority of the members of the barony, as determined by the crown.
 - b. A petition from a province or shire must be signed by a majority of the members of the group.
 - c. Each petition must state the proposed name of the county and who the feudal head is to be; all petitions must agree in order to be counted together towards the establishment of a county.
3. In order to be formed, the proposed county must have a population equal to one fourth of the minimum population required for a kingdom; currently that is 100.
4.
 - a. Once a county has been formed, additional groups may petition to join it; member groups may petition to secede from the county. Petitions are as in part 2 above.
 - b. In case of disagreement between a Baron and a majority of the barony, as in 2a above, the *status quo ante* shall prevail while the crown attempts to resolve the conflict.
 - c. In order for a group to join the county, its petition must be approved by both the Crown and the Count.
 - d. The feudal head of a county may, after consulting with the barons of the county and requesting the advice of the populace, announce that he is unwilling to continue to accept the fealty of a particular baron, or of the members of a particular group. Such a group will then cease to be a part of the county.
5.
 - a. If a county drops below the minimum required population or number of groups due to loss of members or groups, it will have six months in which to meet the requirement, after which it may be dissolved by the Crown.
 - b. If a county is below the minimum required population due to an increase in the population requirement, it shall be given a reasonable length of time by the Crown to meet the new requirement.
6. If the feudal head of a county already holds the rank of count, he shall be known by that title. If he holds the rank of duke, he may use either that title or the title of count; in the former case, the county may be known as a duchy.
7. Landed Counts
 - a. The feudal head of a county who is neither a Count nor a Duke shall be known as a Viceroy, or by such other equivalent title as the Crown shall specify and the College of Heraldry approve.
 - b. After he has served as viceroy for two years, he shall receive the title of Count. Time during which the county is below its minimum required population, as in 5 above, shall not count towards the two year term.
 - c. Such counts shall be known as landed counts, to distinguish them from royal counts.
 - d. Landed counts shall retain the title of count even after giving up the office.
8. If the feudal head of a county is female, substitute Countess, Duchess, and Vicereine above as appropriate.
9. The feudal head of a county may be a couple.
10. Powers of the Count
 - a. In this section and the next, "Count" refers to the Count, Countess, Duke, Duchess, Viceroy, Vicereine or couple who is the feudal head of a county.
 - b. The Count shall have the power to devise and bestow such non-armigerous awards as he sees fit.
 - c. The Count shall have the power to devise and bestow armigerous awards only insofar as that power is specifically delegated to him by the crown. In particular, the Count may be authorized to give awards of arms to the citizens of the county on behalf of the crown.
 - d. The Count may receive the allegiance of the Barons of the county, and shall offer his allegiance to the crown.
 - e. The Count may hold courts within the confines of his county, or elsewhere by invitation of the Crown, local Count, or Baron.
 - f. The Count may, but is not required to, request one or more kingdom officers to appoint county officers. Such officers must be acceptable to both the Count and the kingdom officer.
 - g. If the office of Baron becomes vacant, the Count may offer his advice to the crown concerning a replacement, but the decision shall be made by the crown based upon the desires and welfare of the populace of the barony.
11. Term of the Count
 - a. The position of count, like that of baron, is a permanent one, save that a Count may resign or be dismissed by the crown for cause. A Count may also lose his office if his county fails to meet the requirements for population and number of groups, as in section 5 above.
 - b. If one member of a ruling couple resigns or is dismissed, the remaining member may, at the discretion of the crown, be permitted to rule alone. Alternatively, a replacement for the absent member may be appointed by the crown, as in c below.
 - c. If the office of count becomes vacant, the crown may appoint a successor after consulting with the people and baronage of the county and with the previous Count, if available. The decision should be based upon the desires and welfare of the populace and baronage.

A Letter

Summer 1982

The Board of Directors
Society for Creative Anachronism, Inc.

Dear Sirs:

In your June minutes you quoted from a letter by Catherine Rogers-Cook, in which she argued for stiffening membership requirements for participation in the SCA. The quote ended with the comment from the board that “events are moving in this direction.” I am writing to argue for precisely the opposite position; the direction in which, in this regard, “events are moving” is, I believe, one symptom of an undesirable trend in the Society.

In order to make my argument, let me first make a distinction which I think important between the Corporation and the Society. The former is a legal entity, chartered in the state of California; the latter is a set of people, a social network, linked by mutual acquaintance, a common interest in “recreational medievalism,” and joint participation in a “game.” A few members of the Corporation are not members of the Society (isolated subscribers); many, perhaps a majority, of the members of the Society are not members of the Corporation. The trend that I consider undesirable is the increasing tendency either to regard the Corporation and the Society as the same entity, or else to regard the Society as in some meaningful sense the property of the Corporation.

Thus Ms. Rogers-Cook writes, and you apparently agree, that “when a person takes an active part in his or her branch, the person owes it to all the other members to commit to the group at least to the extent of an associate membership.” As you and Ms. Rogers-Cook know, there are people in the Society, probably a fair number of them, whose annual expenditures on the Society, in time and money, come to well over a thousand dollars. What you are saying, in

effect, is that such people, if they do not choose to be members, are making less of a commitment (and presumably less of a contribution) than those who spend one percent as much—provided that that one percent is a payment to you for membership in the corporation. From the standpoint of the *Corporation* that is reasonable enough; those who have not paid their membership have not contributed to the corporation. If the board were elective it would be appropriate to deny them a vote. But they have still contributed to the *Society*, and it is only the confusion of the two that makes it possible for Ms. Rogers-Cook to write what she has written, and for you to agree.

You may reply that the Society and the Corporation are different, but the former is the creation of the latter, hence the Corporation is entitled, if it wishes, to demand that those who participate in the Society pay their dues to the Corporation. My answer is that this is simply not true. The Society is the creation of several thousand people over some fifteen years. The Corporation did not invent the personae, sew the clothes, write the poems, do the deeds, start the wars, or brew the mead. Certainly the Corporation played an important role; it provided the bulk of the publications and most of the formal structure. But it did not do anything approaching all of the building, and it is therefore not entitled to tell its co-creators that the joint product belongs to it and they must pay for the privilege of participating.

Of course, it is appropriate to tell people that if they do not pay for membership they are not entitled to what membership directly pays for—T.I. and the newsletters. It is equally appropriate for the College of Heralds to tell those submitting devices that if they do not pay the fee they will not get the services of the college. It is equally appropriate for Raymond’s Quiet Press to refuse to give its publications to those who do not pay for them. But to say

that if Raymond does not pay you he is not committed to the Society and should be restricted in his ability to participate in it makes little more sense than to say that if you do not buy his books you are not committed to the Society and should not be permitted to participate in it.

So far I have discussed the Corporation's claim to own the Society, which I think implicit in current trends, in terms of its justification or lack thereof. One half of ownership is the legitimacy of the claim; the other half is the power to enforce it. There is a sense in which the claim to own something, however well justified, is pointless if there is no way you can control what you say you own. It seems to me that the Corporation is very nearly in this position.

Ms. Rogers-Cook proposes that "membership be required to register as the head of a household, to hold any office whatsoever, to receive any award whatsoever, to attend or give counsel at any Peers' circle, any award advisory circle, or any ruler's council, and that no (one?) should be given the precedence, rank or status of any awards they have been given in the past or which they have won who is not a member."

This entire catalog of proscriptions seems to me an example of the confusion of form with substance; its implementation would simply push the two farther apart.

I will start with the final proposal. There exists a bard by the name of Baldwin; you probably know him. I presume he is a Laurel. If he fails to pay his membership and is forbidden "the precedence, rank, or status" of a Laurel he will not be one bit less a bard, nor will he be to any degree less entitled to the respect he now receives. Nor will he fail to get it. I am, as it happens, entitled to wear the tokens of a knight. The only respect I wish to get is from those who know enough about me to believe that I also deserve to wear them. That is why, at a large event such as Pennsic, I mostly do not wear a white belt; I do not want the regard of

those who recognize only the belt and not the man.

Going farther up the list of proscriptions, it is suggested that non-members be forbidden to give advice publicly. Since neither you nor Ms. Rogers-Cook can control to whom rulers talk, and since rulers will in any case take the advice of those whose council they value and ignore the rest, this proposal, if it were implemented and if it had any effect, would move peers' circles, Curiae, and the like, a little more towards being empty ceremonies and a little farther from serving their intended purpose.

Next up comes the proposal that non-members be forbidden from holding office. Here you have at least some case, since officers, or at least some officers, are representatives of the Corporation. The content of the proposal, however, is that the corporation, an organization that depends for its functioning mostly on volunteer labor, should refuse to accept donations of labor unless they are accompanied by donations of cash. While you may be entitled to do so, it seems a peculiar policy. And here again, you risk separating form from substance. You cannot prevent a non-member from holding unofficial fighting practices. If he is a good fighter and trainer, you cannot prevent him from being regarded by the other fighters in the group as their leader. All you can do is make sure that the person officially in charge of fighting in the lists at official events is someone else, lacking that regard.

I come now to the first, and to my mind least defensible, of the proposals, that non-members be forbidden "to register as the head of a household." *Being* the head of a household has nothing to do with the Corporation or even the kingdom; it is a fact about the relationship between one person and some others. The Kingdom, or the Corporation, can if it wish refuse to admit that someone is the head of a household; it can also refuse to admit that the earth is round, with about as much effect.

In finishing this part of the argument, I

will briefly assume that you decide, as you so far have not, to go all the way in trying to force participants in the Society to be members of the Corporation, by forbidding non-members to attend events. Assuming that the kingdoms do not simply ignore the order, the first effect would be to encourage unofficial events. You could forbid the newsletters from publishing such events—thus greatly increasing the circulation of the unofficial newsletters. You could not, as a matter of both mundane law and practical enforceability, prevent me from transporting “Cariadoc,” the persona I have created, from the context of an official event of the SCA to the context of unofficial events to, eventually, some alternative framework such as one of the parallel organizations already existing, or some new organization of a similar sort. You could not prevent me and others, if we wished to do so, from basing our ranks, customs, rules of fighting, and the like on those that have developed in the Society. You could impose on us the cost and inconvenience of redoing some of the organizational work that has been done over the past fifteen years; that is all.

I have argued that the Corporation neither can nor should own the Society. You may reply that I have misinterpreted your attitude, that all you really want to do is to assure that officials are well informed by requiring them to subscribe to the newsletters, or that your objective is simply the practical one of raising enough money in membership fees to pay for the Corporation’s essential expenses.

With regard to the first argument, it is certainly desirable that officers be well informed. Being a member is some evidence of that, although not much; one can subscribe and not read the newsletter, and one can fail to subscribe and read someone else’s copy. It is also desirable that officers be hardworking, responsible, well informed, likable, competent, and many other things. Whoever is responsible for choosing the officer must balance these desiderata in deciding who among the limited number of

people who want the job can best do it. I see little point in choosing the one characteristic of being a member, which is in any case only mild evidence of what you really want, and elevating it into an absolute requirement; by doing so you in effect say that you would rather a shire choose a knight Marshall who does not know how to fight but is a member than one who does but is not.

The final argument that may be made for current trends is that the Corporation requires income to do its essential duties, and requiring people who benefit from those duties to be members is the obvious way of getting it. My first reply is that how much the Corporation needs is not something handed down from the heavens; it is the result of choices made by the Corporation. An immediate example is the case of the new groups in Australia and New Zealand. You have, as I understand matters, chosen to handle the groups through the Steward’s office rather than letting one of the Kingdoms deal with them as has usually been done with new groups. This may be a good or a bad idea, but it was certainly a choice which could have been made the other way. Its consequence was to transfer the work from the Kingdoms, which run on volunteer labor, to the Steward’s office. Having chosen to do so, you can hardly claim that the fact the Steward is doing so much as to require a salary is an unavoidable necessity of running the Corporation.

You can, of course, argue that everyone in the Society benefits from the good work of the Steward’s office, and everyone should have to pay for it. But many of the “beneficiaries” will disagree, and if pushed hard enough will express their disagreement by doing without whatever services you insist require membership to receive. It seems to me a much wiser policy to require payment for those services (T.I. and the newsletters) that can be clearly separated out from the general activities of the Society, and which in any case absorb the bulk of the Corporation’s income. This is, if anything,

more practical now than in the past, since T.I. has improved to where it is, by itself, well worth the cost of membership.

Your Servant in the Service of the Society

David Friedman

(Cariadoc of the Bow)

[A later comment, c. 1996]

This letter was written some fourteen years ago; aside from minor stylistic editing, it is as originally sent. The issue is still with us, currently in the form of a surcharge to non-members who attend events. The argument is that those who are not willing to contribute to the Society, or to bear their part of the load, should be charged more.

It is easy enough to recognize those who contribute to an event. Look in the kitchen after the feast has been served—they are the ones washing dishes. When everyone else has gone, they are pushing brooms. Before everyone else has arrived, they are posting signs or peeling onions. They bear the load—not the people who pay twenty dollars a year for membership and treat

every event as an amusing spectacle produced for their entertainment. Membership fees pay the printing and mailing cost of Tournaments Illuminated, part of the cost for the kingdom newsletters, and the expense of centralized administration—some of which is worth doing. They do not sing songs, write poems, hire halls, cook feasts or clean up afterwards. People do those things—the people who make the Society whether or not they are members of the Corporation.

A group with ten paid members and fifty people willing to work lives. A group with fifty paid members and nobody willing to work dies. Telling people at their first feast that they are perfectly welcome—at a higher price than everyone else—is not a good way of attracting new members.

When I first joined the Society, the rules included a long list of different classes of members. At the bottom of the list, somewhere around class G, was anyone who showed up at an event in garb. That may no longer describe a member of the SCA Incorporated, but it is a good minimum requirement for a member of the Society.

In the city of al-Basra there is a mosque of 'Ali ibn Abu Talib (May God be pleased with him), and it is said to be a miracle of that mosque that if a man climbs into a certain minaret and calls out upon the name of 'Ali, the minaret trembles. The traveler ibn Battuta came to that mosque and, being informed of the miracle of the trembling minaret, desired to see it. A man of al-Basra accompanied him into the minaret, and there he saw a wooden handle, like the handle of a trowel, attached in one angle of the minaret's wall. The man seized the handle and cried out:

“By right of the head of the Commander of the Faithful 'Ali (God be pleased with him), shake,” and shook the handgrip and the whole minaret trembled.

And so Ibn Battuta placed his hand upon the grip, and he cried out:

“By right of the head of Abu Bakr, the successor of the Apostle of God (God give him blessing and peace), shake,” and he shook the handle, and again the minaret trembled.

In his *Rehla*, where I found this tale, Ibn Battuta remarks that what he did was safe enough at Basra, where the people were Sunni, but that at Mashhad 'Ali or Mashhad al-Husain it might have cost him his life.

Decentralization, Democracy, and all That

In January of 1994, the Board of Directors of the SCA, with no advance notice or public discussion, announced that it had decided to increase dues by about 40% and close SCA events to non-members—the latter a policy that had been proposed for comment in the past and abandoned in the face of an overwhelmingly negative response. The reaction by members unhappy with this decision (of whom I was one) included an unsuccessful attempt to impeach board members deemed responsible, a successful legal action to force the Board to open the corporation's books of account to members (as required in the corporation's bylaws), and a public announcement, by royalty representing eleven of the thirteen kingdoms, that if any kingdom chose to secede from the SCA Inc., the others would continue to deal with it.

A number of the Board members associated with the decision eventually resigned, the policy of required membership was reversed, and the ultimate result may yet be significant changes in the structure of the Society. Readers interested in the controversy and my views of it will find extensive material on the SCA pages of my web site, currently located at www.daviddfriedman.com/~ddfr/Medieval/Medieval.html (in case I ever move my web site, try searching on "David D. Friedman" or "Recreational Medievalism"). I include here two documents that date from that controversy but deal with issues that are, I believe, of continuing relevance to the SCA Incorporated and the wider Society of which it is a part.

Thu, Jan 27, 1994

The Board of Directors
Society for Creative Anachronism

Dear Sirs:

I am writing in response to your actions of Saturday, January 22nd, in particular the

decision to require membership of all who attend SCA events. I believe that this decision was a serious mistake, both on its own merits and in the context of the clearly expressed preferences of the membership as shown in recent polls. For my reasons for considering the policy undesirable on its own merits, I refer you to the letter on that subject that I sent you in the Summer of 1982. I will be happy to provide copies to any who desire them, since I understand that there has been some turnover in the Board's membership in the interim.

The purpose of this letter, however, is not to argue that particular issue but rather to discuss what I believe to be the reasons for the problem that led to your recent action, and how that problem might be better dealt with. There are two reasons why you might find my views on the subject of interest. The first is that I have been involved with the Society through most of its history, including having reigned, twice each, over what are now the two largest kingdoms. The second is that I am a professional economist, having taught at (among other places) UCLA, Tulane, Chicago and Cornell—and some, although not all, of the issues I will be discussing are within my areas of professional competence.

It is my understanding, based in part on a recent public letter from the chairman, that the board's action was a response to severe budgetary problems. These problems come chiefly, I believe, from two sources—administrative expenses and legal expenses, the latter including the cost of liability insurance.

This raises an obvious question—what has changed to create such problems? Society dues, in recent years and over the history of the Society, have risen more rapidly than general prices, so why is it that dues which were reasonably adequate a few years ago are now inadequate?

The usual answer is that the problem is the increasing size of the Society. It is not

immediately obvious why this should be the case. Additional members bring additional expenses, but also additional dues and potential volunteers. If, fifteen or twenty years ago, we were able to provide for a membership a tenth its present size entirely with volunteer labor, why can we not provide for the present membership with ten times the amount of volunteer labor?

The answer, I think, has to do with the nature of volunteer labor. Volunteers are paid, not with money but with status, gratitude, a feeling of accomplishment, and similar intangibles. These resources, like monetary resources, increase with the size of the Society—but they are much harder to transfer and concentrate. The result is a severe problem for an organization that maintains its centralized structure while greatly increasing its size.

With a membership of two thousand people, we can find (say) ten people living near the Society headquarters, each willing to contribute several hundred hours a year to helping run the Society. When we increase to twenty thousand without changing our structure, we need either ten people willing to each contribute several thousand hours or a hundred willing to each contribute several hundred—still all living in a fairly restricted area. We can find neither.

The lack of volunteer labor is not the only problem that arises as a result of increasing the scale of organization. Social sanctions are sufficient to keep most people honest against the temptation to steal tens, perhaps even hundreds, of dollars. They may be insufficient against the temptation to steal thousands or tens of thousands. So as the sums involved increase, there is pressure to shift to professional employees, legally binding contracts, bonding agencies, and similar formal (and expensive) mechanisms of control.

One way of trying to deal with this problem, and the one you seem to have chosen, is by raising the per member cost, trying to force more participants to be members, and maintaining the present

structure of the Corporation. I think there is a better solution.

To start with, note that the shortage of volunteer labor exists almost exclusively at the national level. The kingdoms and the local groups routinely use quantities of volunteer labor, to fill offices and run events, vastly larger than the quantities of paid labor the Corporation finds it necessary to employ. The reason for this disparity is that the resources used to pay volunteer labor are much more readily available at lower levels of the organization. Very few of us know the people who handle the Corporation's membership list, or have an opportunity to thank them. Most of us know who cooked the feast we just ate or taught the class we just attended, and many of us not only have but use the opportunity to thank them.

So the obvious solution to this part of the Corporation's problem is to decentralize its operations, at least to the Kingdom level. One way of doing this would be to maintain the present organizational structure but turn over most of the operating responsibilities to the kingdoms. That would probably include having each kingdom collect dues from its own membership and maintain its own membership list.

A better way, in my opinion, would be to decentralize organizationally rather than administratively. Convert the kingdoms into independent corporations and let the present Corporation convert itself into an organization providing services to the kingdoms. The Society would thus follow the model of many other volunteer groups, including (I believe) most of the other living history groups, in which most of the formal corporate organization is at the equivalent of the kingdom or barony level rather than at the national or international level.

Under this model, the Corporation would continue to produce Tournaments Illuminated. Kingdoms could, and most probably would, include in their membership charge the cost of T.I., which they would purchase from the Corporation

for their membership. The Corporation could, and probably would, produce model sets of rules for fighting and other activities, which the kingdoms would be free to adopt if they wished. The Corporation could offer to purchase insurance on behalf of the kingdoms—and the kingdoms could accept or reject the offer, according to whether or not they found that the Corporation could get better rates than they could get for themselves. The Corporation could support itself both by selling services, to kingdoms and individuals, and by requesting subsidies from the kingdoms.

So far I have discussed decentralization as a solution to the problem of inadequate amounts of volunteer labor. It also helps to reduce the problem of legal costs. The more resources the Corporation controls, the more attractive it is as a target for lawsuits.

Suppose a fighter in Florida is injured and he (or his insurance company) is considering suing. Under present circumstances he can hope, if he wins, to receive compensation from the resources of an organization with tens of thousands of members and hundred of thousands of dollars of income. Under my proposal, his direct case would be only against the (incorporated) Kingdom of Trimarís—which has much shallower pockets and is thus a much less attractive target. He might have some case, although a far weaker one than at present, against the SCA Inc.—which would also be a much less attractive target than it now is. He would have no case against the rest of the kingdoms, and thus no hope of getting at the bulk of the resources now controlled by the Corporation.

It follows from this argument that legal costs, both the direct costs of litigation and

the indirect cost of insurance against such litigation, ought to be substantially lower for a Society decentralized into a dozen or more separate corporations. This is one advantage of organizational decentralization over the sort of administrative decentralization that I described earlier.

Similar arguments apply to the problem of controlling malfeasance by individuals who handle money on behalf of the Society. Embezzlement is not much of a problem for local groups, although it doubtless occurs occasionally, because the sums available to be embezzled are not very large. It is hardly worth offending all of one's friends in order to steal enough money to run away to Atlantic City for a weekend. By moving most of the flow of money down to the Kingdom, or even the Baronial, level we would restore the situation as it existed when the Society was much smaller—to small to be an attractive target for embezzlers. To put the same argument in a somewhat different form, consider how much more attractive a target we would be at present if the admission fees paid for local events all flowed through the hands of the Corporate treasurer.

Hoping that you will find these suggestions useful, I remain

Sincerely Yours

David Friedman

Visiting Professor, Cornell Law School
Known in the Society as Cariadoc of the Bow, Knight, Master of the Laurel, Master of the Pelican, and Duke.

The Romans say that if you have a Frank for a friend, it is certain that he is not your neighbor.

(From a ninth century Life of Charlemagne.)

How Another Hobby is Organized

Every August, Elizabeth and I load our minivan and head for Pennsic. Every February, Elizabeth's parents load their minivan and head for Tucson. Our hobby is the SCA; theirs is mineral collecting. The Tucson Gem and Mineral show is several times the size of Pennsic. My wife's parents are as active in their hobby as we are in ours—more active these days, since their children are grown and ours are not. My mother-in-law is currently the first vice president of the Midwestern Federation of Mineral Societies. We had formed the impression, from past conversations, that the formal structure of their hobby was considerably less centralized than ours, so on a recent visit we asked some detailed questions.

The Gem and Mineral Hobby

The national organization of gem and mineral collectors, their nearest equivalent to the SCA Inc., is the American Federation of Mineral Societies (AFMS). It has seven members—the seven regional federations. The members of the regional federations are local gem and mineral clubs, plus some unaffiliated individuals, typically from areas without a local club. The individual clubs are unincorporated, or in some cases incorporated, associations.

The only control that the national federation exercises over the regionals, or the regional federations over the individual clubs, is the decision to accept them as members. A club that wishes to be a member of one of the regional federations must submit its bylaws for approval, but my mother-in-law had never heard of an application being turned down. A club must also agree to a statement of principles covering things such as collectors leaving sites at least as clean as they find them and reporting important finds to the appropriate scientific authorities. Subject to approval of

bylaws, the internal structure of the club is entirely its own business. There are no mandatory reports up a bureaucratic hierarchy, no requirement that the regional approve the officers of the local club or the national approve the officers of the regional.

Individual clubs have no territorial monopoly; I am free to form a club in the same city in which one already exists. Regional Federations do have a defined territory. They cannot solicit clubs outside their territory, but can accept clubs from outside their territory that ask to join. A club can, and a few do, belong to more than one regional federation.

How Directors and Officers are Chosen

The Board of Directors of the national federation consists of the president and first vice president of each regional federation plus one national officer elected (by the previous year's board) from each of the seven regions.

The rules of the regionals vary; my information is on the Midwest Regional Federation. Midwest has an annual convention at which each club gets one delegate. Regional officers are nominated by a nominating committee of 7, consisting of two committee members elected each of the past three years (for a three year term), plus the current president. They nominate 4 candidates for their committee, of whom 2 will be elected to replace the 2 whose terms are expiring. They nominate one candidate for each of the 5 offices. Candidates can also be nominated from the floor, by a petition signed by at least 100 adult members (which is currently less than 1% of the membership), coming from at least 10% of the clubs. This has happened, but rarely—in my mother-in-law's view, when the committee nominated the wrong person.

This structure shows one possible way of combining stability with democracy. As

long as everything goes smoothly, the system is self-perpetuating. But if the people running either the regional or national level do things that the membership strongly disapproves of, the membership has the power to replace all of the regional officers within a year (assuming the other regionals have systems similar to the Midwestern) and all of the national directors within two years.

How Well Does it Work?

Gem and Mineral Collecting is a somewhat bigger hobby than ours; my in-laws estimated about 50,000 members nationally and about 13,000 in the Midwest, which is the second largest of the regional federations. One similarity between the two hobbies is that in both there has been a recent, drastic increase in dues at the national level. In our case it was a jump from \$25/year to \$35/year for a subscribing membership, along with changes in the other classes. In their case it was a jump from twenty-five cents to fifty cents per club member in the fee that the National Federation charges the regional federations. The fees charged by regional federations vary; the Midwestern Regional charges its clubs a fee of \$1 per member per year, out of which it pays (or will pay when the new rates are implemented) fifty cents to the National Federation.

One reason their cost is so low is that the National has only two employees, both part time. With only seven members the National Federation does not need to do a lot of complicated record keeping. Similarly, since the Regional has mainly clubs as members, it also does not have to do a lot of record keeping. Money earned or spent by a club is the concern of that club, not the regional or national federation. In the SCA, in contrast, every dollar of feast revenue collected by a local group is, in theory at least, income of the SCA Inc., to be kept track of at the corporate level and reported in the corporation's tax return.

A second reason is that they provide

substantially less in the way of publications to their members. Both the national and regional newsletters go to clubs—two or three copies to each club (to the president, vice president, and newsletter editor if there is a club newsletter). Individuals can also subscribe separately. The national newsletter provides about as many square inches per year as we get, although the physical quality is more like a newspaper and less like a magazine. The Midwest Federation newsletter provides somewhat fewer square inches per year than the Pale.

A third reason their cost is low is that insurance is not included in the basic membership. It is available to clubs that want it for an additional charge (in the Midwest) of \$1.60/member/year. Coverage is \$1,000,000 per incident/\$2,000,000 per occasion. It covers all members at a club event against liability. Some sites require an additional insurance certificate naming the site as coinsured; my in-laws thought that had cost either \$60 or \$100 for a gem and mineral show they were involved with, which had about 2000 attendees, about 70 club members working the show, and about 50 dealers.

History of their Hobby

One argument raised in discussions of decentralizing the SCA is the possibility of internal conflict, splits, etc. I asked my in-laws about whether the Gem and Mineral hobby had had such problems. Their answer was that, so far as they knew, there had been one serious split in the history of the National Association. The facts, as they remembered them, are as follows:

The Eastern Federation used to cover the entire East Coast, from Mississippi to Maine. Quite a long time ago, some of the southern members decided that they wanted to split off. Under the national rules, a new regional federation is recognized by the AFMS only if it has the consent of the regional federation it had been a part of. Instead, the Southerners seceded.

For a while, the resulting Southeastern Federation was not a member of the National. Some clubs in the region were members of the Southeastern Federation, some of the Eastern, and there were bad feelings between the two groups. After about ten years, the Eastern Federation agreed to accept the split and the Southeastern Federation became part of the AFMS.

Comparison

The two striking differences between what I have described and the SCA Inc. are that they are much more decentralized and much less expensive. Including the cost of insurance, membership in the Midwest Federation comes to \$2.60/year. The comparable figures for the SCA are \$20/year without any publications or \$35 with publications. Our publications are somewhat better than theirs, and they go to all subscribing members—but they only absorb about a third of our budget. Their system for handling publications provides a way of guaranteeing that the club has information about regional and national activities, without requiring officers to subscribe individually.

Their insurance limits are, I believe, the same as ours. Their insurance covers all club members; the SCA's liability insurance, as of 1994, covered the corporation but not the members. Their hobby is probably at least as risky as ours—mineral collectors sometimes do their collecting in dangerous places such

as abandoned quarries and old mine shafts, their shows have a lot of outsiders going through them, and their merchants have expensive goods available to be stolen or damaged.

Decentralization does not prevent cooperation. Gem and Mineral shows are sometimes run by groups of clubs and are generally open to competitors from lots of other clubs and exhibitors both from other clubs and from outside the federation. My general impression is that the level of consistency across the member clubs of the AFMS is not radically different from that across the groups of the SCA.

Nor does decentralization seem to lead to more internal conflict than centralization. Over a history significantly longer than ours, they have had one internal conflict on the scale of a kingdom breaking up with the breakaway region effectively seceding, and it was eventually resolved. We have had at least two smaller conflicts of that sort (leading to the Far Isles group in England and MSR in New York), both so far unresolved, and our present difficulties might easily lead to one or more kingdoms seceding.

David/Cariadoc

The article above was originally posted to the Rialto (rec.org.sca, the SCA newsgroup on the internet) in 1994; I have edited it slightly for publication.

“Short and straight is the road to a friend, though he lives far away.”

(Havamal)

Some learned men were sitting talking of the fabulous generosity of famous men of old, and especially of that of the Barmecides. Sa'id, the Vizier of Mu'tamid, remarked that he believed all such tales were fictions invented by sycophants in the hope of gain. Abu'l-Aina asked why, in that case, no similar tales were invented about His Excellency the Vizier, from whom something was to be hoped and feared, whereas the Barmecides were dead and could do neither good nor harm to anyone.

(Condensed from al-Tanukhi, 10th century)

Another Sort of Letter

30 July, 1973

Tournaments Illuminated

Dear Sirs:

Much as it pains me to disagree with an authority so learned as Master Bersark, I fear I must take issue with his criticism of the cover illustration of T.I. #25. Master Bersark's essential error (which, I must confess, I too made on first examining the cover in question) was to interpret it as illustrating a combat between two men with great swords. More careful examination, however, will show beyond any doubt that only *one* of the weapons in question is in fact a great sword. The other weapon is equipped with a pair of spikes about half way up the blade; while these bear a superficial resemblance to the secondary quillons sometimes found on great swords, their position, midway between the true quillons and the point, demonstrates conclusively that the weapon is not a great sword at all. It is, rather, a grattle swax, a (deservedly) obscure weapon combining the faults of both great sword and battle axe, while possessing the virtues of neither.

Once we have correctly identified the weapons in the illustration, it becomes clear that what is here represented is the well known exercise of great sword and grattle swax. This rather peculiar form of combat, popular among the more timorous knights of medieval Germany, involved the two parties crossing their swords and leaning upon them, each supported by the other. The warrior who first collapsed, or fell asleep, was deemed defeated. The function of the false secondary quillons of the grattle swax was, of course, to prevent the blade of the great sword from sliding along that of the grattle swax. It might be argued that two grattle swaxes would work even better, but this would require the combatants to actually possess two of them, which was unlikely. I should perhaps add that, in the opinion of some scholars, the exercise of great sword and grattle swax provides the true origin of the term "tilting."

Yours in behalf of scholarly endeavor

Duke Cariadoc of the Bow, O.L., KSCA, etc

(Tournaments Illuminated #29)

Riddles

Why are the hills of Lebanon bare?

Because every Frank in Christendom has a splinter of the True Cross.

Why does the King of the East wear a crown?

To discourage falcons in nesting season.

(Written during Finvairr's reign)

Who would want to be King when he could be Baron of Carolingia?

Other Articles: Making Stuff

A 9th-Century Pup Tent

Last summer we decided that our children had gotten too big to share one child's bed and our Pennsic tent too small to hold three beds plus anything else. The first step was to build Bill (four) his own bed. The second was to make a new tent for him and his sister Becca (seven).

We wanted a tent that would be period, would be less work to make and set up than our pavilion, and would have less timber to transport than the common Viking tents. A search of our library turned up a picture from an illustrated German psalter, c. 832, with "an host encamped against" the psalmist—a reasonably realistic and detailed line drawing showing a row of pup tents, seen from the side.

Note that:

- (1) there is a horizontal ridgepole supporting the top of the tent, visibly sticking out at both ends. We assume it is supported by two vertical poles.
- (2) The tent wall is trapezoidal, longer at the ground than at the top, so that the end stakes reach out ahead of the ends of the ridgepole.



(3) No guy ropes are visible, although the picture is sufficiently detailed that you can count the stakes (7 on a side).

(4) There are triangular doors at the ends (at least the front end) of the tent that can be thrown back outside the tent when open.

We wondered if the lack of guy ropes to give front-back stability was real or merely artistic license, but decided to make it as drawn and add the ropes if we needed them. In fact, the tent stood through two thunderstorms without any serious problems; the shape of the walls, with cloth stretching forward and back to stakes from the vertical poles, gives stability enough. After Pennsic, we came across a webbed description of an Anglo-Saxon tent called a geteld; it was the same tent. Apparently the design was used over a substantial area.

Size: we needed it big enough to take two small children's beds, one of them a four-poster, plus a little extra space. The tent as we made it is 8' high at the ridgepole, with a rectangular footprint 12' long and 7' wide.



Our Tent
(Photograph by Stephen Bloch)

Materials

- 12 yards of 60" cotton canvas for the walls and another 6 yards for the doors
- 2 8' lengths of 3"x3/4" oak for the vertical poles. (If you don't have a source for long oak planks, ordinary 2x4's would work fine.)
- 1 8' length of 1 1/2"x3/4" ash for the ridgepole (A 2x4 would work for that too.)
- 14 wooden stakes, 8" long

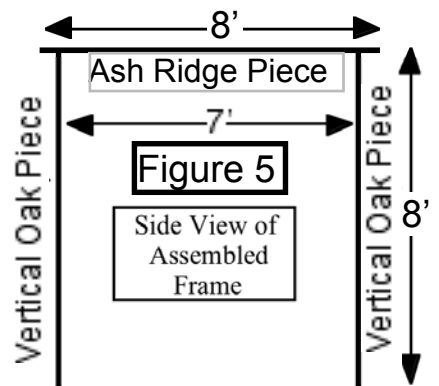
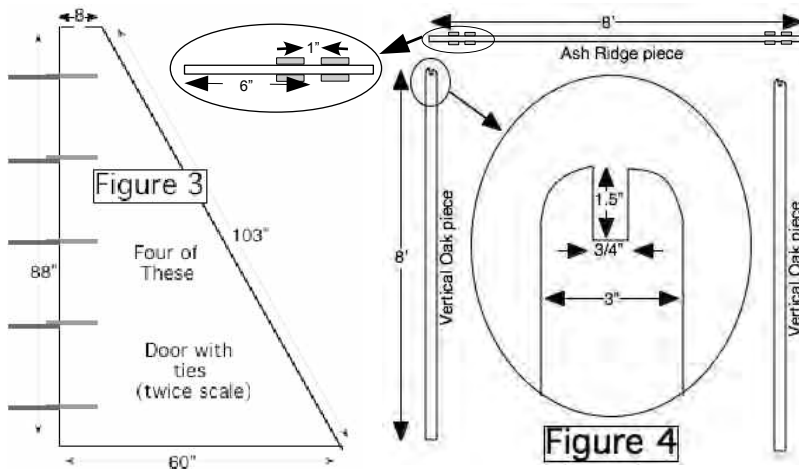
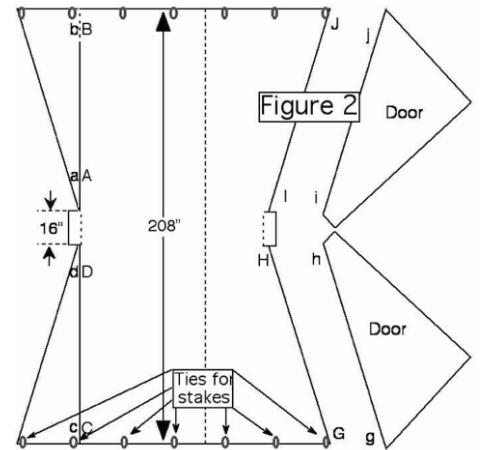
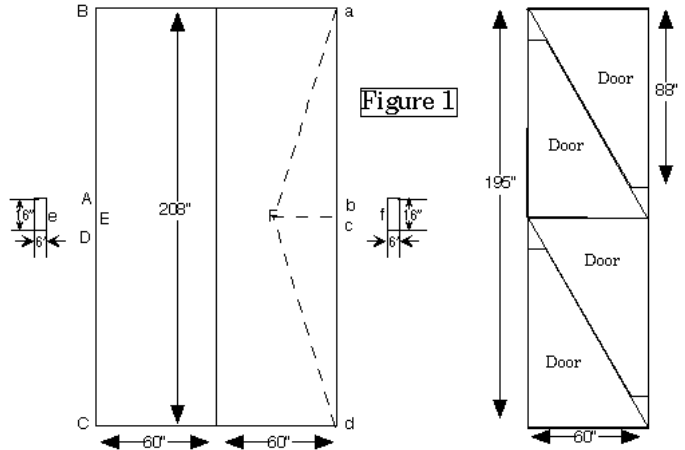
Construction

Figure 1 shows how the cloth is laid out and cut for the tent and doors; the two 6"x16" rectangles that go over the end of the ridgepole can be cut from any convenient scrap pieces. Figure 2 shows how the pieces go together; I have left out the second set of doors to simplify the drawing. Point A joins to point a, B to b, etc.

Figure 3 shows details of the door ties; Figure 4 shows the frame pieces and Figure 5 the assembled frame. Note that there are wooden blocks glued to the sides of the ridge piece at each end, as shown on Figure 4. They are there to keep the verticals from sliding along the ridge piece, especially when you are in the process of setting up the tent. You may want to peg them on to make them more secure.

Reference

Swarzenski, Hanns, *Monuments of Romanesque Art: The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe*, 2nd ed., University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1967. The picture in question is Plate 4, Fig. 6.



Many years ago, Elizabeth and I tried to figure out, mostly from pictures, how medieval pavilions were constructed. We built three pavilions based on our design, starting with a six foot tall scale model intended for a child, then one we thought was big enough for us (and used for several Pennsics), and finally one that was big enough for us. We used it for quite a while, but were never entirely satisfied with the design.

About a year ago I made a new pavilion based on a design by Dafydd ap Gwystl, who had done a much more careful job than we did of trying to figure out how period pavilions were

constructed. I like it so much that I replaced my article describing how to make our design with Dafydd's article describing how to make his. A longer version of his article, complete with pictures, evidence that many period pavilions were of about this design, a mathematical appendix describing how to calculate the dimensions for constructing a pavilion of arbitrary size, and much else, is webbed at:
www.adelphi.edu/~sbloch/sca/tents/kuijt.article

Cariadoc

Making a Medieval Single-Pole Pavilion

By David Kuijt, ska Dafydd ap Gwystl

I will describe dimensions for three separate designs: a small tent suitable for a dayshade, changing tent, or one or two people; a larger multipurpose pavilion; and a large pavilion suitable for use as a great hall at events, sleeping a whole household, and so on. All of the dimensions I describe are calculated based upon finding 60" wide canvas. The bottom edges of the wall trapezoids, on all three designs, are exactly 60" across. If your canvas has different dimensions you may need to redesign. For example, if you have 96" wide canvas, it is possible to construct an 8-spoke pavilion with 6' spokes.

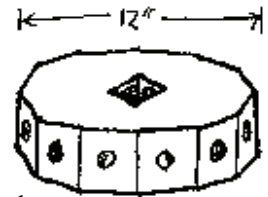
The small tent uses 8 spokes 4' long. It is 11' tall, 13' diameter on the ground (134 square feet area), and requires 32 yards of canvas to construct. The cost of this tent in materials is less than \$200, depending upon the price of canvas in your area.

The pavilion has 12 spokes 6' long. It is 13' tall, nearly 20' diameter on the ground (293 square feet area), and requires 54 yards of canvas to construct. This tent will cost around \$300 in materials by my estimate.

The large pavilion has 16 spokes 10' long. It is 17' tall, more than 25' diameter on the ground (516 square feet area), and requires 88 yards of canvas to construct. This large pavilion will cost less than \$500 in materials, depending upon the price of canvas.

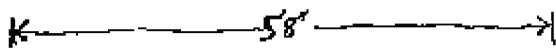
HUB:

The easiest way to make the hub is to laminate four pieces of $\frac{3}{4}$ " plywood to make a slab 3" thick. Use good wood glue, and be sure to use high-quality plywood. The more laminations (layers) in the plywood the better. Once the glue has dried, cut it to shape (8 sided, 12 sided, or 16 sided depending upon the size of pavilion) and drill one hole in each side using a 1.5" spade bit. You only need to go about 2" deep on each hole.



After the spoke holes are drilled, you need to make a hole through the center of the hub large enough to admit the center pole. The size and shape of this hole depend upon the dimensions of the center pole.

The dimensions of the hub are not crucial to the design of the pavilion. The important thing is that the hub is broad enough for the holes holding the ends of the spokes (8, 12, or 16 spokes in the three designs of pavilion I describe). In my pavilion the hub is 6" radius, and the holes for the twelve spokes are 2" deep. This means that the spokes should be 4" shorter than 6' (in other words, 5'8") so the distance from the center pole to the end of the spokes is exactly 6'.



SPOKES:

Go to your lumberyard and buy one 2x4 for every two spokes needed. Pick dry 2x4s with no warp or knots. Rip the 2x4 into two 2x2s on a table saw. You can use them with square cross-section or make them more attractive by beveling the edges with a hand plane, joiner, router, or a tablesaw blade set at 45 degrees. Round one end down with a rasp or file so it has no sharp corners to abrade the tent. File the other end down to a 1.5" diameter cylinder, so it fits in the holes of the hub. The fit does not need to be precise. The twelve spokes on my pavilion cost less than \$10 total.

CENTER POLE:

The only important characteristics of the center pole are that it is strong enough, the right length, and that it fits in the hole in the hub.

The center poles in manuscript illustrations and paintings vary from moderately slim to enormously huge. If you have a car with a roof rack that can take a long pole, you might want to have a pole without any joint. If not, the following joint system is easy and reliable.

My center pole started out as a 7' piece of 8/4 Oak, about 6" wide. I got my fancy woodworking store (where I found the wood) to plane it and cut it into two 7' long poles, 2" square, and some waste. The total cost to me was \$25 or \$30.

I then bought a 16" section of 2" square metal pipe from a metalworking store. I cut two ends of the 7' poles at a 60 degree (steep) angle, then fitted one end tightly into



the metal sleeve and the other one slightly more loosely.

Finally, I beveled the top section,

rounded the top and drilled a hole into it, into which I glued a large metal spike. The result is a center pole that comes apart readily, and is quite sturdy.

FLOOR:

The slowest thing about putting this pavilion up is figuring out where the walls should be properly staked. Having a floor sized and shaped to match the base of the pavilion can vastly accelerate this process. This floor can then be laid out before the pavilion is put up, showing exactly where every stake goes. The floor should be made of some durable, waterproof, rot-resistant material that is easily cleaned. Since it is not attached to the rest of the tent it can be easily replaced or repaired if necessary.

Sewing Notes

First, the caveat: I don't know much about sewing. There may be much better ways to do the stuff I describe below, and I'm sure that an experienced sewing guru would know the better ways to do it. If you want to ask such a person's advice, great. (And by the way, if you find some better way to do some of this stuff, please let me know). If you want to just muddle through, follow my instructions below.

Buy canvas that is pre-treated to be water-resistant and fire-retardant, if you can get it. Buy good canvas. This is not the place to cut corners of cost.

I STRONGLY advise that you not attempt to sew the pavilion without a very heavy-duty sewing machine. You can rent these in some places, or find a friend who has one if you are lucky. Some possibilities for renting or borrowing heavy-duty sewing machines are university theatre departments, theatrical supply stores, or commercial enterprises making or repairing sails or tents. Don't try to use an everyday utility sewing machine if you can avoid it. It will be very frustrating and take a long time, breaking a lot of needles. I'm speaking from

experience, here.

Get some experienced sewing guru to advise you on any questions you have regarding the sewing. One important thing to do is to get them to show you how to make a flat-felled seam: all the seams on the pavilion should be flat-felled seams for strength. Luckily for anyone who (like me) is a sewing ignoramus, all the seams are straight and simple.

Cutting out the large canvas pieces can be a chore, especially marking the long straight lines. The easiest way to do this is to lay the fabric flat, then take a surveyors chalk-line and use that to mark the cutting line.

NOTE!!!! There are **NO SEAM ALLOWANCES** marked on the pattern. You **MUST** allow some appropriate seam allowance on the outside of each pie piece for the roof and of each trapezoid for the walls. I'm not exactly sure what seam allowance is best: I added a 1" seam allowance. If you forget to do this, you will waste an awful lot of fabric.

First, finish all the rain flaps on the edge of each roof pie piece. The rain flap is the 12" deep rectangle at the bottom of the pie piece. You can dag it if you wish, hem it or edge it with some contrasting colored edging.

Now sew all the pie pieces for the roof together. At the peak you will need to sew a large metal ring or grommet to the pieces. Alternatively you can take a short section of ½" rope (something that will not rot: nylon or hemp, not cotton) and wrap the thin ends of the pie pieces around the rope before sewing them down. This will leave a hole at the very peak of the roof for the center pole to go through.

Finish the top edge of each wall trapezoid, and the mud flap at the bottom

(the rectangle 5' long by 1' deep).

Now work your way around the tent, sewing one trapezoid on at a time. Note the dotted line on the pattern that marks the edge of the flap – that is where the top of the wall must be sewn to the roof. Make sure that the roof rain flap is on the outside. Sew the seam attaching one trapezoid to the other along the side seam as well as the roof seam.

Before you go too far, decide how many doors you want and where. To make a door, just finish the adjacent vertical edges of two wall trapezoids rather than sewing them together. I've found it very convenient to have two doors on opposite sides of my pavilion. This allows me to open both doors and let a breeze through in hot weather, and it is often convenient to have a back door.

Once the walls and roof are sewn, you need to make small reinforced cups of some of the remaining scrap canvas. These cups are sewn to the edge of the eaves. Their function is simple—they lock one end of a spoke in the right position on the edge of the roof.

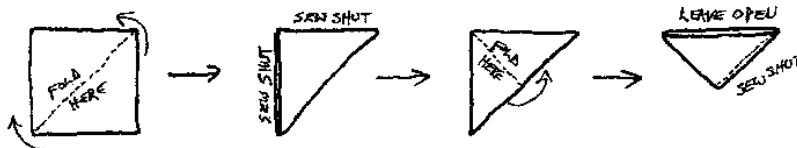
Take a square of canvas and fold to make a triangle. Sew it down and finish the edges using any simple method (hem, serge, whatever). Fold again, to make another triangle. Sew one edge so that you have a triangular cup shape, with the hypotenuse open. This sounds complicated, although it is very easy to do; I hope this illustration will help explain it.

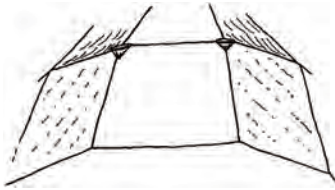
Now sew the cup down (making sure not to close the cup) so the end of the pole will fit inside the cup. Sew one such cup at every spoke position (where the horizontal seam at the eaves crosses a vertical



seam down a pie piece and wall trapezoid).

If you want to have ropes on the tent, sew simple loops to the outside of the eaves to take the ropes.





Stake loops are constructed by sewing heavy-duty woven cotton straps to the bottom of each vertical seam on the walls. Make sure you sew them down securely. You will need one loop for every vertical seam joining two wall trapezoids; doors will require one loop for each trapezoid edge at the door opening (two loops total).

Stakes

Get your local blacksmith to make you enough 15" or 18" stakes. For simple stakes it won't be very expensive, and you might as well have good stakes for a good pavilion. If you have no local blacksmith, get some 12" tent nails. Don't use aluminum or plastic stakes – they won't last, and they aren't good enough.

Painting and Decoration

Some pavilions were plain undecorated canvas, but many of the ones shown in manuscript illustrations are brightly colored or painted. I haven't experimented in dyeing canvas, so I can't give any useful advice for reproducing the beautiful full-color pavilions that can sometimes be found in illustrations. Consult with some local fabric guru and experiment.

Painting a pavilion is quite simple. Most pavilions were painted with simple lines, gothic arches, and the like. This turns out to be quite easy to do. I bought commercial exterior acrylic latex house paint from a local do-it-yourself store. You need to thin the paint with water so that it soaks into the canvas a bit. This makes it much easier to brush on in a single application – undiluted house paint tends to bead up on the surface. You must avoid diluting the paint too much, though, or it will wick out from the design rather than sticking to where you apply it. I found that

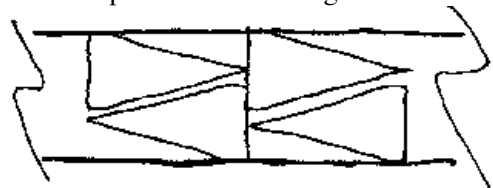
thinning the paint with an equal amount of water gave me a good consistency. As an added benefit this also cuts the cost of the paint in half, as you get two gallons from every gallon you buy. Don't paint your pavilion indoors – find a big slab of clean concrete or pavement to lay the pavilion out and paint it. The paint will bleed through the canvas slightly, so don't paint on a surface where this will matter. Be very careful to avoid spills onto the canvas, as they are impossible to clean up.

Most single-pole pavilions seem to have had a decorative finial, often a golden ball. Some pavilions have whole statues on top. Flags are also fairly common, sometimes in conjunction with a gold ball. A decorative finial of some sort makes the pavilion look nicer, but it also has a practical purpose in plugging the only hole in the pavilion fabric, at the top. I've experimented with a number of simple ball designs but I haven't found one I'm really satisfied with yet.

Finally, the flap at the end of each roof segment is often decorated. They may be daggged or painted, sometimes with mottoes and sayings in contrasting colors to the tent.

Appendix A: Pavilion Plans Fabric and Layout

These patterns are based upon 60" wide canvas. The trapezoidal wall pieces take up the full width of the canvas, so can only be laid out in one direction. The most efficient way to lay out the triangular roof pie pieces is shown below. It is possible to lay them out so as to use less fabric, but not advisable, as it involves cutting along the bias of the fabric. Cutting along the bias will allow stretching of the piece, which will distort the pavilion in the long run.



Comments by Cariadoc

My version of Daffyd's design differs from his in several details:

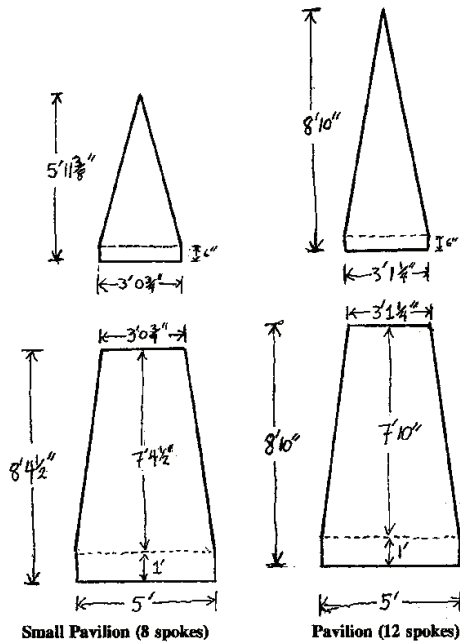
1: My spokes are oak 1x1's rather than softwood 2x2's.

2: I made the hub from a 2" thick piece of hardwood—it didn't have to be as thick, since the spokes are thinner.

3: My center pole is a hardwood 2x2. I used a spokeshave to convert the cross section from square to octagonal for the top half of the pole. Then I cut the hole in the hub so that it would fit the top half of the shaft but not the bottom half. That way the hub slides halfway down the centerpole and stops when it gets to the point where the pole is no longer shaved down.

4: My stakes are hardwood 1" dowels. Iron stakes, while not impossible, strike me as an unlikely extravagance in a society where iron was very expensive and wood very cheap. It may be worth having every third stake be a substantially larger one as a safety precaution; having a tent come down when pegs pull out of softened ground in a rainstorm is no fun.

5: My centerpole is a single piece of hardwood, 12' long (I'm shorter than Dafydd). I've spent too much time, mostly at the end of Pennsic, trying to convert a two piece center pole back into two pieces.



Small Pavilion (8 spokes)

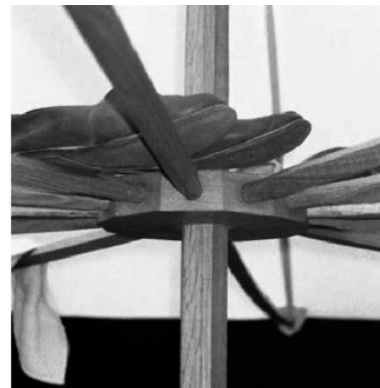
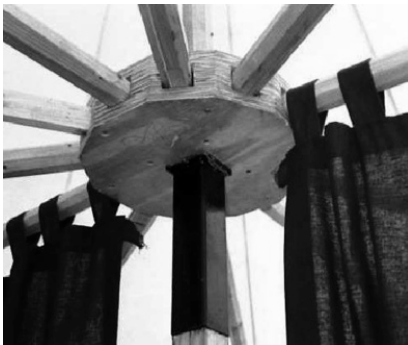
Pavilion (12 spokes)

Postscript

I'd like to thank Branwynn Ottersby, my squire and partner in chaos. She and I did all the sewing on the original single-pole pavilion, attempting with our blood and curses to prove that two people who had no skill at all with sewing could still make a pavilion. She also graciously consented to proofread this article. I'd also like to thank Sorcha de Glies, who tested the improved design described in this article, and proved with her blood and curses that having someone who actually can sew improves the whole product.

My Hub (shoes optional)

His Hub



A Period Rope Bed

Some time ago, several of our Mirkfaelin friends told us about a period picture one of them had found, a period ivory showing a rope bed (Figure 1). I have now made several versions of that bed. Figure 2 shows the second, built for my 68 lb son. It turned out to be ridiculously easy to make—about half an hour for me to build the bed, plus another hour or so for me and my lady wife to lace it. It is also light and disassembles and assembles easily.

One problem with rope beds is that, unless the rope is very taut, they sag. The solution is to have the mesh of ropes fasten not to the foot of the bed but to a horizontal dowel a little above the foot. You wrap a rope six times around the dowel and foot and pull. This pulls the dowel towards the foot with a mechanical advantage of twelve to one (minus considerable losses from friction), tightening the bed. The result is satisfactory for one person, although it still sags enough to provide a couple with more togetherness than they may want, especially in hot weather.

The basic construction is very simple. For the small child's version, which was the first one I made, the legs are oak, 1 5/8" x 1 5/8". The sides are oak dowels, 1" in diameter. Each leg has two 1" diameter holes drilled into it at right angles to each other, one a little above the other. The ends of the dowels fit into the holes.

Materials for the bed (small child's version)

2 legs, oak, 9"x1 5/8" x 1 5/8"
 2 legs, oak, 18"x1 5/8" x 1 5/8"
 2 sides, 1" oak dowels, 4' long
 2 ends, 1" oak dowels, 2' long
 1 end piece, 3/4" oak dowel, 26" long
 1/4" manila rope: 50' (for the web)
 1/4" rope 7' long—ideally a different color



Figure 1

Total cost: approximately \$60 (some years ago)

That bed was not quite adequate for our son; it would hold him, but the dowels at the sides bowed in more than I like. Figures 2 and 3 show the bed I made for him. The end pieces are still 1" oak dowels but the sides are 1 3/8". I made a slightly larger version for his older sister, who weighed about a hundred pounds; it would be adequate for a small adult.

Larger dowels raise a problem, since the hole they fit into has to be significantly smaller than the width of the piece of wood it is drilled in. I solved this problem for the second bed by tapering down the ends of the 1 3/8" dowels to fit into 1" holes. The ideal tool is a spokeshave, but if you don't have one a knife should do.

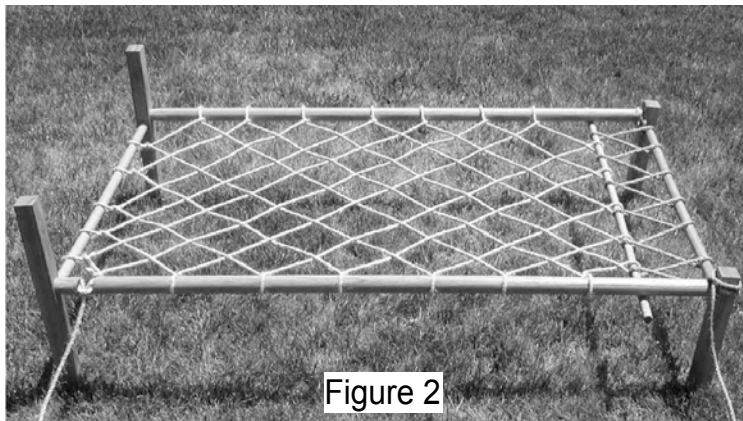


Figure 2

For the third bed, I got my lumberyard to cut the legs as 2" strips from a 1 5/8" plank, giving me pieces 2"x1 5/8". I drilled the 1 3/8" holes for the side dowels into the two inch sides of the legs and the 1" holes for the end dowels into the 1 5/8" sides. That way I could do the whole thing without having to taper any dowels.

In addition to being smaller, these beds differ from the one shown in Figure 1 in four ways.

1. The legs are plain instead of ornamental.

2. The legs are proportionally shorter than in the picture—because it is intended to fit inside a tent at Pennsic.

3. The legs at the head extend higher than at the foot. I did it this way with the idea of eventually adding some sort of headboard.

4. The holes the side dowels plug into are a little higher on the legs than the holes that the end dowels plug into. I did it that way because I couldn't get sufficiently deep

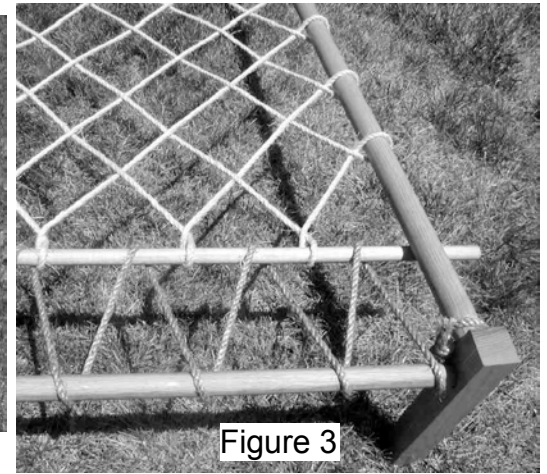


Figure 3

holes

at the same height without having the two holes run into each other. I don't know whether the fact that the original appears to have sides and ends at the same height reflects shallower holes, thicker legs, or artistic license.

When I first wrote this article, my kids were little. Currently one of them is bigger than I am so I have now built an adult size version of the bed, shown in Figure 4. The legs are softwood 4x4's (actually about 3 1/2 x 3 1/2). The side rails go into square sockets in the legs. The end rails fit into square sockets but have rounded ends that go through holes in the ends of the side rail then through a hole in the leg, coming out to be pegged on the outside of the leg. Thus the whole frame stays together even without the tension of the ropes, making setup easier than in the version described above. The figures show details.

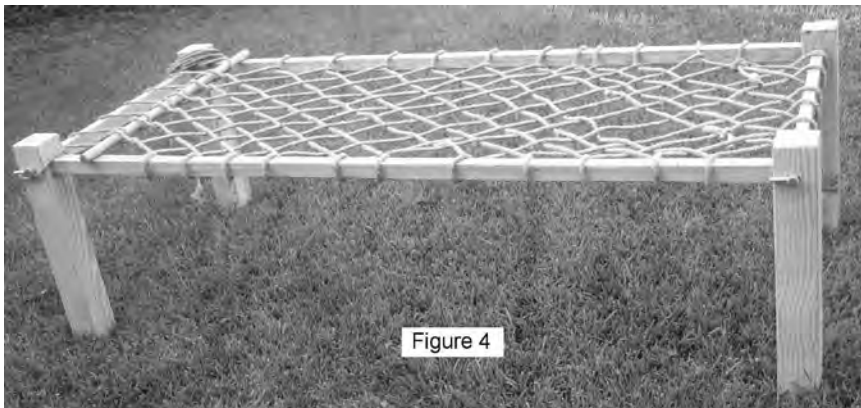
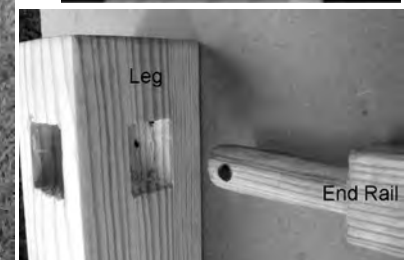
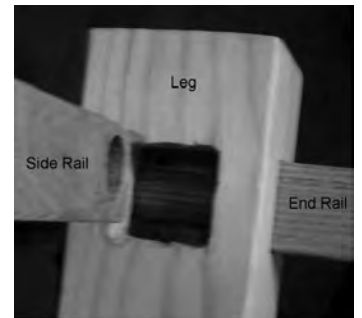


Figure 4



Interlacing the Rope

Figure 1 is not detailed enough to show how the rope is interlaced. I succeeded, however, in working out a pattern that looks right; it is consistent with the figure and ropes consistently alternate between going over one and under the next. Figures 2 and 3 show the pattern.

For Transport

To disassemble the bed, unwrap the rope at the foot and slide the end piece up towards the head of the bed. Run the rope through the loops of rope around the end dowel, use it to tie them into a bundle, remove the end dowel. Repeat with the loops of the rope mesh at sides and head. You now have four bundles of loops. Disassemble the frame. When you reassemble it, slide the wooden pieces through the loops, untie the rope holding the bundles together, assemble. You may want to leave the loops around the frame pieces for transport to simplify reassembly.

Possible Variants

The friends who first told us about the ivory on which our bed design is based did a slightly different variant. In theirs, the robes of the mesh are tied together wherever they cross, giving an effect rather like a fishing net. That should save some of the time we spend adjusting the positions of the ropes to make the mesh reasonably even when setting the bed up.

All of the variants of the bed we have made were for one person; we still use our old two person slat bed, described in a later article, for Pennsic. A number of people have asked us about a two person version. The obvious problem, aside from the greater weight, is that the mesh sags in the middle, which might impose a forced proximity—sometimes pleasant, but perhaps not in hot weather. We have not actually tried building a bed sized for two, or even the simpler

experiment of putting two children on one adult sized bed—we should, one of these days. It might turn out that the problem was less in practice than in theory.

One approach to the problem that I have had described, based on an out of period rope bed, is a line of hanging feet down the middle, designed to touch the ground only when forced down by the weight of the occupants. A simpler version might be a rope running lengthwise from the middle of the head of the bed to the middle of the foot. If you try any of these, or other approaches, let us know how they work. One concern is that they might reverse the problem of proximity.

Concerning Dimensions of Wood

Readers who are not woodworkers may be confused by the distinction between the nominal dimensions of planks (2x2, 2x4, 3x3) and the actual dimensions. The nominal dimension measures the size of the plank as originally cut. The actual dimension is less because some of it is lost in the process of planing the wood smooth. So a 2x4, which is nominally 2" by 4", is actually about 1 ½" by 3 ½". Dowels, on the other hand, are usually labeled with their actual diameter.

To add additional confusion, hardwood is often labeled by its nominal thickness in quarter inches. Thus 4/4 is four quarter inches—a nominal thickness of an inch and an actual thickness of about ¾". 8/4 is a nominal thickness of two inches, 12/4 of three inches.

When in doubt, measure.

References

Figure 1 is the Andrews diptych, an ivory panel currently in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It used to be labelled "13th c. Byzantine" but currently (as of a few years back) is identified as "Carolingian?" The scene is of Jesus telling a man to take up his bed and walk.

Building a Simple Period Table

A distinctive style of table appears in many period illuminations; each of the two trestles on which the tabletop rests has three legs made from planks, wider at the bottom than at the top. The table is easy and inexpensive to make and it comes apart, making it easy to transport. To make one, you will need the following materials:

2/29"x1x8 (legs)

2/22 1/2"x2x4's for the tops of the trestles.

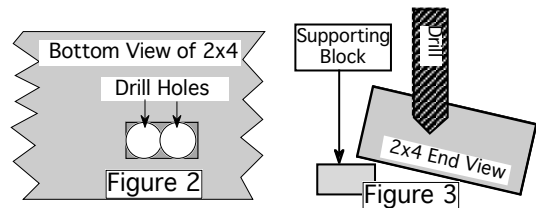
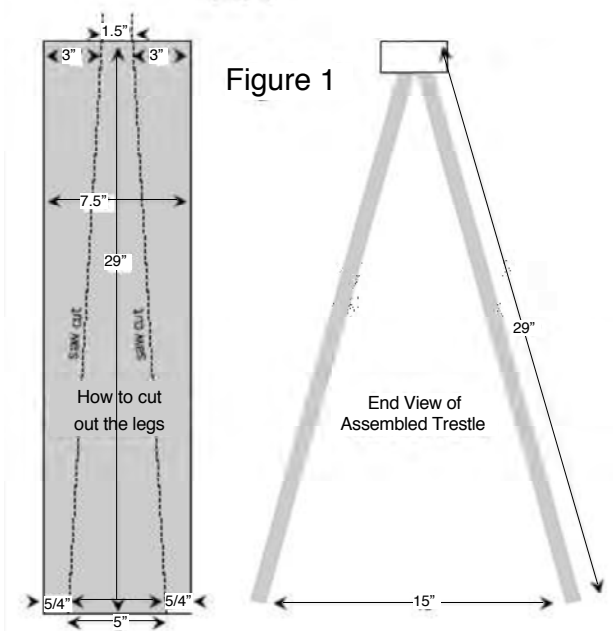
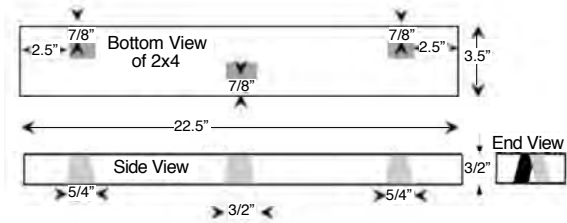
2/6'x1x12's for the table top.

Figure 1 shows how to cut three legs from each of the 1x8 planks, where to cut the sockets that the legs fit into in the top piece, and how the trestle goes together.

One tricky part is cutting the sockets for the legs, since they have to be angled into the 2x4's as shown in the end view of the assembled trestle. The way I did it was to draw the outline of the socket, drill two 3/4" diameter holes as shown in Figure 2 (which shows the center socket—the end sockets are a little shorter, so I use one 3/4" hole and one 1/2"), and chisel and file out the remaining wood until the narrow end of the leg fits tightly into the socket. Alternatively, you could do it with a drill and a saw. If you are using a drill press, you can angle the hole by putting a block under one edge of the 2x4 then drilling straight down, as shown in Figure 3.

The other tricky part is fitting the legs into the sockets. You want to make the socket a little too tight, so that the end of the leg doesn't go quite all the way in. Then you trim wood off the end of the leg or out of the socket until it goes far enough in to make its end flush with the top of the top piece. When you assemble the table, you may find a few narrow wooden wedges useful to make the fit tighter and the leg less inclined to wobble.

Once all the pieces are made, you assemble the two trestles and lay the two boards across them. A table cloth long enough and wide enough to hang over on all



sides helps hold the planks together—but even without that, the table is reasonably stable.

When I made the table shown here I had access to inexpensive 3/4" oak planks, which I used for the legs; in the figures I have made the legs a little wider than in my table, on the assumption that you will probably be using softwood.

The period pictures shown on the next page are from a fifteenth century source; I do not know how much earlier and later the same design was in use.

Reference: *Illuminated Manuscripts: Boccaccio's Decameron 15th Century Manuscript*, texts by Edmond Pognon, J. Petter Tallon tr., Miller Graphics.



Now this is the tale of how the long war between the brother tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyân was ended. Al-Hārith was a great man of the tribe of Dhubyân, a lord of the Arabs. On a time, he asked his cousin Khārija son of Sinan if there was any man of the Arabs who would refuse him his daughter's hand in marriage. "Yes," Khārija answered, "Aus son of Haritha of the tribe of Taiy."

They mounted their camels and traveled to the territory of Aus who, being told al-Hārith's errand, rudely refused. After al-Hārith had departed, the wife of Aus, a woman of the tribe of 'Abs, asked who it was who had come and ridden off, and why. When her husband explained, she upbraided him for his foolishness and persuaded him to ride after al-Hārith, apologize, and bring him back.

Aus called before him the eldest of his three daughters and asked if she wished to be wed to al-Harith. She replied that as she was neither beautiful nor of a winning character and no kin of his, and he lived too far off to fear her father, she feared that he might in time divorce her. The second daughter gave the same answer.

When Buhaisa was brought and the question put to her, she replied that she would do as her father thought best. Her father told her what her sisters had said. She replied that she was good looking, of lofty character, and had a most distinguished father, and if her husband divorced her God would never be good to him again.

When all had been agreed to, a tent was pitched and Aus sent his daughter in to al-Hārith. When al-Hārith emerged, (said Khārija son of Sinan) I asked if he had finished the job.

"No, by God. When I stretched out my hand towards her she cried, 'Stop that! What, here in front of my father and brothers? Impossible.'"

When we had gone a little ways on our journey, al-Hārith told me to ride ahead, while he turned off the road with his bride. In a little while he caught up with us. "Finished?" I asked.

"No, by God. She said to me 'What, would you treat me like a slave-girl out of the market, or a woman taken in battle? First you must kill the camels and slaughter the sheep and invite the Arabs, and do all that should be done for one such as me.'"

"I see she's a girl of spirit and good sense," I replied.

When we had come to our own country and prepared the feast, again he went in to her, and again I asked if the job was done, and again he replied that it was not. I asked him the reason.

"I went in to her, desiring her mightily. 'You see, we've made ready the flocks,' I said to her. 'How is it you find time to go about marrying women, while the Arabs are busy killing each other?' she asked (for this was during the war between 'Abs and Dhubyān.) 'Go out and make peace between those people, then return to me, and you shall have all that you desire.'"

"She has spoken well," I replied. So we went forth to the warring tribes and proposed peace, and it was agreed that the dead should be counted up and that side that had killed the greater number should pay reparations. It came to 3000 camels, paid out over three years. And when we returned, al-Hārith went in to his wife, and she bore him many sons and daughters.

(Based on the account in the 10th c. A.D. *Book of Songs* of Abu 'l-Faraj al Isbahānī, as translated by Arberry.)



The Cluny Table

The Cluny Museum in Paris has a period peg-together table, shown above. I made a scaled down and somewhat simplified version, also shown above, with and without its top. My main change was replacing the carved panels in the original, which are well beyond my ability, with panels of quarter sawn oak—much easier to make and also quite attractive. The final figure shows the pieces of the table as I made it. I omitted the ornamental pieces at the ends of the upper supports and somewhat simplified the shape of the pieces, kept the vertical dimensions almost the same as the original, but scaled down the horizontal dimensions by about $\frac{2}{3}$.

The table is constructed in four layers. Two pieces cross to make the stand. Above them is a central pillar and four outer pillars, each joined to the center by a panel and each fitting into a socket below in the stand and a socket above in one of the pieces that supports the table top. In the original the panel is carved openwork; in mine it is plain quarter sawn oak. Above the pillars is the support for the table top, above that the table top itself. The bottom of the table top has four pairs of wooden tabs, positioned so that the support pieces pass between them; pegs attach the support pieces to the tabs. The tabs are attached to the table top both by glue and by two pegs running at a diagonal through each tab and into the table top.

Before trying to make the table, go over the figure carefully to figure out what fits into what and why. To make it a little easier, I have labelled:

X: The sockets in the stand pieces that the bottom ends of the four outer pillars fit into. Each is 1" deep, $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide, $\frac{5}{4}$ " long. The ends of the pillars that fit into them are $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide by $\frac{9}{8}$ " long. The end of each pillar is held into the socket by a $\frac{3}{8}$ " diameter peg running crossways, as shown. There is also a socket for the central pillar but it is not pegged.

Y: The sockets in the support pieces that the top ends of the outer pillars fit into. Each is $\frac{3}{4}$ " deep, $\frac{9}{8}$ " long, $\frac{3}{8}$ " wide. The ends that fit into them are $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 1".

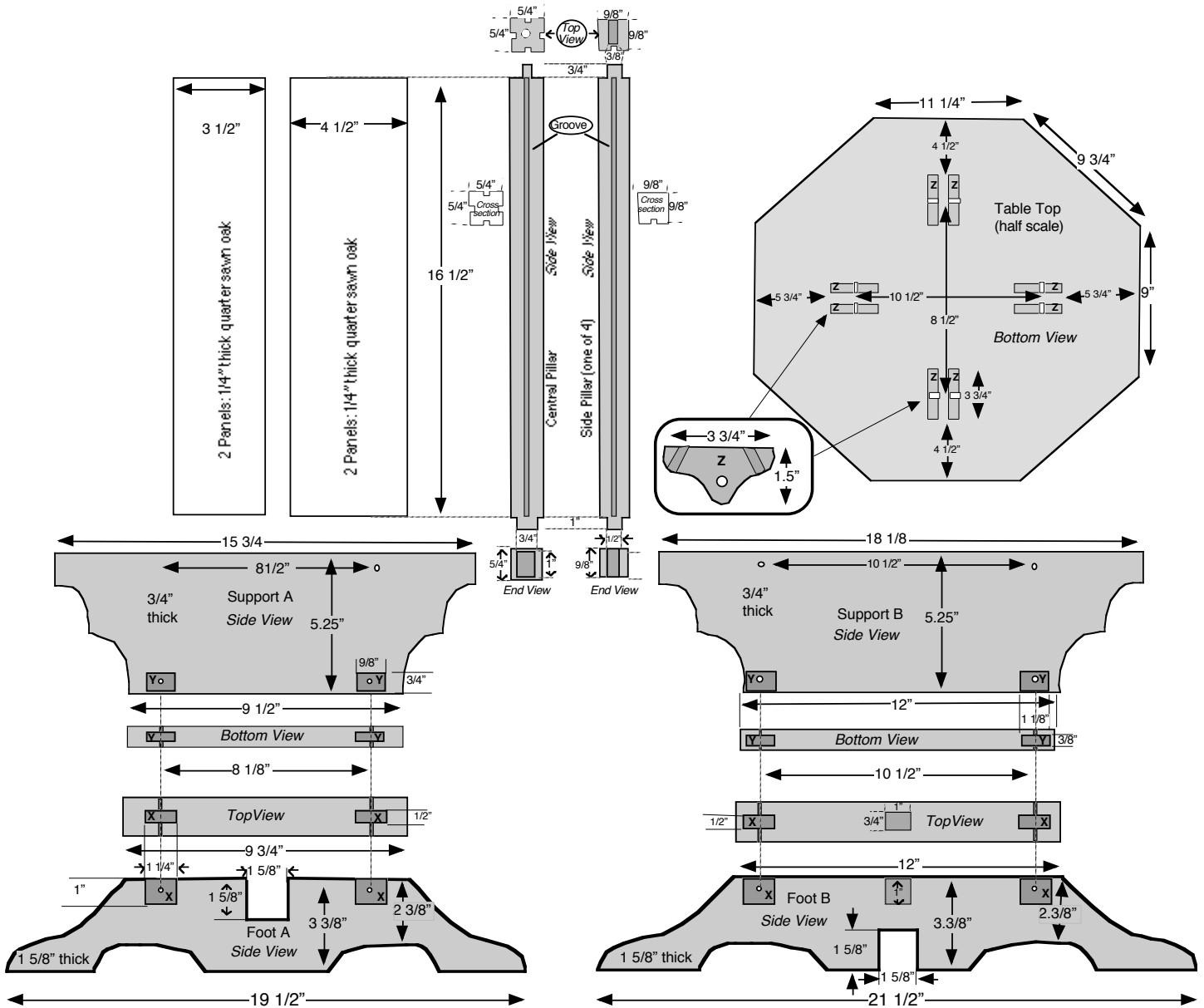
Z: The tabs that attach the table top to the supports. Each has two diagonal holes to peg it to the table top and one hole crosswise to peg it to the support, as shown.

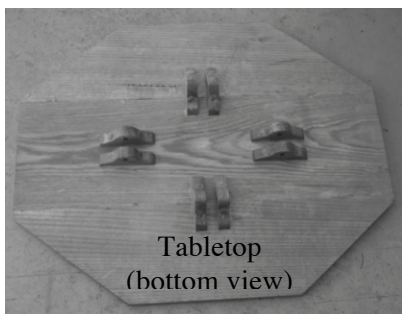
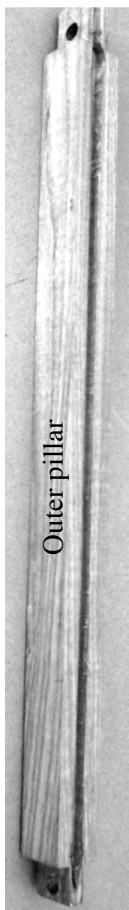
On the figure, everything is to scale except for the table top, which is half scale to the rest, and the side view of a tab, which is expanded to show the shape and the holes. All pegs are $\frac{3}{8}$ " diameter, all peg holes $\frac{3}{8}$ ". In making the table, precise placement, especially of peg holes, is obviously important. If pieces are going to peg together, assemble them and mark the exact placement of the holes.

The central pillar is grooved on all four sides to fit the panels; each outer pillar is

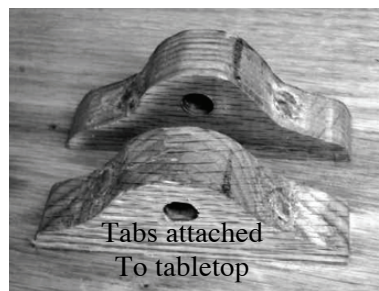
similarly grooved on its inside face. The grooves are 1/4" wide, 1/4" deep. The pictures show details of construction. If you want to build a closer copy than mine, see <http://www.albionworks.net/Tables/ClunyTable.htm>. My estimates of the dimensions of the original are:

Foot A: 30" wide, 2.75" thick, 4.5" high
 Support A: 14" + ornamental ends x 7" x 1"
 Foot B: 27" wide, 2.75" thick, 4.5" high
 Support B: 11" + ornamental ends x 7" x 1"
 Pillars: 17" x 1.5" x 1.5"
 Table top: longest dimension 40"
 Table height: 32"





Tabletop
(bottom view)

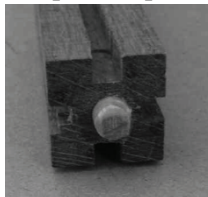


Tabs attached
To tabletop

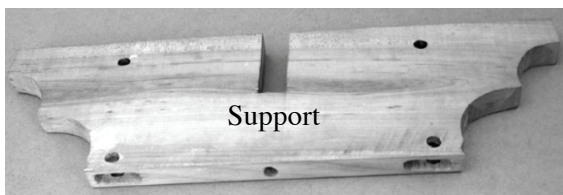
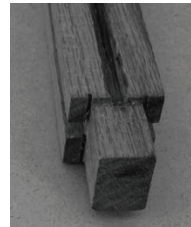
Outer pillar
top



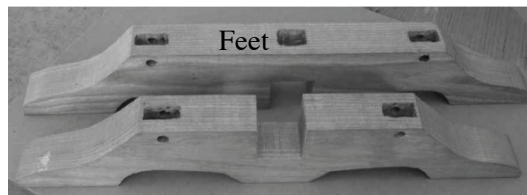
Center
pillar top



Center pillar
bottom



Support

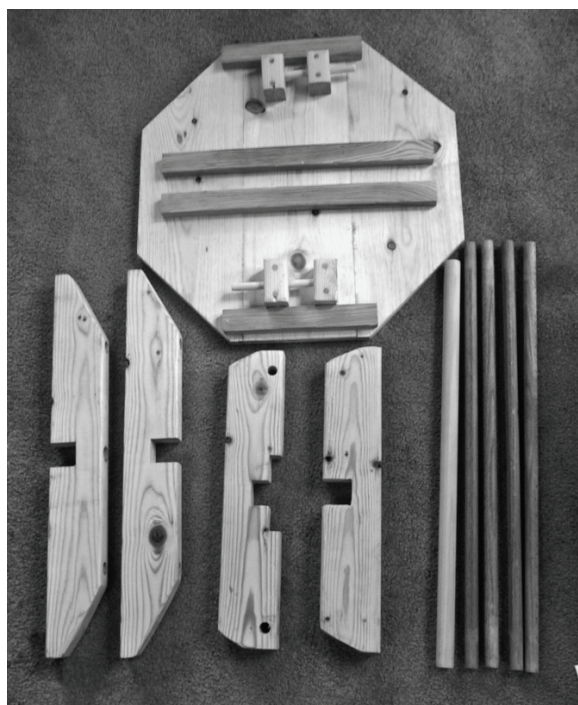


Feet

Pieces for the moderately accurate Cluny table (previous page)



The bare bones Cluny table (next page)



The Cluny Table: A Bare Bones Version

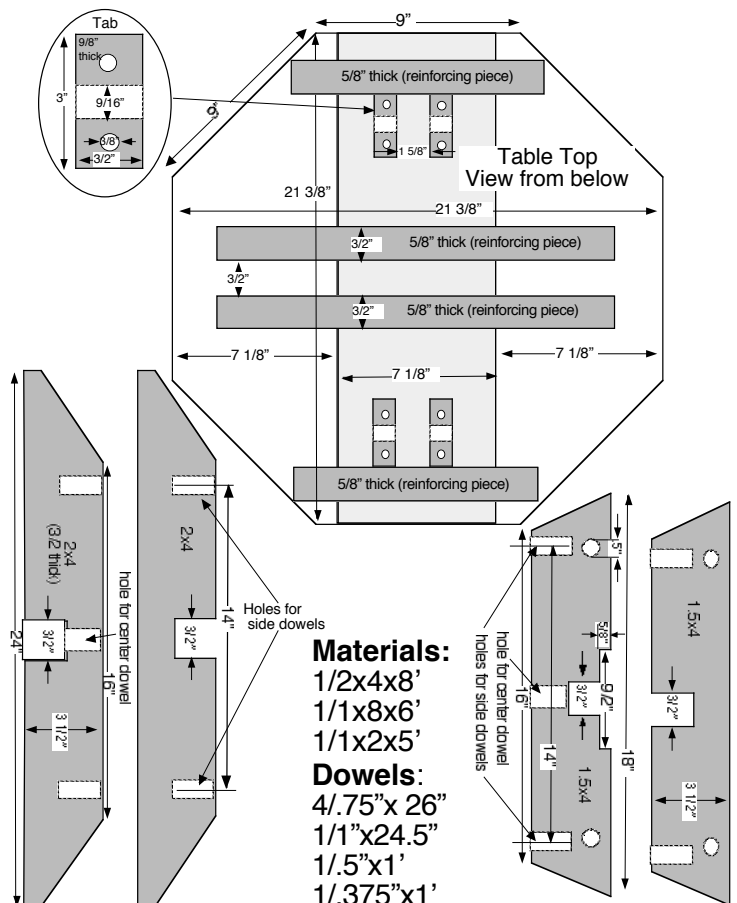
One of my objectives in researching period furniture is to find designs simple enough so that lots of people can make them for themselves; I sometimes teach a class at Pennsic entitled “Portable Period Furniture You Can Build in Your Dorm Room.” My first version of the Cluny table was somewhat simpler than the original, since I left off a number of ornamental details that would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, for me to recreate. It was still quite a lot of work to build and a good deal of trouble to assemble and disassemble. A sufficiently talented and energetic college student could probably build it in his dorm room with the tools available to him—I know of one who built quite an impressive small siege engine under similar constraints—but it would be a lot of work.

For my second try, I did a bare bones version—mechanically speaking the same table, but simplified down to make it as easy to build and as inexpensive as possible. Drilling a round hole is a lot easier than chiselling a square one, so I made the holes round. A dowel in a drilled hole of the right size makes a pretty tight fit, so I left off the pegs that held the posts into the sockets in the original. I made more modifications along similar lines and used inexpensive softwood—2x4’s for the base and support, 1x8’s for the table itself. The result was a design that cost less than \$25 in materials and took about four hours of work to make. The pictures at left show the pieces and the assembled table. The figure at right shows the disassembled pieces and their dimensions.

The construction should be clear from the pictures and the previous article. The table top is made by gluing three lengths of 1x8 edge to edge, with four additional pieces glued underneath for reinforcement. It could have been made from one piece of plywood,

but although a little less work it would not look as nice. The tabs are glued to the bottom of the table top, with $\frac{3}{8}$ " wooden pegs as additional support. Each tab has a $\frac{9}{16}$ " hole for a horizontal peg, running through the $\frac{1}{2}$ " hole in the corresponding support to attach the table to the supports—I made the holes in the tabs a little bigger than the pegs to avoid having too tight a fit. A $\frac{3}{4}$ " dowel in a $\frac{3}{4}$ " hole makes a pretty tight fit, so I sanded the dowels down a little at the ends and rubbed beeswax on them for lubrication.

The table is a little under two feet square. It should be straightforward to scale the design up to something that four, or even eight, people could eat around.



A Period Chair

Figure 1 is taken from a Renaissance painting; figure 2 shows a chair based on the same design. It is the only period design I have so far discovered which combines three desirable features: It is reasonably easy to build, it is very portable, and it provides back support.

My version differs from the picture in two major and several minor ways. The first major difference is that it is designed to be easily disassembled for transport. While the original was presumably glued, mine is held together by a rope, as shown in the figure. The second is that the back support on mine is substantially lower than in the figure. I built it that way because the support is on a vertical dowel, so if high forces me to sit with my back more nearly vertical than I like. Further experiments should test my conjecture that the lower support is more comfortable for me.

Materials for the chair

2 front legs, 2" hardwood dowels 18"
 1 back leg, 2" hardwood dowel 28"
 3 lower horizontals, $\frac{3}{4}$ " hardwood dowels 16"
 3 upper horizontals, $\frac{7}{8}$ " hardwood dowels 16"
 1 hardwood plank 8"x22"x $\frac{1}{4}$ " (seat)
 1 hardwood plank $\frac{3}{4}$ "x6"x2" (back)
 9' of rope + 1 random stick
 Total Cost: Approximately \$50

Figure 3 shows side views of one of the front legs, the back leg, and the back support (which attaches to the back leg). Figure 4 is an end view showing the placement of the holes into which the horizontal dowels fit; it is the same for all three legs and, unlike the other figures, is full sized. To get the placement and angle of the holes right, make two copies of Figure 4. Cut the circles out and glue them to the top and bottom ends of each of the legs, making sure their orientation is the same; use a flour and water



Figure 1

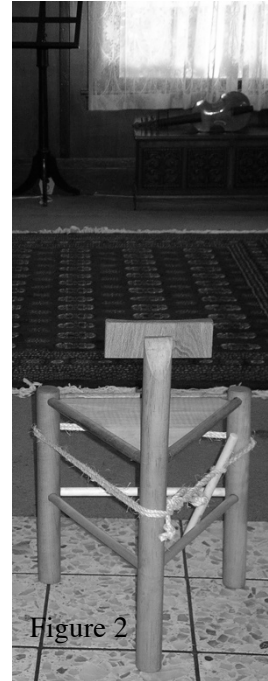


Figure 2

paste to make later removal easier. Then draw a line connecting point a on the top copy with point a on the bottom and another connecting b with b. The center points of the holes at A1 and A2 will be on line aa, the center points of the holes at B1 and B2 on line bb. To get the angle of the hole correct, orient the dowel so line aa' (or bb', depending which hole you are drilling) is vertical, then drill straight down. The upper two inches of the back leg have a flat surface on their front where the back support is attached. The support is slightly convex in the horizontal direction and rounded at the front top edge, as shown.

The seat fits into grooves in the upper horizontals, shown in Figure 5. The ends of the $\frac{7}{8}$ " dowels are reduced to $\frac{3}{4}$ " to fit the corresponding holes (A1 or B1) in the legs. The tip of the support is cut at an angle to fit flush against the corresponding end of the other support going into the same leg. The lower horizontals have similarly angled tips but no groove. Their diameter is a little less ($\frac{3}{4}$ " instead of $\frac{7}{8}$ ") since they don't have to be big enough to fit the seat into, so there is no need to reduce the ends to fit the holes

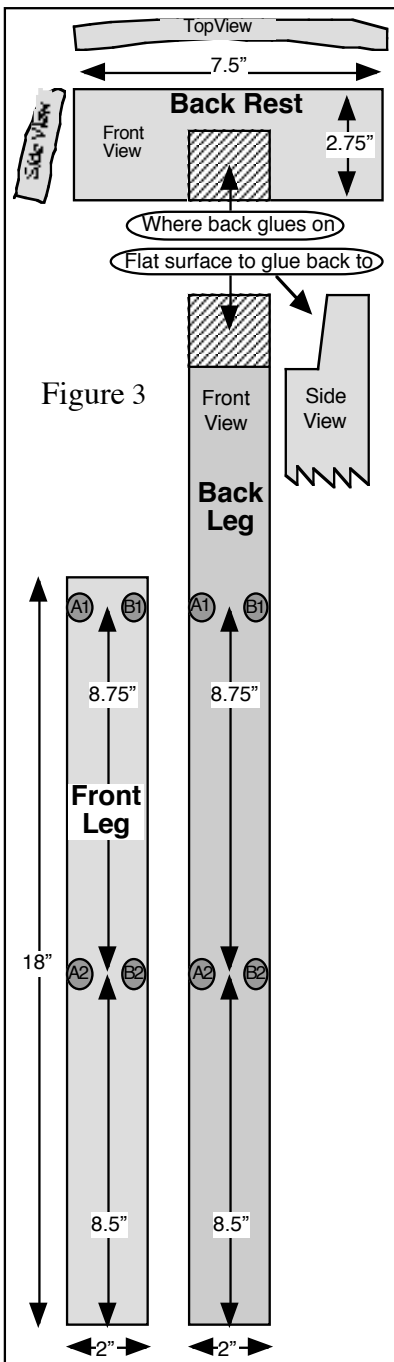


Figure 3

(A2, B2).

The seat is two pieces of $\frac{1}{4}$ " hardwood plank as shown in Figure 6. Its shape is an equilateral triangle with circular arcs cut out of the tips.

Each side of the triangle is $16\frac{1}{2}$ ", the radius of the arcs is $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The exact layout depends on the width of your plank; the figure assumes 7". It may require some trial and error to get the dimensions just right—big enough to fit all the way into the grooves

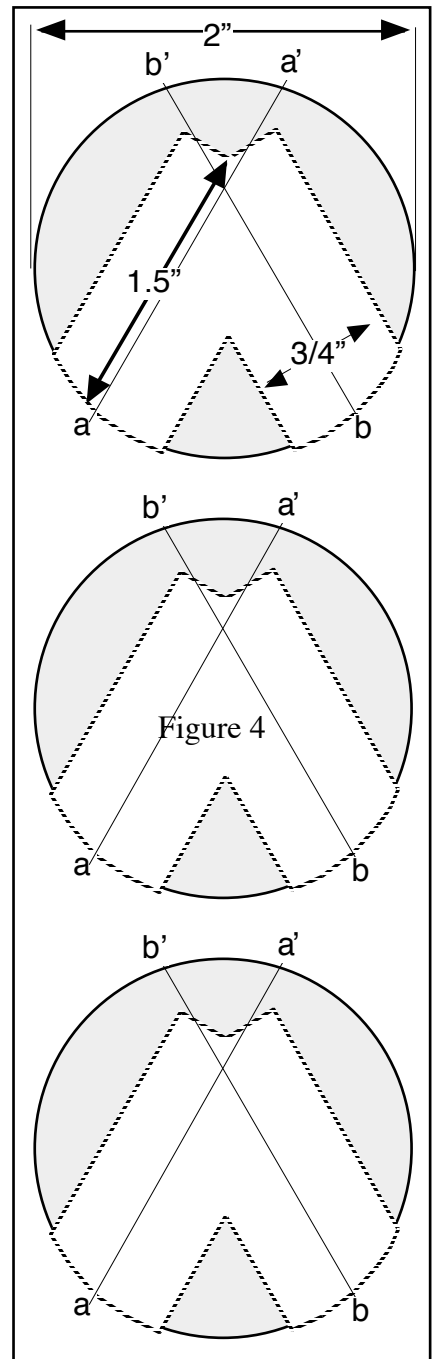
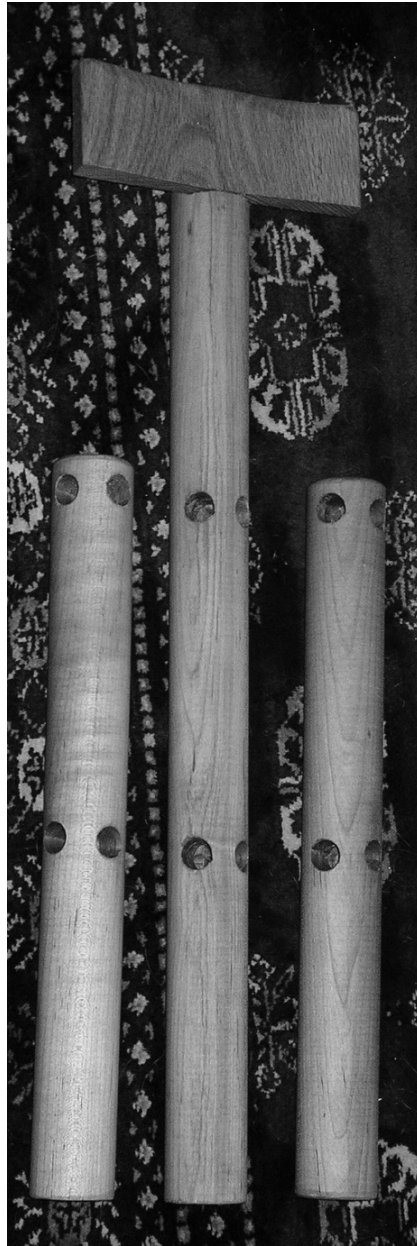
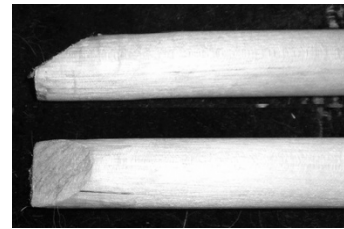
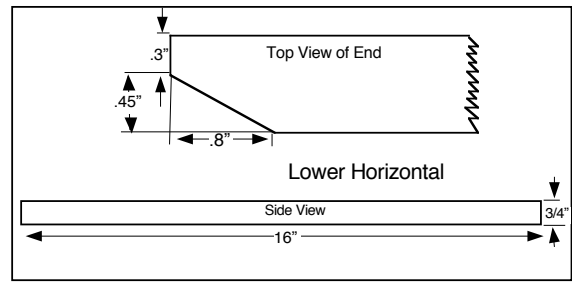
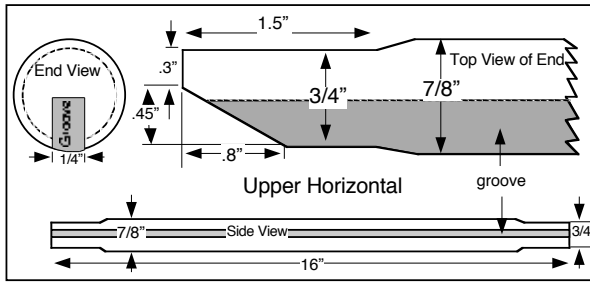


Figure 4

but not to keep the horizontals from fitting all the way into the holes in the legs. Remember that removing wood is easier than adding it.

Once all the pieces have been cut out and the back support glued to the front of the upper end of the back leg, the chair is ready to be assembled. Fit all of the horizontal supports into the corresponding holes in the chair legs, being sure to orient the angled ends so they fit together. This



horizontally. Put in an inch or so of water and a bowl to rest the piece on. Bring the water to a

should also put the slots in the upper horizontals where they need to be to hold the seat. When the whole thing is fitted together, tie the rope twice around the three legs between the two sets of supports as shown in Figure 2 and tighten it with a stick. If your joints are tight enough, you may find that the chair will hold together without the rope.

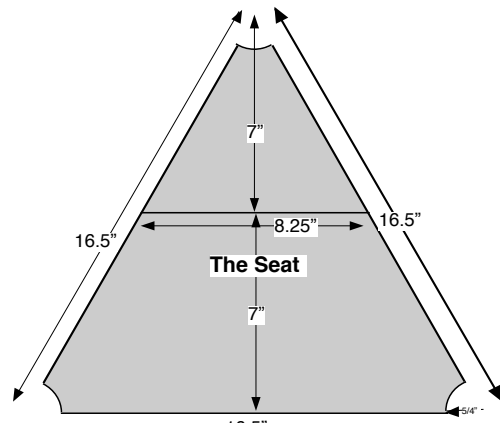
boil, put the piece on the bowl above the water, cover it, steam for ten or fifteen minutes, then clamp the piece to a suitably curved surface until it dries. I have done only a little experimenting with this, so you may want to talk to someone with more experience steaming wood.

Tools: You will need a saw to cut pieces to length and to cut the flat surface at the upper end of the back leg, where the back rest glues on. To drill the holes use a drill press, a portable electric drill, or a brace and bit. All holes are 3/4" so that is the only size bit you need. You can put the groove in the upper horizontals with a bench saw or radial saw. It should be possible to do it with a hand saw and chisel, but a lot of work. If you want to try, I suggest marking two lines 1/4" apart for the edges of the groove and driving several small nails into the dowel along one of them to serve as guides for the saw.

Variations: The dimensions are for a chair that fits me; you can experiment to get it right for you. For proportions closer to those of Figure 1, use a longer dowel for the back leg. If you never plan to disassemble the chair, use glue to hold it together instead of rope.

A spokeshave and file can be used to reduce the ends of the upper horizontals enough to fit into the holes in the legs; if you don't have a spokeshave, use a plane or chisel. To shape the chair back I used a chisel to remove the superfluous wood then a belt sander to smooth it. Alternatively, you can start with a 1/4" thick piece, steam it and bend it. To do that, you get a pot with a lid, big enough to fit the wood piece in

The hardest part to build is the seat. An easier alternative is to replace the wood with leather, wrapping it around the upper triangle of dowels; you can then use 3/4" dowels for both sets of horizontals. See pictures on the next page.





The Will of the First Caliph

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE MERCIFUL THE
COMPASSIONATE

This is the testament of Abu Bakr son of Abu Quhafa, at his life's end in this world whence he is departing, at his life's beginning in the Other to which he goeth, a time when even the infidel believeth, and the sinner hath knowledge, and the liar speaketh truth.

I appoint Umar son of Khattab to be Caliph over you after me; hearken therefore to him, and obey. If he doth justice, that will accord with my expectation and knowledge of him; if he doth the contrary, then every deed hath its own wages. I intended good, but I know not the hidden. And now Peace be to you, and the Mercy of God and His Blessings.

“I have never looked into the causes of any rebelling against me,” said (the Caliph) Māmūn, “without discovering that oppression by my Governors was at the bottom of it. Nor was I ever so embarrassed by anything as I was by the answer of a certain Kufan, whom the citizens of Kufa had sent up as a deputy to complain to me of their Governor.”

“You are lying, for the Governor of Kufa is a just-dealing man,” was my reply to his complaint.

“The Prince of the True Believers is undoubtedly telling the truth,” the deputy answered; “and I am undoubtedly lying; and this being so, surely when you appointed this just man Governor of Kufa it was to the prejudice of all other cities. Pray appoint him to some different city now, that he may overwhelm them with his justice as he has overwhelmed us.”

“Be off with you, I'll remove him,” said I.

(From *Mohammad's People*)

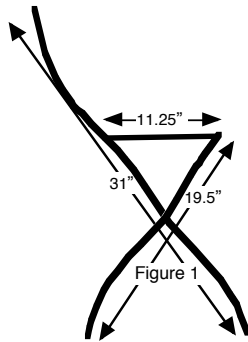
A Period Folding Chair

The two pictures on the right show an antique Middle Eastern chair, possibly 19th or early 20th century Syrian. The picture below them is a similar chair from the fifteenth century. The design is very convenient for SCA purposes, since it folds almost perfectly flat.

The two differ in one significant detail. The Syrian chair is symmetrical from the seat down—the short legs are identical to the lower part of the long legs. The chair below it uses straight short legs, curved long. The latter design is a little easier to make, I find it somewhat more attractive, and it is the one for which I have found period examples, so in this article I focus on it while also providing instructions for those who want to try the other version—which I suspect, but cannot yet prove, is also period.

Figure 1 is the side view on the right reduced to a line drawing. Figure 2 is a cutting diagram for the vertical pieces. Dimensions are based on the Syrian chair, which is the only one I have actually been able to measure. The seat is 19 1/2" above the ground, so to make your own chair first determine what seat height you find comfortable and then scale the figure accordingly.

Construction



One of the chairs shown has five long verticals, four short verticals, and nine short slats for the seat, the other has six, five, and 11. How many you want for your chair depends on how thick the plank is that you are cutting your verticals out of and how wide you want the chair to be.

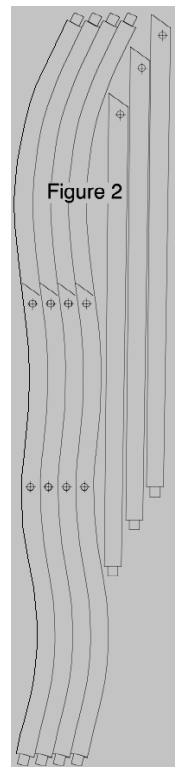
Hardwood lumber often comes in 3/4" thick planks. While it is possible to use that thickness for the chair, unless you are



making it in a child's size you will end up needing a lot of pieces. The chair in Figure 1 is cut from 1 1/4" thick wood. That gives it a seat width of $9 \times 1.25 = 11.25$ ".

Once you have decided what kind of wood of what thickness to use and bought it, the next step is to make a pattern. Copy Figure 2—this article is on my web site and can be downloaded—blow it up to whatever size you require, modify for the number of pieces you need, print it out. Paste it to the wood using a little flour-water paste, then saw out the pieces. It helps to have a band saw, which is how I did mine. If you don't have one you can use an electric jig saw, if you don't have that, a hand jig saw—although that may take a while. Drill the holes. Cut the slats for the seat out of the same thickness wood you use for the verticals, using Figure 1 for shape and size. Note that Figure 2, unlike Figure 1, is for the version of the chair where the short verticals are straight rather than curved.

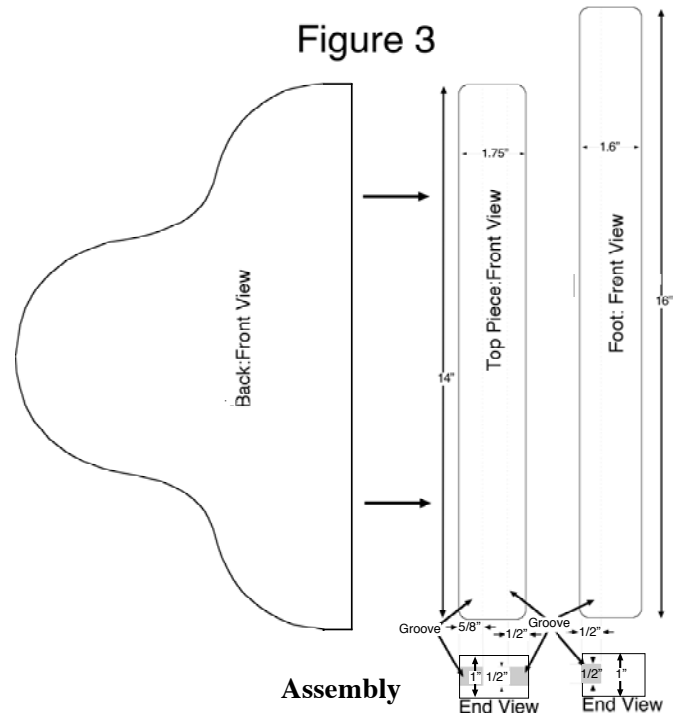
In my experience, the seat slats are the trickiest part of the whole operation. There are two



slightly different kinds—one that pivots on a long vertical and rests against a short, one the other way around. When the chair is assembled, the central holes of the two are going to be superimposed, with one dowel running through both. That means that the sum of the distance between the two holes on slat A and the corresponding distance on slat B is going to be the horizontal distance between the hole in a long vertical that A pivots on and the corresponding hole in a short vertical that B pivots on. With that distance fixed, an error in the length of a slat or the position of hole of as little as an eighth of an inch results in either a slat that is too long and so keeps all the slats from lying flat or is too short and so leaves a noticeable gap.

The best solution I have found is to make one slat A and one slat B and fiddle with them until you have them exactly right—until you can assemble them with a short vertical and a long vertical and dowels through all the holes and have the two slats lie flat with no gaps. Then use them as patterns for the rest, making enough so that you have a slat A for every straight vertical and a slat B for every curved vertical. Then assemble the whole thing, trim anything that's a little too long, curse at whatever gaps show up, and replace any slats that, by some malevolent magic, turned out wrong.

You now have everything except feet and back. The feet are long rectangles with rounded corners as shown in Figure 3, cut from 1" thick wood. Use a saw to cut a $\frac{1}{2}$ "x $\frac{1}{2}$ " groove along the top edge of each for the tabs at the ends of the verticals to fit into. Glue the tabs in and fill the gaps in the groove with additional pieces of scrap wood cut to fit. Alternatively, drill or router holes for the tabs and use a chisel to square them. The back attaches to the long vertical pieces using the piece labelled "Top Piece" in Figure 3. It is grooved along its bottom edge to take the tabs on the top ends of the verticals and along its top edge to take the edge of the back, which goes in as shown by the two arrows and is glued.



Before gluing on the back and feet you must first assemble the verticals and the slats, as shown in the figures, using $\frac{3}{8}$ " hardwood dowels. I cap the dowels with wooden hemispheres bought from my local hardware store. Alternatively, you can drill the end and put a much smaller dowel through it crossways.

Before gluing, use sandpaper or a file to round the outer edges of the two slats at the edge of the seat and the front edge of the seat so they won't cut into the legs of the person sitting in the chair. Sand anything smooth that you want smoother than it is. If you are going to finish the chair with linseed oil, now is the time to do at least those parts that will be hard to get at once the whole thing is together. I usually disassemble, oil the pieces, avoiding places that will have glue, then reassemble a day or two later when the oil is dry. When the chair is reassembled you can glue on the feet, the top piece, and the back. Fill in the parts of the grooves that are empty with additional bits of wood cut to size. Oil anything that didn't get oiled before. Wait a day or two.

You now have a chair that will fold flat. For proof, see the next page.

Variations

Most of my chairs were made of hardwood, with thicknesses ranging from $\frac{3}{4}$ " to $1\frac{5}{8}$ ", but I also made one out of softwood. The verticals were cut from a three foot length of 2x12, which cost about ten dollars in number 2 pine. Using four long verticals, three short, and seven slats gave me a width of $7 \times 1\frac{3}{4} = 12\frac{1}{4}$ ". I used half inch pine plank for the back and cut the feet and the top piece out of a two by four. Total cost, including dowels, was under twenty dollars, and the chair came out very nicely.

I also did several in the style that has the short verticals as well as the long verticals curved. If you want to do one that way, you can still use Figure 2. The slanted lines on the long verticals which you were wondering about when you looked at the

figure represent what would be the top of the piece if it were a short vertical—just above the hole for the dowel that the seat slats pivot on. So print out the figure twice to an appropriate scale and use one copy for cutting the short verticals. If you come across a reference to a period chair done that way, let me know—I'm still looking.

I have shown sizes on many of the figures, but don't take them too seriously—I have never gotten my hands on a period version of the chair to measure. Details in this article are a combination of details from the out of period antique I started with and details that I included because I did it that way and the result was satisfactory. Feel free to change anything you like and see how it comes out. I, for instance, replaced the iron rods in the antique chair with $\frac{3}{8}$ " dowels in the chairs I built.



3 feet of 2x12

Folding

Folded



A certain Arab sold a woman from his share of the spoil of Iraq for only a thousand dirhams. But she was of high birth; and people laughed at the man for selling her so cheap.

“But I never knew there was a number above ten hundred!” cried the Arab.

(From *Mohammad's People*)

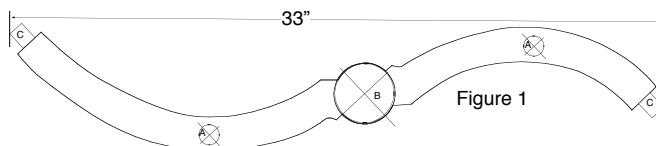
A Folding Armchair

Some years back, Master Hal Raeburn made me a folding chair with arms. It is a very comfortable design whose only fault is that it does not fold very flat and so is a bit of a nuisance to transport—at least when my wagon is packed and overflowing for Pennsic. The design goes back to at least the 14th century; the 16th century version is sometimes called a “Dantesca” chair. Eventually I made a scaled down version for my son, and since then several full sized ones. Since I am not as good a woodworker as Hal, I simplified the design somewhat. I also modified it in order to make it possible to take the chair apart.

General Considerations

I used oak, which is a strong wood and readily available; if you use something weaker, such as pine, you may want to alter the design to use thicker pieces. The figures show the pieces at 100%—scaled for the chair I use, not the 90% version I made my son. I am 5' 3½"; if you are substantially taller or shorter you may want to scale the design accordingly. A version of this article is on my web page, so the easiest way of making patterns may be to download, copy the figures into a drawing program, scale as desired and print.

For cutting curved pieces I used a band saw. If you don't have access to one, use an electric jig saw. If you don't have that, a hand jig saw should do it, although I expect it will take longer. For blind mortresses—the sockets in the chair arms and feet—I first drilled a hole of the appropriate size then used chisels to square it; a router would be easier if you have one. For grooves I used a table saw; if you don't have access to one a hand saw or a chisel should work.



Making the Chair

On the left is the chair Hal made for me, on the right the chair I made for my son. Figure 1 is a cutting pattern for one of the four S shaped pieces that make up the main structure. The pieces are identical except for the holes (A) drilled part way through them for the horizontal dowels to fit into—on two pieces they are on one side of the board, on two on the other side.

The tricky part of these shaped pieces is that the circle (B) in the center of each is only half the thickness of the board, in order that two can fit together as shown on the next page.



I found that the easiest way to make them was to first cut out the piece then use an adjustable drill bit set for the radius of B. The bit cuts a circular groove and also removes much of the wood inside the circle. Additional wood can be removed with a chisel.

Figure 2 shows the arms and feet; thickness, the dimension not shown, is 2". The shaded squares (D) are blind mortresses—sockets that the tabs (C) on the end of the S pieces fit into. The shaded region E is a groove that the back slides into.

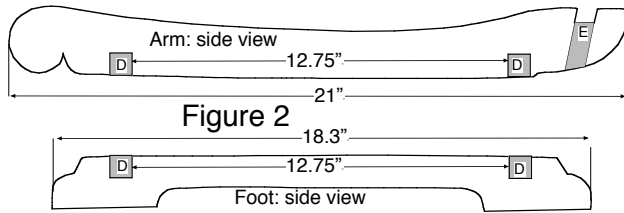
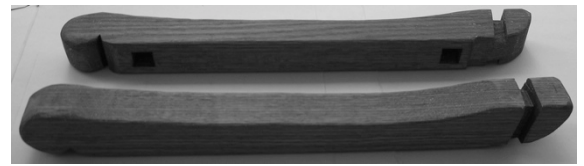


Figure 2

Its exact width should be the same as the thickness of the back, either $\frac{1}{2}$ " or $\frac{3}{4}$ " depending on your relative preference for lightness or strength.

For the chair I made my son, which was scaled to 90% of the full sized chair whose measurements are shown, I used $\frac{3}{4}$ " oak for the S shaped pieces. The original was 1" hardwood, which might be better for a full sized chair intended to be used by a reasonably heavy adult. You will also need four dowels. Their length should be the distance between the near sides of the sockets in arms and legs, since that is the separation of your two pairs of S pieces, plus twice the depth of hole A, into which they fit. From the separation of the sockets in Figure 2, that comes to $12\frac{3}{4} + \frac{3}{4} = 13\frac{1}{2}$ ", assuming the holes are $\frac{3}{8}$ " deep. Diameter should be the same as hole A, about 1" for the full sized version of the chair.

Once you have cut all the pieces and made sure that the pairs of S shaped pieces fit together and that tabs C fit into sockets D, the next step is to drill a hole at the center of each circle B. To make the two pivot pieces that go through those holes, cut two $2\frac{3}{4}$ " lengths of $\frac{7}{8}$ " hardwood dowel and



two circles of $\frac{3}{4}$ " hardwood the same size as circle B. Drill a $\frac{7}{8}$ " hole part way through the center of each circle and glue the dowel into it, giving the mushroom shaped piece at right.



Assemble two S pieces and one pivot piece as shown. Repeat for the other pair of S pieces. Make sure to assemble the legs so that all the holes A, drilled part way through, face inwards and pivot pieces face outwards. Assemble the whole thing, with tabs in slots and dowels in holes A.



The picture to the left shows how it now looks—a chair minus back and seat. To keep the pivot from coming out, drill a hole through the stem of the mushroom and put a small dowel through it as shown.



Figure 3 below is an approximate cutting diagram for the back—its aesthetic excellence should be credited to Hal, whose design I copied. Use either $\frac{1}{2}$ " or $\frac{3}{4}$ " wood. Scale the figure so the slots (G) are the right distance apart, and the right width, to fit into the grooves in the arms. This is best done after you have the rest of the chair assembled, since the exact separation of the arms depends on the exact angle at which the S shaped pieces cross, which in turn depends on fine details of the pieces.

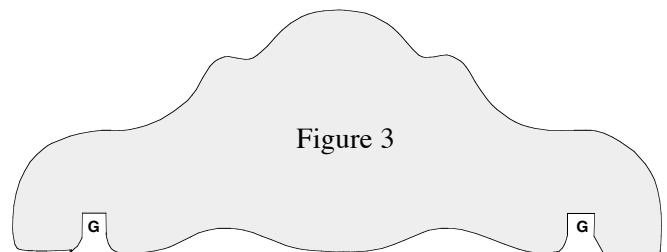
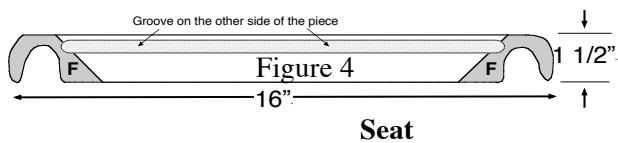


Figure 3



Seat

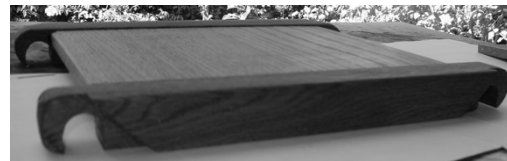
The seat consists of two support pieces of oak about $2 \times 1\frac{3}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{4}$ " and one piece about $12\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2}$ " that makes the seat itself; figure 4 shows a side view of one of the supports. The $\frac{1}{2}$ " piece goes into grooves cut into the inside surface of the supports—the surface away from the adjacent S piece. Exact dimensions should be calculated, like the exact form of the back, after the rest of the chair is done and you can measure the separation of the two upper dowels. The pictures above right show a top and bottom view of the assembled seat.

For my chair, I made the grooves $\frac{3}{8}$ " wide and $\frac{1}{2}$ " deep, then planed half an inch on each side of the seat down to $\frac{3}{8}$ " to fit, but if I were doing it again I would just use $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide grooves. The outside surface of the thick pieces is inset at the end—shaded area F—so that the edge of the assembled seat can fit partly over the adjacent S piece, as shown to the right.

Disassembly

The chair, minus back and seat, consists of two closed loops of wood—front S piece to foot to back S piece to arm to front S piece again. In Hal's version, one of the S pairs crosses right over left, the other left over right, with the result that one of the two loops is just inside the other. This prevents the loops from moving forward or back with regard to each other, supplementing the effect of the cross pins on the pivot pieces. It also means that the two loops can, in principle, be separated without taking either apart. In practice, however, the chair is sufficiently rigid so that it would be difficult to separate the crossing pieces far enough to make that possible.

One way to make the chair more transportable is to never glue on the arms, legs, and dowels, relying instead on the tabs being tight enough in the sockets to hold the piece together. That is how I have done



mine.

Improvements

There is a problem with the design I have just described. If the tabs and sockets are loose an arm or foot can come off when you move the chair; if they are tight, there is some risk that you will break a tab off in the process of disassembling. If the grain of the wood runs lengthwise at the ends of the S, it is at about 45° in the center of the S where the piece is only half thickness and so particularly in need of strength. If the grain runs parallel to the piece at the center, it is at an angle at the ends, and so likely to split.

One solution is to make each S out of three pieces of wood instead of one. The long piece is shaped like the S pieces of the current design, except that all of it is the same thickness; its grain runs parallel to the piece at the middle of the S. The other two are shorter, each providing one curve of the S (see figure 5, which shows the direction of the grain); their grain runs parallel to the piece at the end where the tabs are. Glue the

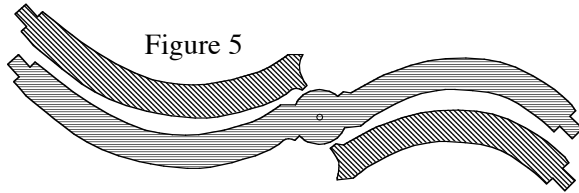


Figure 5

three pieces together and you have a single S, just like the ones described above, with the grain of the wood parallel to the piece at the end for half its thickness and parallel to the piece at the middle for all its (half) thickness. I have now made one chair that way but have not yet used it enough to see if the design works in practice as well as in theory.

A different solution, which I plan to try next time, is to eliminate the tabs on the ends of the S pieces, drill a hole where they were and a matching hole in arm or leg, and peg the two together with a short dowel. That should be a lot less work than chiseling out holes to fit the tabs.

Making a wooden seat for the chair is

one of the hard parts. Just as with the three legged stool described earlier, you can substitute a leather seat. The result is shown below on the left.

Finishing the Chair

Once everything is made, sand or file round any sharp edges or corners that you don't want sharp, assemble it, glue on feet, arms, and dowels (or not, depending on whether you want to be able to disassemble it later). I finish my furniture by wiping on raw linseed oil, leaving it fifteen minutes or so, wiping it off, repeating four or more hours later then letting the whole thing dry for a few days. The result on oak looks beautiful and provides some protection, although perhaps less than with more modern finishes. Linseed oil is a period material but I do not know if it was used for finishing furniture in period or not.



Conjecturally Authentic Furniture

In the SCA, we often speak as if something either is authentic (“in period”) or is not (“OOP”). This is a mistake—indeed two mistakes. Authenticity is a matter both of dimensions—a poem may be written in modern English yet wholly authentic in its verse form—and degree.

Treating authenticity as a yes/no category is not merely false but destructive. It provides an argument against any attempt to do things in a period way—“we can’t be authentic, since we don’t have the exact plant varieties used for food in period, or the exact breeds of sheep they got their wool from, so why bother to try?” In a less extreme form, it provides an argument against any attempt to improve the existing level of authenticity: “what we are doing is already period—we wouldn’t be doing it if it weren’t—so why try to do any better?”

One interesting category intermediate between blatantly modern and clearly period is the conjecturally authentic: something that could have been done in period, might well have been done, but we have no good evidence was done. Bluejeans do not qualify, because I am fairly sure they were not made in period, although (without zippers) they could have been. The peg together furniture shown on the next few pages, much of it made for my encampment at Pennsic, uses period techniques (the construction, although not the appearance, of the bed is loosely based on one from a viking ship grave) and materials likely to be used in period, but I am not working closely enough from a period model to claim that the furniture accurately represents furniture made in period.

One reason to do work that is only conjecturally authentic is that none of us has the time and energy to learn everything; I know people who have done extensive research in medieval furniture, but I am not one of them. A second is that not everything is knowable—for some of the medieval things we want to do, information on how they

were done in period may not have survived. These reasons must be balanced against a strong argument on the other side: medieval people knew much more than we do about how to solve problems using their technology, so learning how they did things and imitating them may save us the cost of learning by our own mistakes.

One reason to be at least conjecturally authentic is that doing so provides an interesting window on medieval life—not what they did but the problems they faced. Asking yourself how to build a bed in a world where metal is expensive, rubber unknown, wood, leather, rope and labor plentiful and cheap, helps you understand a little more about how the medieval world worked. The same is true of other attempts to use medieval technology to solve problems faced both in period and now—the discussions of hardened leather, pavilions, and Pennsic without coolers elsewhere in this book are examples. One conclusion I have reached is that, although medieval technology and economics may limit you, there is still a lot that can be, and was, done within those constraints. I find it hard to think of examples of things we have to do at events, including camping events, that could not be done in a satisfactory fashion using only period technology.

The objects shown on the next pages are solutions to a particular set of problems: How, consistent with medieval technology and economics, do you build a portable crib? A bed? A set of shelves? A chair? They are less authentic than the furniture described in the previous articles or that produced by the handful of SCA carpenters who have made a serious study of medieval furniture. But they are more authentic than most of what is used in the SCA, fairly easy to build, and designing them was fun.

Construction Notes:

The pieces of furniture illustrated here

are held together by mortise and tenon joints. The mortise is a slot cut in a plank, the tenon an extension of a second plank that goes through the mortise and is pegged on the far side. This should be clear from the figures, which show many such joints.

One detail that may not be sufficiently clear is the exact location of the hole in the tenon that the peg goes into. I like to make it slightly overlap the line showing where the edge of the plank containing the mortise is going to lie. That way when I assemble the pieces and force a tapered peg into the hole, I lock the joint tight. I have tried to illustrate the layout in the detail diagram of the end of the upper headboard of the bed.

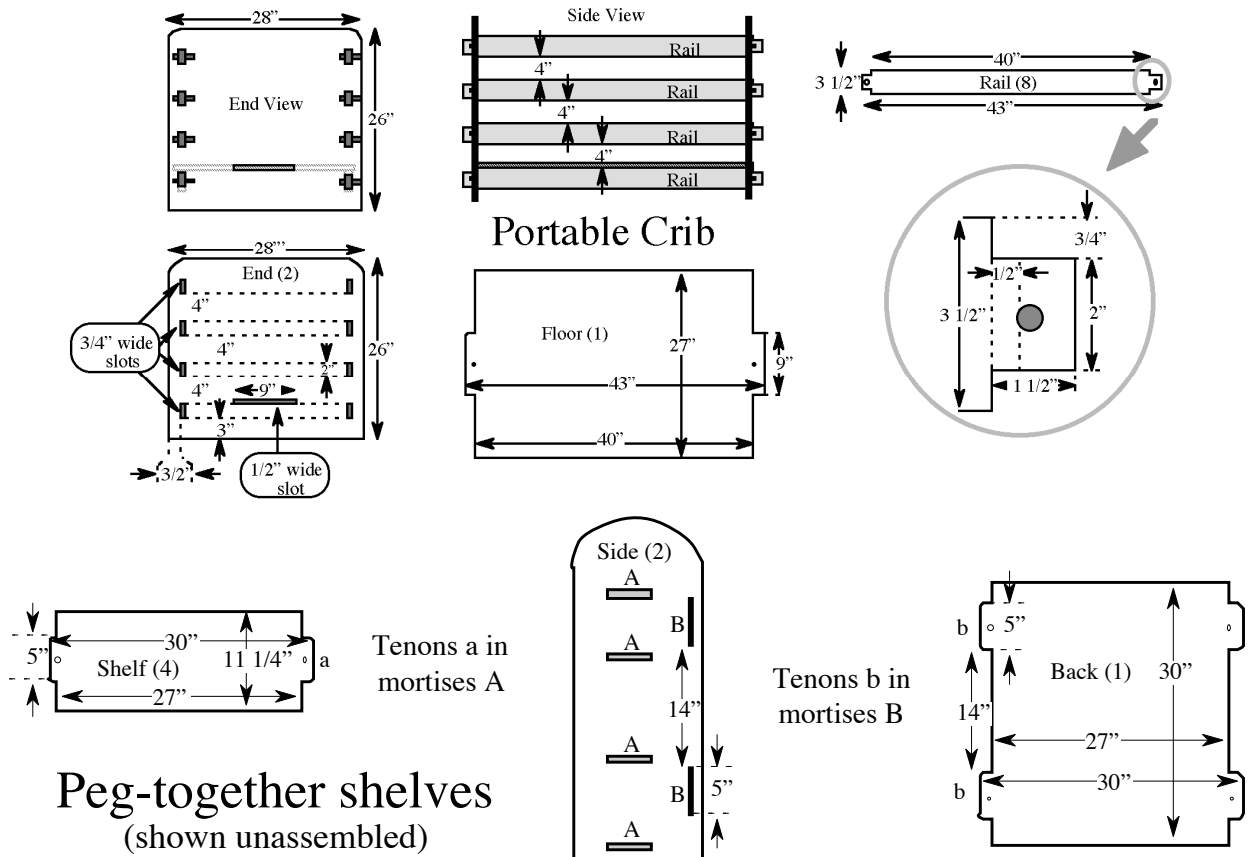
All pegs are 1/2" hardwood dowels, tapered at one end. All pieces were at some point sanded, stained, and finished.

Except for the rails, the bed pieces have a nominal thickness of 1" (1x6, 1x8, ...), which implies an actual thickness of 3/4". The rails, the slats and the glued on shelf that

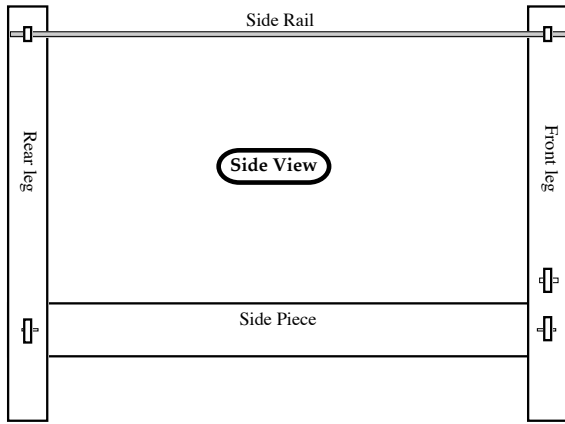
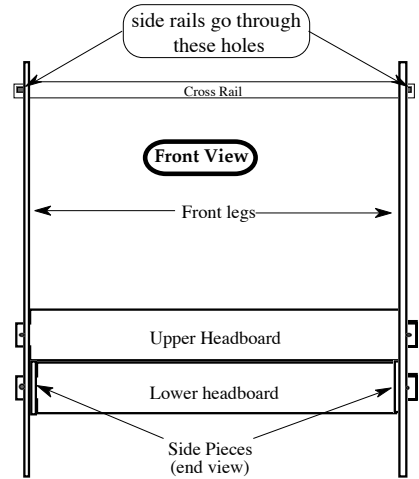
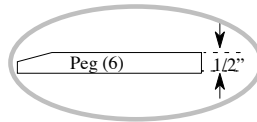
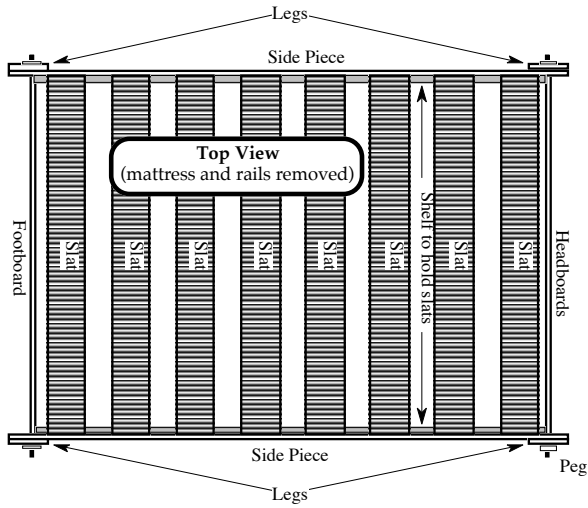
holds the slats are pine; everything else is poplar. If you use a stronger or weaker wood, you may want to modify proportions accordingly; the same is true if you are taller or shorter than our 5' 3 1/2" or intend the bed for more or fewer than two people. The wider the bed is, the greater the leverage your body weight can exert against the slats and thus the stronger they should be.

The rails were originally intended to support a canopy, as in many medieval beds, but have proven more useful as a place to hang damp garments when going to bed.

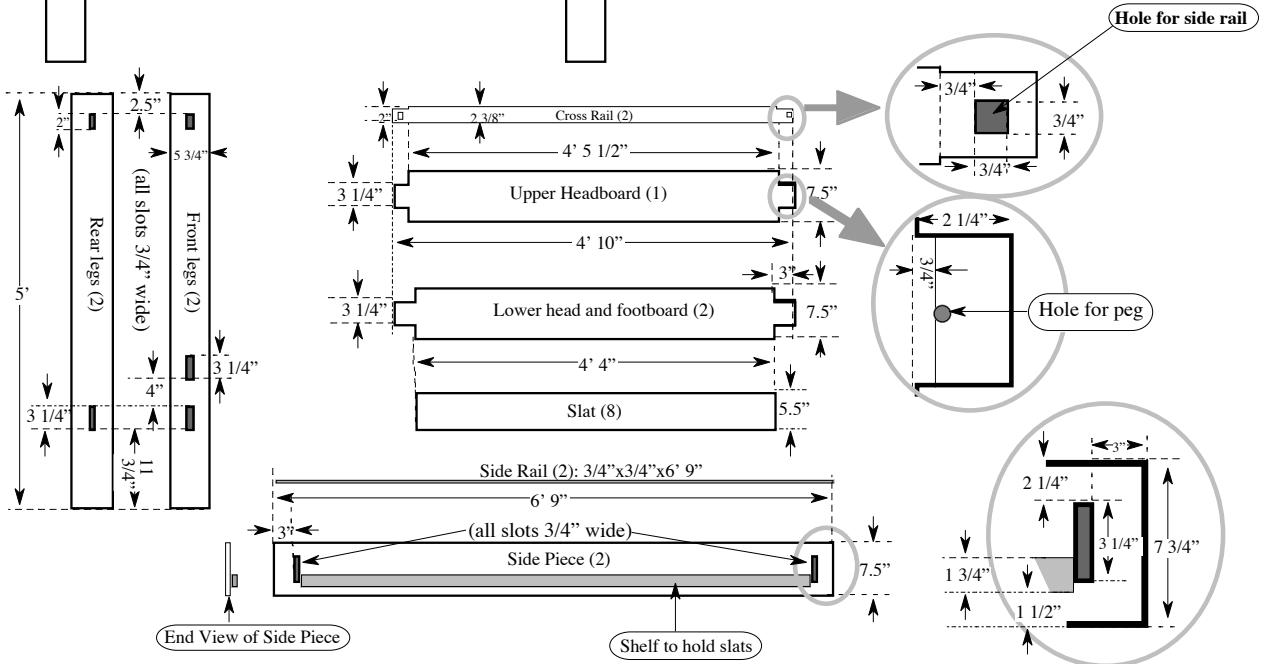
The back and sides of the shelves and the floor and ends of the crib are 1/2" plywood; the crib rails are pine 1x4's, the shelves pine 1x12's. Instead of drawing the assembled shelves, I have shown how they go together by labeling tenons (a, b) and mortises (A, B), with a fitting in A and b in B.

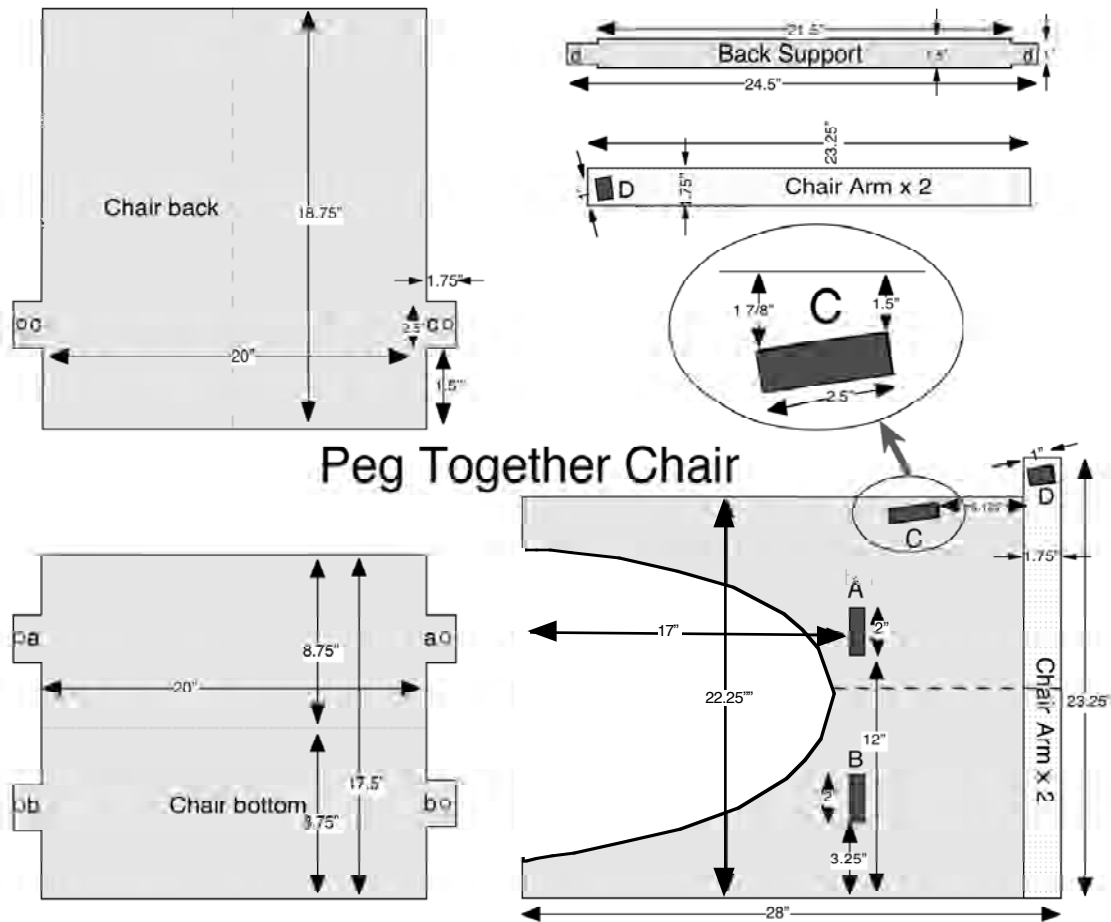


Peg-together shelves
(shown unassembled)



Peg-together four poster canopy bed





Peg Together Chair

The picture shows the assembled chair, the diagram shows it disassembled. All pieces are made from $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick hardwood (nominal 1"). Back, bottom, and sides are each made from two pieces glued together; the dashed line shows the glue joint. The chair arms are glued along the *outside* top edge of the sides—opposite sides for the two chair sides. They project out behind the sides in order that the tenons (d) at the end of the back support can fit into the mortises (D) at the ends of the arms.

To assemble the chair, you fit tenons a and b on the right edge of the chair bottom into mortises A and B in the right chair side, making sure that the arm is attached on the opposite side from the bottom. You fit tenons a and b on the left edge of the bottom into A and B in the left chair side. Fit tenon

c on the right edge of the chair back into mortise C in the right chair side, tenon c on the left edge of the back into mortise C in the left chair side.

You now have a chair, but one in which all of the stress when you lean back is against tenons c. To provide additional support for the back, fit tenon d of the back support into mortise D of the chair arm on each side. The back support now runs across behind the back at the height of the arms. Put $\frac{1}{2}$ " pegs into all of the $\frac{1}{2}$ " holes in the tenons (six of them—tenons d don't need pegs) and you are done.



A Tourney Chest That Comes Apart

A few years back I went by air to an out of kingdom weekend event, a weekend devoted to period cooking at which I was one of the instructors. I did not like the idea of spending an SCA weekend living out of a suitcase, so designed a peg together tourney chest that broke down to a collection of planks that would fit in my luggage. The chest is loosely based on the Mastermeyer chest, a Norse tool chest from about 1000 A.D.; I modified the design, converting all the joints to pegged tenon and mortice so that it could be taken apart. Information on the original and a description of a much closer reconstruction can be found at:

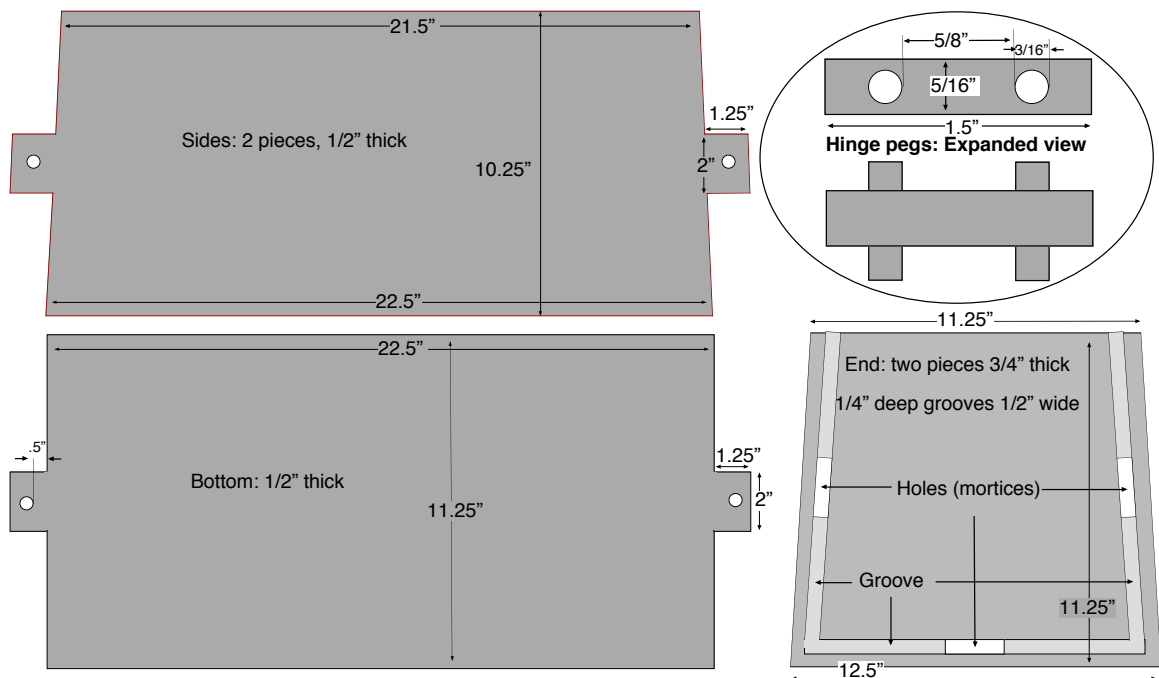
www.angelfire.com/wy/svenskildbiter/Viking/vikchest.html

The chest consists of six pieces, five of which are shown below—two sides, two ends, a bottom and a top (not shown). The longest pieces are 25" long, which was just slightly less than the longest dimension of my suitcase. If you are making it for the same purpose I was, you will want to adjust the size accordingly, based on the dimensions of your luggage. The photograph

on the next page shows all six pieces.

The parts of the chest most likely to break are the grooved ends, so they are hardwood; the rest is pine to save weight and cost. The pegs are short lengths of $\frac{3}{8}$ " diameter dowel going through $\frac{3}{8}$ " diameter holes; the holes are inset $\frac{1}{2}$ " from the edges of the bottom and side as shown. I used a router to make the grooves; if you don't have one you could use a chisel.

The trickiest parts were the lid and the hinges. The lid of the original is curved. To make something similar you start with a $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick plank $10\frac{1}{2}$ "x $22\frac{1}{2}$ ", hollow out the bottom and curve the top, as shown in the photographs. I used a router and then a chisel, but you could do it with just a chisel. My original plan was to attach the lid to the side in a way that let the two pieces fold flat, but I was unable to find a way of doing that that looked right, so ended up attaching the hinge to the top with nails peened over—in effect rivets—and to the side with removable pegs. The figure above shows an expanded view of one of the pegs—a $\frac{5}{16}$ " dowel with two $\frac{3}{16}$ " holes in it that two



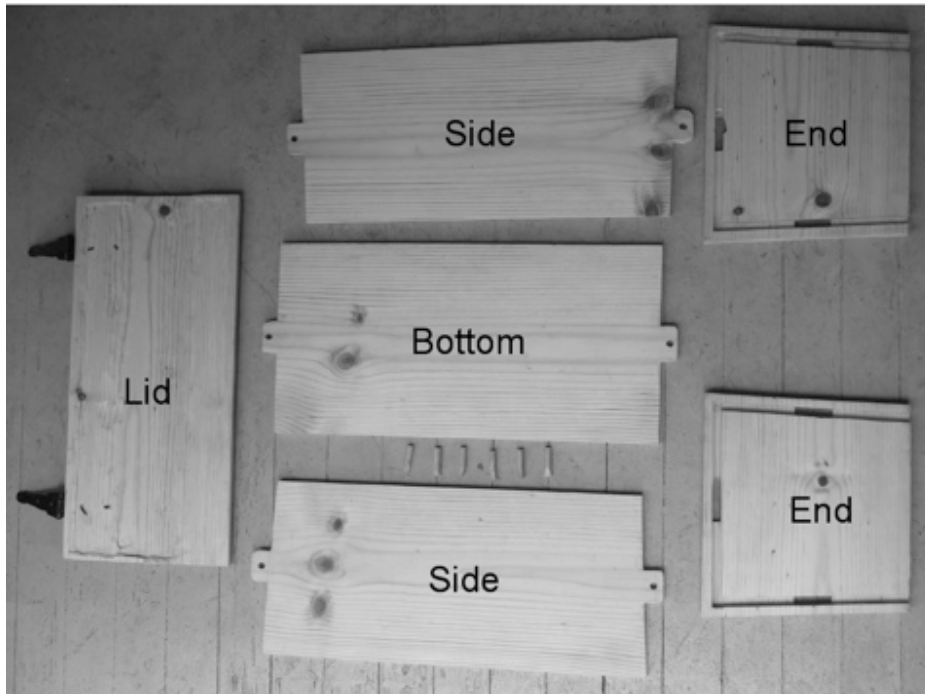
short 3/16" dowels fit through. The exact distance between the holes will depend on the thickness of your hinge. Someone later suggested to me that a better solution would have been to make the hinge pin, the metal piece that joins the two sides of the hinge, removable, so that the hinge could come apart; that way I could permanently attach both sides, one to the lid and one to the back panel.

List of Materials

Hinges: One pair

1/2" pine: 2/25"x10 1/2", 1/25"x11 1/4", 3/4" pine
1/22 1/2"x10 1/2", 3/4" oak: 2/12 1/2"x11 1/4".

Dowels: 3/8"x12", 5/16"x 9", 3/16"x5"
(enough to make plenty of pegs)

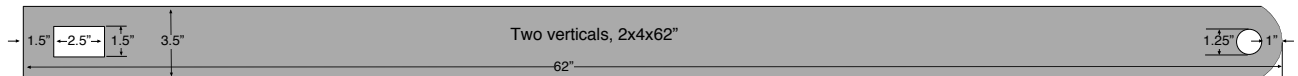
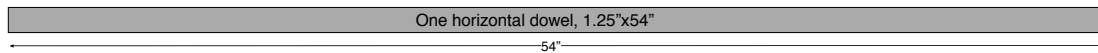
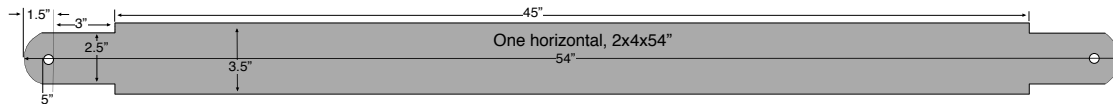
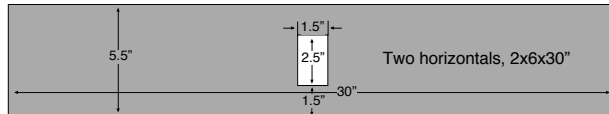


A Clothing Rack

Some time ago, our local Golden Key wanted a clothing rack. I did not find any period examples, so designed one that used period techniques and was easy to make and take apart. I thought other people might find the design useful. The cutting pattern and photograph should be self-explanatory

Materials:

2/2x4x62" (verticals),
 1/1x4x54" (horizontal)
 2/2x6x30" (horizontal)
 1/1¼"x54" softwood dowel (closet rod)
 Pegs: 2/½" diameter dowels about 3" long



One day, when the Prophet (God's Peace and Blessing upon Him, His Kindred and His Companion Train) was sitting by the way, a man came running by in terror of his life.

"Save me, Prophet of God, there are men after me who desire my death."

The Prophet (God's Blessing upon Him and his family) replied:
 "Run on. I will save you."

As soon as the man was out of sight, the Prophet got up, moved a few feet, and sat down again.

A little while later, the pursuers came, and they asked him:

"Muhammad, has a man passed you here?" And they described him.

"By Him Who holds my soul in his hand, since I sat down here no one has passed."

And knowing the Prophet to be a truthful man, they turned aside and sought the fugitive a different way, and so the man was saved.

(Based on a story in *The Subtle Ruse*)

A Harp Cart

My daughter's harp is too heavy and fragile to be carried around Pennsic unprotected. Its case is soft sided and obviously modern. I built her a hard sided wooden case, only to discover that case plus harp weighed more than she could readily lug around. So I built a cart to carry the case; this time the solution worked. Other harpists noticed and expressed interest, hence this article.

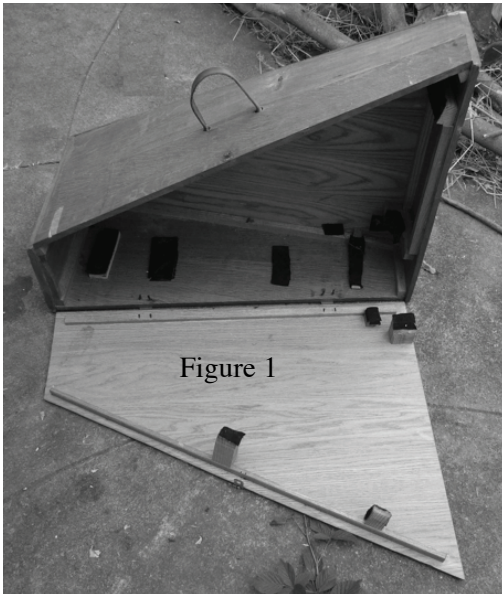


Figure 1

Figure 1 shows the case, figure 2 the cart with the case strapped into it. Figure 3 shows the disassembled cart; note the sheepskin padding at the corners and end. Figure 4a is a picture of one wheel, 4b a diagram showing how it is built. 5a shows the cart viewed from below, 5b is the corresponding diagram. Overall dimensions depend on the size of what the cart is going to carry; mine can be estimated from the yardstick in Figure 5a.



Figure 2

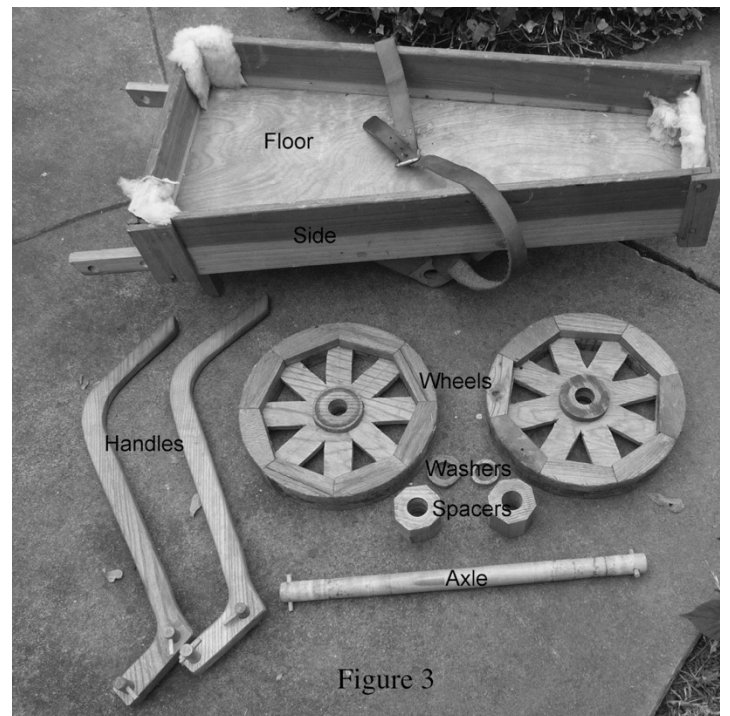
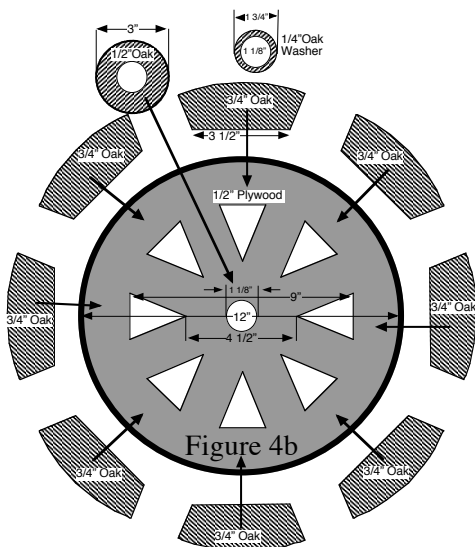
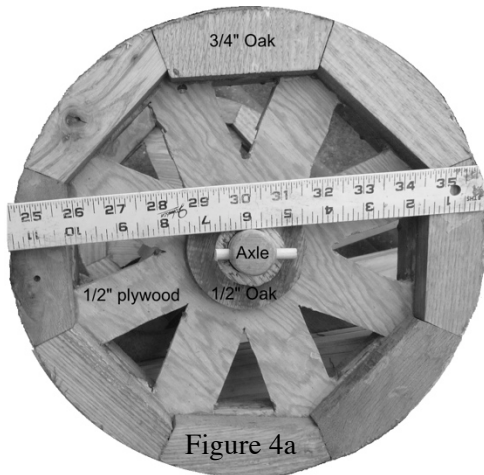


Figure 3

The Wheel

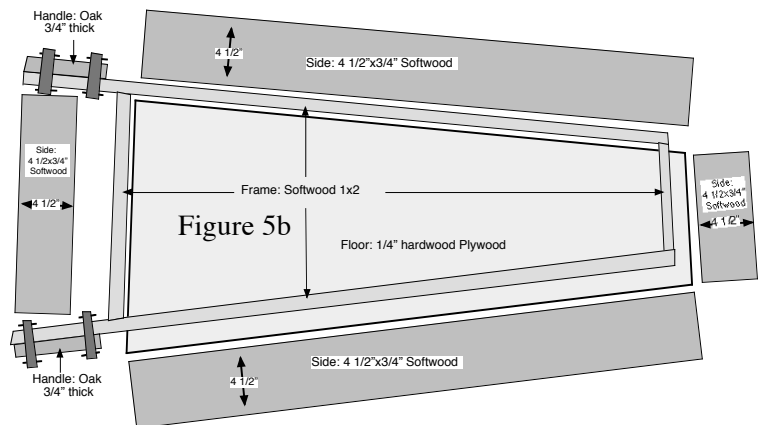
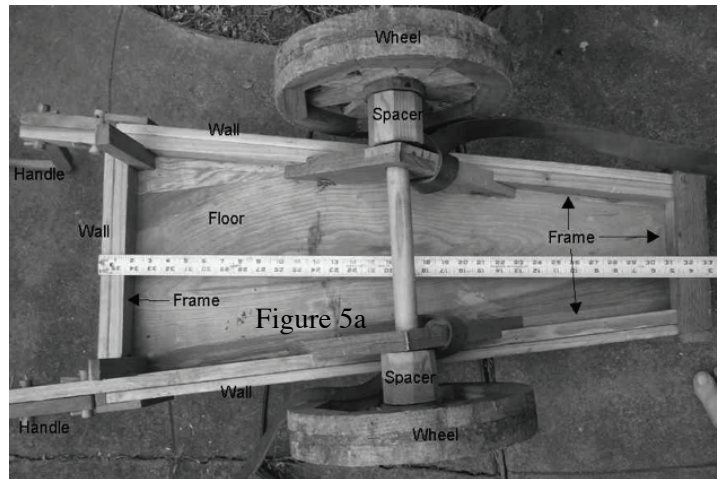
The wheel starts as a disc of 1/2" thick plywood, diameter 12", with triangles cut out between the spokes as shown. It is reinforced with sixteen pieces of 3/4" oak, eight glued to each side, and two 3" diameter disks of 1/2" oak glued onto the center, one on each side. Arrows on Figure 4b show where the hardwood pieces attach to the plywood. The axle is a hardwood dowel 1 1/8" in diameter; it passes through the oak disk, the plywood, and the second oak disk on the other side. There is an oak washer that fits over the axle outside the wheel and a softwood spacer that goes between the wheel and the body of the cart, holding the wheel far enough out so that it doesn't run into the body.



The Body

The body of the cart starts with a frame of (nominal) 1x2 softwood glued onto a floor of 1/4" hardwood plywood. The two long pieces of the frame extend behind the cart for the handles to attach to. The sides of the cart, which are glued to the frame and the edge of the floor, are 4 1/2" wide by 3/4" thick softwood. On Figure 5b the floor has been displaced down and to the right and the walls folded out flat.

Additional pieces—two feet projecting down at the wide end of the cart, corner pieces to reinforce the walls, an extra piece under the front end of the cart, and the (oak) pieces under the cart that the axle goes through, can be seen in the pictures.



To Make a Lyre



My initial source for information on how to make an Anglo-Saxon lyre was an article by Master Dofinn-Hallr Morrisson, webbed at <http://www.cs.vassar.edu/~priestd/lyre.html>. I have also made use of the chapter on the Sutton Hoo lyre in *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* by Rupert Bruce-Mitford. My later lyres are based on the lyre excavated in Trossingen in 2002, the only complete instrument still known to exist. Several were based on the preliminary account of the excavation, but for the most recent ones I was able to use the much more detailed description published in *Germania* in December of 2006.⁵

In this article I first describe three ways of making the Sutton Hoo style lyre, two loosely based on Dof's deliberately simplified design, the third an attempt to get closer to the original. Dof is not responsible for any errors I have introduced. I then go on to describe how to build a Trossingen lyre.

The picture above is a finished lyre constructed according to my second design. It is 30" long and 8½" wide. The general pattern is common to all three designs—a rounded rectangle with an offset rounded rectangular hole. The main body of the instrument is a hollow soundboard. Six strings

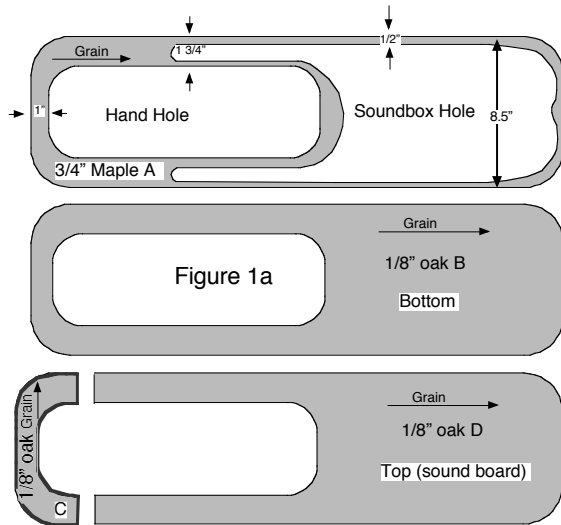
run from a tailpiece⁶ at one end, over a bridge resting on the soundboard, over the hole, to tuning pins at the other end of the instrument. If Dof's interpretation of the evidence is correct, the instrument is played by using one hand to strum all six strings while using the other to damp from behind the strings you do not want to sound. Readers interested in further explanation should check his web site, other sites that discuss the lyre, and the email list Anglo_Saxon_Lyres@yahoogroups.com.

All three of the Sutton Hoo style lyres whose construction I describe are made of maple with an oak soundboard, although other hardwoods should work as well. The first design, which I have not made, is intended to produce a working instrument without requiring the use of a router or chisel. The second and third designs assume that you have either a router or skill and patience with a chisel. The other tools you will require are a saw capable of making curved cuts in ¾" hardwood, including one interior cut (so a band saw by itself is not sufficient), some way of sanding the wood, and a drill. For the third design a table saw is useful but not essential. For convenience

⁵ Barbara Theune-Großkopf, "Die Vollständig erhaltene Leier des 6. Jahrhunderts aus Grab 58 von Trossingen, Ladkr. Tuttlingen, Baden-Württemberg," *Germania* 84, 2006.

⁶ The tailpiece is conjectural. So far as I know, none have survived and there are no contemporary illustrations showing the instrument clearly enough to tell if there is a tailpiece, let alone what it looks like.

all three designs are given for instruments about the size of the Sutton-Hoo lyre; some of the lyres shown in the illustrations are, and some historic lyres were, substantially smaller.



First Design: The body

Materials: maple plank 3/4"x30"x8", oak planks 1/8" x26"x8", 1/8" x30"x8", 1/8"x4"x8".

In each case, the grain runs along the second dimension (see figures). If you can't get 1/8" oak (I bought it at 1/4" and had the lumber store plane it down for me; alternatively, it might be possible to use a saw to split a 1/2" thick plank into two pieces each about 1/8" thick) use 1/4". Or use 1/8" hardwood plywood, in which case the direction of the grain will not be an issue.

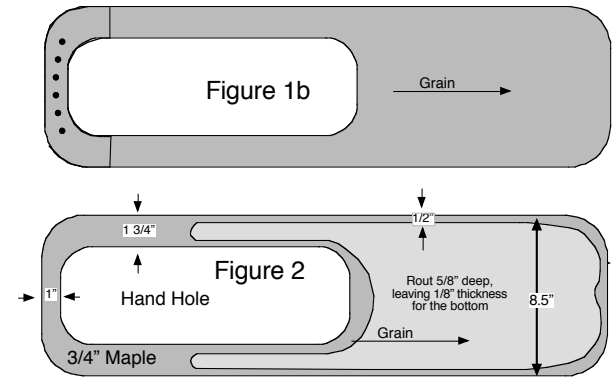
Figure 1a shows the cutting pattern for the pieces. Piece A is the maple plank that makes up most of the lyre, B the bottom of the instrument, C and D the top. Arrows show the direction of the grain. Glue piece B to the bottom of the maple, glue C and D to the top as shown on Figure 1b (ignore the six black circles for the moment). Let the glue dry. Then ... (skip the next bit)

Second Design: The body

Materials: maple plank 3/4"x30"x8", oak planks 1/8" x26"x8", 1/8"x4"x8". Grain runs

along the second dimension (see figures).

Cut oak pieces C and D as in the first design. Cut the maple as shown in Figure 2. Rout out the lightly shaded region to a depth of 5/8"—in other words, until the remaining thickness of the bottom is only 1/8". You will



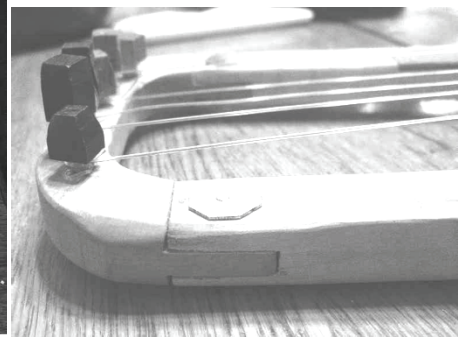
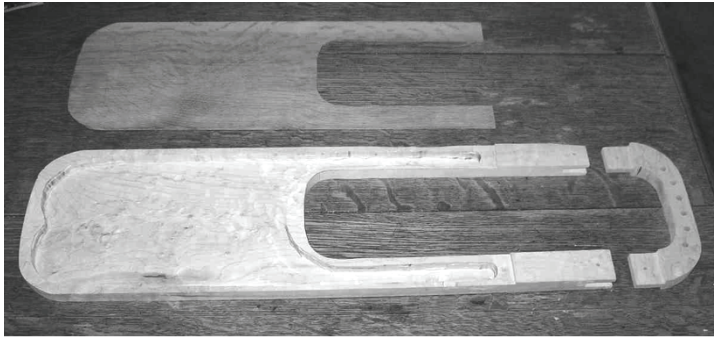
probably want to initially leave a ridge unrouted along the center of what is going to be the sound box in order to have something to support the side of the router while taking down the rest of the sound box. You take the ridge down as a final step, using a piece of wood of the thickness you have routed out under the edge of the router to support it if necessary.

Cut pieces C and D as you did for the first design and glue them onto the maple as shown in Figure 1b. You don't need an oak bottom because you still have a maple bottom. Let the glue dry.

First and Second Designs

Sand the body to round any sharp edges, make joints more precisely flush, and bring the wood to your desired level of smoothness. Get six zither pins.⁷ Experiment with scrap wood to see what size drill gives you a hole a pin will screw tightly into. Drill six holes in the pin end of the lyre, corresponding to the black circles on Figure 1b. Tap the threaded ends of the zither pins into the holes, then screw them in.

⁷ More authentic peg designs are discussed below.



Third Design:

The body of the actual Sutton Hoo lyre was made in two pieces, not counting the sound board. One possible reason was to get the grain running crosswise in the peg end, so as to minimize the risk that a peg, pulled by the tension of the string, would act as a wedge to split the wood. Another possibility is that doing it that way made it easier to cut out the interior hole. My guess is that the maker was simply showing off.

The pictures above show the assembled lyre, the unassembled pieces of the body, and two views of the peg end. After assembly, the two pieces of the body are held together by rivets—brass rods that run through a hole from a brass plate on the top of the lyre to a brass washer on the bottom and fasten by peening over the washer.

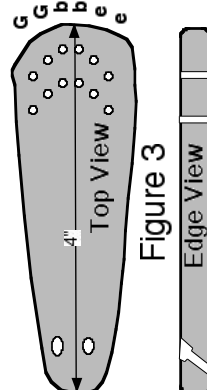
All designs:

Drill a $\frac{3}{8}$ " hole one inch deep in the center of the end of the lyre opposite to the pins. Glue into it a $1\frac{1}{2}$ " long $\frac{3}{8}$ " dowel with at least $\frac{1}{2}$ " protruding, as shown in the picture at right. Make a tail piece of $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick hardwood (you should have some suitable oak left over) roughly similar to Figure 3. The 12 small holes are $\frac{1}{16}$ " in diameter, the 2 large holes somewhat larger

and slanted (see edge view). Their exact size depends on what is going through them to hold the tail piece onto the peg at the end of the lyre; I've used both rawhide and silver wire. Make a bridge roughly similar to the ones shown in the pictures from $\frac{1}{4}$ " hardwood (or bone or amber if you happen to have them). The bridge of the Trossingen lyre (p. 272) was made of willow.

Wipe raw linseed oil onto all of the wood, leave it five or ten minutes, wipe off, let dry. Wait at least four hours and repeat. Or use some other finish if you prefer.

Purchase the following nylon guitar strings (gut strings if you can get them—or you could experiment with wire): Two each G, b and e. Attach the strings to the tail piece, running each in one hole, out the hole behind it, and tying, arranging the strings as shown in Figure 3. Attach the tailpiece to the peg at the end of the lyre, using a short



length of rawhide, a loop of silver wire,⁸ or whatever else you have that will work. Attach the far end of each string to the corresponding peg at the peg end of the lyre, cutting the strings to length if necessary. Tighten the strings by turning the pegs (you will need to buy or make a key—a device that fits over the peg to turn it) until they are just barely taut. Insert the bridge, locating it at about the middle of the soundbox. Continue to tighten the pegs, tuning them (low to high, left to right if the lyre is viewed from the string side with the peg end up) to b-flat, c, d, e-flat, f, g. This assumes a distance from bridge to tuning pin of 20"—for each 6% longer (shorter) you should lower (raise) the scale by one half step. Make sure the bridge is still vertical—tightening the strings tends to pull its top edge towards the pegs. Leave it a while. Retune (the strings will stretch). Repeat until it holds its tuning.

You now have a lyre.

The Trossingen Lyre

In 2002 an excavation of a Merovingian grave at Trossingen yielded the skeleton of a warrior holding a complete lyre—the only complete period lyre currently known to exist, two others having been destroyed during WWII. See the next page for pictures of the original instrument and my copy.⁹

The Trossingen lyre is less square than the Sutton Hoo, with a slight waist. The body is a single piece. The soundboard is glued on instead of nailed, although there are several nails that appear to be later repairs. I prefer the design, in part on aesthetic grounds and in part because it is easier to make than an accurate copy of the

⁸ Silver wire, as shown in one picture, looks classy but has some tendency to cut into the wood. And if it were used in historic lyres it would probably have been found in the excavations—and wasn't.

⁹ This is the only period lyre for which I have been able to locate a detailed description. I do not know which of the details are specific to this instrument.

riveted Sutton Hoo design.

Several other details differ from the lyres described above. Instead of a peg at the bottom end¹⁰ there is a protrusion of the body, as shown in the figures. There are two beechwood pegs running vertically through body and soundboard; the figures show their position. The soundboard is of varying thickness, about ¼" under the bridge, an eighth inch or less above and below that. The body is also of varying thickness, about ¾" at the peg end tapering to ½" at the yoke. The soundboard fits into the body at the upper end rather than lying on top of it.

There are also three more striking differences:

The tuning pegs are upside down—the heads are under the lyre, the strings attached to the end protruding above the lyre. Four of the pegs are made of ash and appear designed to be turned with the fingers, two are hazel and appear designed for a tuning key. My guess is that one group are replacements. I can get ash but not hazel and wanted to try the finger turned version, so used that for all my pegs.

The Trossingen, unlike any other lyre I have seen described, has sound holes—eight small holes in two horizontal rows of four, placed so that the bridge might fit between the two rows, as in my picture below, plus two more holes located near the tips of the arms.

The entire surface of the instrument is elaborately carved (see picture on the next page¹¹ below bottom left). This feature I have made no attempt to reproduce.

Aside from those differences, the basic construction is the same. You start with a ¾" thick plank, 32" long by 8" wide; if you want to stick closely to the design of the original you taper the plank towards the yoke end, using a saw, a router, a sander, a chisel, or whatever else you think will work.

¹⁰ I am imagining the instrument vertical, tuning peg end ("yoke") up.

¹¹ The image is trimmed from one on the web which is under a creative commons license: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:ALM_02_Leier.jpg



Using a router, you hollow it out as usual, leaving 1/8" thickness. Cut out the body—I find it easier to do the router work first, since the extra wood helps



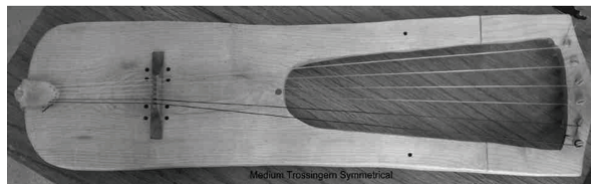
support the edge of the router—and cut a depression to fit the end of the soundboard into (see pictures). Sand flat the surface the soundboard will fit into.

To make the soundboard, you start with a 1/4" plank about 26" long by 7 1/2" wide. Working from one side—I used a router, then smoothed with a belt sander—you take most of it down to 1/8", leaving a band about 4" wide at 1/4" and tapering between that and the rest.¹² You cut the sound board to shape, drill the sound holes, glue it to the body with the flat side down for a better fit, the surface you have shaped up (I did this wrong the first time,

which made a good glue join much harder to achieve). Sand everything smooth, finish the instrument with linseed oil, add tuning pegs, tailpiece, and strings. For the pictured instrument I used a piece of thick rawhide as the tailpiece.

The Trossingen lyre is in several ways mildly assymetric; I do not know how much of that is due to warping, to the constraints of the available material, or to working around the pattern of the carving, and how much is functional. Since only the last is relevant to how other lyres ought to be made, I first built as exact a copy as I could (shown on the right), then redid the design to make it symmetrical and built a second and smaller instrument based on that (pieces shown on the left, instrument above).

¹² I am simplifying the profile—the sound board actually gets thicker again at the peg end, coming to about 3/16." I do not know how much of the variation was deliberate.



The cutting pattern at the end of this article is the symmetrical version. If you want to make a closer copy you should probably work from the *Germania* article, since it has more detailed information than I give here.

Medium Trossingen Symmetrical

Glue

The Trossingen lyre was held together with bone glue. Modern bone glue comes as tiny amber spheres. Put some in a small jar, fill with water to a little above the top of the spheres, leave overnight. Then heat it by putting the jar in the microwave or in a pan of water on the stove. As it heats it liquifies; if you think it is too thick you can add a little more water. You spread it on the lyre body where it needs to be glued to the soundboard and clamp. You have to be careful to clamp it everywhere to avoid having places where there is no glue join.

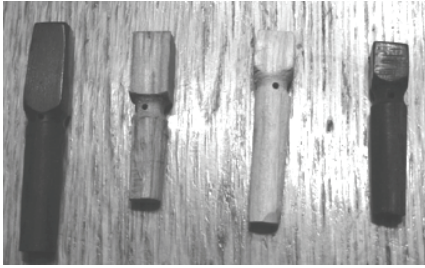
Bone glue softens when it gets hot. Don't leave your lyre in a very hot car or sitting on top of your tent spokes on a hot Pennsic day (yes—I did). But if you do something wrong it makes it possible to separate the glued pieces and try again. You could also use modern glues—but when the kind of glue actually used is still readily available, I prefer to use it.



Trossingen Lyre



Trossingen Copy



Pegs

On the finished lyre, the strings will run from a tailpiece at one end to pegs at the other. You can, as described earlier, use metal zither tuning pegs. The real instruments used tapered wooden tuning pegs fitting into tapered holes. After unsuccessful attempts to taper the pegs by hand and the holes with a plumber's reamer, I went up on the web and located a peg shaver designed for tapering tuning pegs and a matching taper reamer designed for tapering the holes they fitted into. After experimenting with making my own tuning key I went to using square socket keys apparently intended for cabinet doors. As you will see from the pictures, I tried a variety of peg designs; the following description is what I used until the long article on the Trossingen lyre, complete with details of its pegs, became available.

To make square headed pegs like those on the Sutton Hoo lyre, start by cutting a piece of wood with a square cross section to fit the socket key (10 mm or 8 mm) and the length you want the peg to be—about 2". Clamp a piece of scrap 2x4 to the table of the drill press, put a drill bit—the kind that has a sharp point to center it precisely—in the chuck, and drill a hole in the 2x4. Take the drill bit out of the chuck, turn it over, and put it in the hole, point up.

Clamp your piece of wood in the chuck, centering it as well as possible, and lower it onto the point of the drill bit, centering that at the bottom of the piece of wood; the drill press is now functioning as an improvised vertical lathe. Use a round file to turn a groove just below what will be the head of the tuning pin for the string to

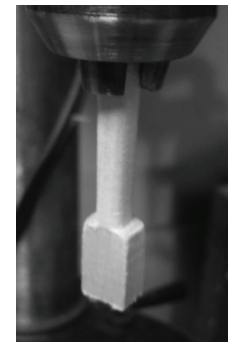
wrap around. Below that, press a flat file on either side, and turn the wood round; if you get bored using a file try coarse sandpaper.

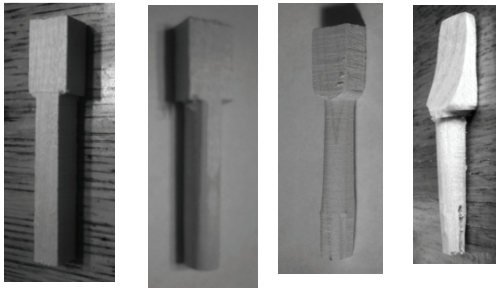
You now have a tuning pin with a square head, a groove for the string, and the rest round, as shown in the figure. Take the peg out of the drill press and use the peg shaver to taper the round part. Drill a small hole crosswise in the groove for the string. Finally drill holes in the lyre where you want the pegs to be and taper them with the reamer. Use fine sandpaper on both pegs and holes to smooth them.

Alternatively, you could start with a piece of dowel and cut one end square to fit the key. One advantage of the way I do it is that I can use varieties of wood not readily available as dowels, such as the ash that some of the pins of the Trossingen lyre were made of or ebony if I want to make a particularly classy instrument.

When you finally assemble the instrument, check that none of the pegs protrude beyond the bottom; if they do, saw off the tip. Otherwise, when you are pressing down on the peg end of the lyre in the process of tightening a string, you may pop out a peg.

The Trossingen pegs: To make pegs for the Trossingen lyre I cut a piece of ash into pieces about $\frac{5}{8}$ " x $\frac{3}{8}$ " x $2\frac{3}{4}$ " with the grain running the long way, then use a saw to reduce $1\frac{3}{4}$ " of the length to a cross section of about $\frac{5}{16}$ " and a sander to round that a little (see pictures). I insert the end of the piece in the chuck of my drill press and use it as a vertical lathe to turn the reduced part, not counting what's in the chuck, down to about a $\frac{5}{16}$ " diameter dowel, as described above. I taper the part of the wood that was in the chuck so it won't get in the way in the peg shaver (it is going to





protrude so doesn't have to be exactly tapered), use the peg shaver to taper the rest, cut a narrow slit in the end for the string, flatten the end a little (because that's how the real ones were done—I don't know why), use saw and sander to shape the head of the peg as shown, and fit the peg to the hole it goes in. The sequence of steps is shown at the top of the next page. Pegs and holes end up about 7mm in diameter at the widest; I am now experimenting with smaller ones.

Wood for sound boards: 1/8" hardwood is hard to find; I have had some success searching online. If you are unable to locate a source, there are several other possibilities.

Using my band saw I can cut an 1/8" slice off a board with a width of up to about 6", which works for small lyres but not big ones. You should be able to do the same thing with a hand saw and a wider board if you have a sufficiently steady hand with the saw; I haven't tried. Or you might be able to find a lumberyard that was willing to split a board for you and had a big enough saw for

the purpose. Alternatively, buy 1/4" hardwood and use a plane, router, and/or sander to take it down; this gives you the option of varying the thickness as in the Trossingen lyre.

A simpler and less expensive solution is to use 1/8" hardwood plywood, available at Home Depot (and I presume other places) in 4'x8' sheets for ten dollars or so. One sheet should make a lot of lyres. One problem is that the plywood tends to splinter when being sawed or drilled.

Sources for Materials

Metal Zither Tuning pins: www.elderly.com

Square Keys:

<http://www.samstagsales.com/amf.htm>

<http://www.jwwinco.com/products/section16/din7417/index.html>

Peg making tools:

<http://www.internationalluthiers.com/tools.php>

<http://www.stewmac.com/shop/Tools.html>,

<http://www.pilgrimsprojects.biz/vtools.html>

Bone glue:

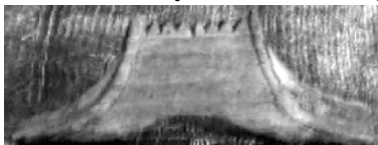
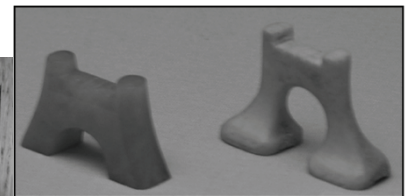
<http://www.kremer-pigmente.de/englisch/chemic02.htm#glues&watercolorbinders>

Wire for strings: <http://www.fortepiano.com>

A version of this article and a cutting pattern for the symmetrical version of the Trossingen lyre are webbed at:

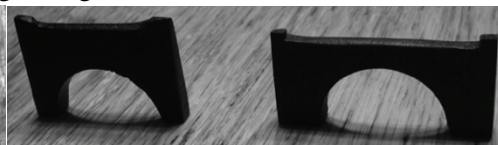
[http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Articles/ More_Articles.html](http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Articles/More_Articles.html).

Cariadoc



Bridge of the Trossingen Lyre

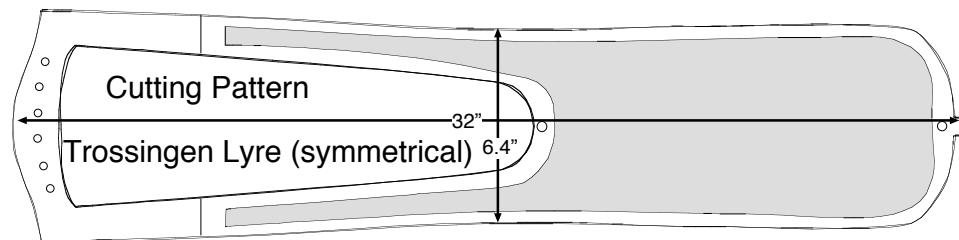
8.8 cm x 2.2 cm



My Ebony Bridges

Replica Lyre Bridges in the

British Museum



A Jeweler's Bibliography

Concerning Three Treatises on the Jeweler's Art

These books serve excellently either as introductions or as aids to the experienced worker; each is written by a master both of his own craft and of its exposition. The volume by Fr. Theophilus is most basic; he begins the section on metalwork (Book III) with instructions on how to build a workshop, construct a forge and bellows, forge tools, grind and harden them, make crucibles, and refine silver. Having thus gotten the student fairly started, he sets him a project, a small chalice of silver, and in the ensuing chapters describes its construction and the construction of further projects, explaining along the way all the necessary techniques. After working his way through eighty chapters, the reader will find himself in possession of two chalices, a cast censor, a well-equipped workshop, and an extensive set of skills. The remainder of Book III contains, among other things, instructions on building an organ and casting bells. Books I and II are devoted to the arts of the painter and the worker in glass.

Sr. Cellini writes for those having access to more extensive sources for supplies and equipment; where Fr. Theophilus provides a necessary ingredient by repeatedly heating and quenching a piece of copper, Sr. Cellini apparently sends his apprentice to the corner apothecary for a cake of verdigris, "the best you can get." The pieces described are accordingly more elaborate and the techniques somewhat more complicated, yet his descriptions are sufficiently clear to permit a careful craftsman to follow many of them. The instructions on setting stones, and in particular on preparing colored foils to set behind the stones to improve their color, are especially interesting.

Herbert Maryon is a student of both Theophilus and Cellini; his book is the most complete of the three, containing details taken from the other two books as well as

much new material. The craftsman, and especially the novice, will probably find it the easiest manual to work from.

While these books are chiefly valuable as manuals for the craftsman, they also serve to reveal the characters of their authors and perhaps, through them, of the nations from which they come. Fr. Theophilus begins his discussion of metalworking with a prologue arguing that in making beautiful things we glorify Allah (the Compassionate, the Merciful). Sr. Cellini devotes his work, scarcely less explicitly, to the glorification of Cellini, filling it with anecdotes of his triumphs over various of his co-workers. Mr. Maryon appears devoted primarily to the advancement of his art, an end admirably served by his book.

(The Books)

On Divers Arts, The Treatise of Theophilus, John G. Hawthorne and Cyril Stanley Smith, translators. University of Chicago Press 1963, 1976. Also available in a Dover edition.

A medieval craftsman's manual, probably from the 12th century. It contains one section on the art of the painter, one on the art of the worker in glass, and one on the art of the metalworker. The third section is much the longest and most detailed, and it seems likely that the author was himself a metalworker.

The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture, C.R. Ashbee, translator. Dover 1967.

Cellini was a sixteenth century Italian craftsman, author of both this book and a famous autobiography. The treatise on goldsmithing contains a great deal of technical information on period techniques, mixed with anecdotes designed to demonstrate the superlative wisdom and skill of the author.

Metalwork and Enamelling, Herbert

Maryon. Dover 1971.

Maryon worked for many years at the British Museum; he was responsible, among other things, for the restoration of the Sutton Hoo treasure. His book is a detailed and carefully written manual. It should be particularly useful to SCA jewelers for two reasons. First, he describes many period techniques, not as matters of merely antiquarian interest but as practical ways of making jewelry. Second, he assumes that the reader will have to do a good deal of improvisation, including making much of his own equipment. In one of his chapters on soldering, for example, he not only explains how to make a jeweler's furnace but even tells the reader how to make his own charcoal.

Reference Works

Most books on historical jewelry are coffee table books, designed more for beauty than information. While they contain pictures of some magnificent pieces, they tend mostly to show the same pieces—and only from the front. It is worth getting one or two such books (preferably second hand, or remaindered, or on discount from Publishers Central, since they are usually expensive otherwise), but the additional information you get from additional books decreases rapidly.

Four exceptions to this rule are:

Jewellery of the Ancient World, by Jack Ogden, Rizzoli, 1982.

Medieval European Jewellery, by Ronald W. Lightbown, Victoria and Albert, 1992.

Jewellery Through 7000 Years, British Museum Publications Limited, 1976.

Jewelry Ancient to Modern, Anne Garside Ed., Viking Press, 1979.

The first of these contains the most careful and scholarly discussion of what stones and techniques were used when that I

have ever seen. Unfortunately, since Ogden's subject is jewelry in classical antiquity, he says relatively little about the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The second is an enormous book from the Victoria and Albert Museum, containing a lot of information and pictures of a lot of pieces; it may be the best single source of information on medieval jewelry currently available. The third book describes the collection of the British Museum, and the fourth the collection of the Walters Gallery in Baltimore. Each contains pictures and descriptions of a large number of pieces.

One other useful source of information is *Costume and Fashion* by Herbert Norris. Along with his description of the clothing of each period he has a fairly detailed discussion of the jewelry. Since he is writing about English costume, the information is useful for western European personae, less useful for others.

Three other books I would recommend are:

Anglo-Saxon Jewellery, by Ronald Jessup. Shire Publications, 1974.

European Enamels, by Isa Belli Barsali, translated by Rudolf Rudorff. Hamlyn, 1969.

Medieval Goldsmith's Work, by Isa Belli Barsali, translated by Margaret Crosland. Hamlyn, 1969.

These are small books, each specializing in a particular area. There are probably other, similar, books that I have not come across. One can also sometimes get information on jewelry from books on a specific culture, such as *The Viking* or *Treasures of Ireland*.

[Expanded slightly from the version originally printed in *A Book of Bibliographies for the Arts and Sciences in the Current Middle Ages*, Airmid Godwin, ed., and combined with an article published in *Tournaments Illuminated*.]

Period Jewelry You Can Make

A medieval hobbyist looking at the magnificent medieval jewelry in collections such as the British Museum or the New York Metropolitan Museum will conclude, correctly, that he is not likely ever to be a good enough jeweler to make such pieces, and if someone else makes them he probably will never be able to afford them. Precisely the same thing was true for most people in period—even most of the gently born people on whom most of us base our personae. The jewels in most museums (the Museum of London is a notable exception), after all, are a selection heavily weighted towards the most impressive pieces.

If what you are looking for is not what the king and high nobility of England wore but what a reasonably well off Englishman, or Anglo-Saxon, or Norseman might wear, your chances of getting it are a good deal higher. Most period jewelry was made, not of gold, but of silver or brass or bronze or iron—sometimes gilded. Some of it was elaborate, but many pieces were not.

In this article I give detailed instructions for making seven pieces of jewelry. The combined material costs for all seven pieces should be less than twenty dollars, provided you can find someone willing to sell you silver wire in small quantities. The required equipment consists of a hammer, something to hammer against, a propane torch or equivalent, something to solder on, a pair of needle nosed pliers (or something similar), some tool capable of cutting wire, and a small file. None of the first six pieces should take much more than an hour—the second time. The final piece is a little more difficult.

The dimensions of most of these pieces are based on original pieces I am copying. Real pieces varied a good deal; these are merely examples I happened to have information about. As a general rule, the smaller a piece the harder it is to make, so you may want to scale up some of these, at least the first time you do them.



A pair of Anglo-Saxon Earrings

These are described in Jessup but not illustrated, at least in the current edition. I have seen a picture, possibly in an earlier edition of Jessup, but have so far been unable to find it and am therefore guessing on the dimensions. I thought it worth including anyway because it is one of the easiest to make period jewels I have seen.

2 pieces of 20 gauge sterling wire 4" long.
2 drilled gemstone (or glass) beads.

Figure one shows the earrings and should be self explanatory; the markings on the ruler are sixteenths of an inch. The only tool you need is a pair of pliers, preferably with very narrow jaws. When selecting your beads, check to make sure the wire will go through them; gemstone beads are often drilled from both ends, meeting in the middle, and if the two holes don't quite match a wire may not go through. The wires should be sufficiently springy so that you can separate the ends, put one through a pierced ear, then reconnect them.

Making Small Wires out of Big Wires

The next two projects require you to take a piece of wire and make the ends thinner. To do this you roll the end on your anvil (or equivalent) while tapping it with a hammer; you can supplement this by filing away some of what is left.

While this thins down the silver, the

result, at least when I do it, is not as thin as in the original pieces I am copying. One possible explanation is that the jewelers who made them had more skill with a hammer than I do, more patience, or both. Another is that they were using draw plates, pulling the end through successively thinner holes. That is how I did the spiral ring shown below—earlier versions, done with hammer and file, didn't come as close to matching the pictures of the original. Draw plates are described by Theophilus in about 1100; the spiral ring is mid-sixth century, when draw plates may or may not have been available. Unfortunately, draw plates are expensive and my readers are unlikely to already have them.

Hammering silver hardens it, making it springy and difficult to bend, which is inconvenient in these projects, since after we hammer the wire we are going to bend it. It is also inconvenient because we may want to hammer it some more—which works better when the metal is soft. You solve the problem by annealing the wire, heating it enough to undo the effect of the hammering, using the same torch you will use in later projects for soldering things. Heat it in a semi-darkened room so that you can judge the temperature of the silver by its color; when it has gotten up to a dull red it is hot enough. Remove the torch, let it cool, and continue.

Mandrels

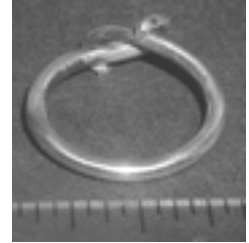
All of the remaining projects require you to make silver wire into a circle. This is easier if you have something cylindrical to wind the wire around. What I use for the purpose is a ring mandrel, a slightly tapered cylinder of steel intended to be used in making rings. If you don't have one, any hard cylinder of the right size, such as a wooden dowel, should do. You might even take a piece of 1" or 1 3/8" oak dowel and sand or file it down into a tapered cylinder, giving you a tool that, like my ring mandrel, will fit a range of sizes.

Norse Finger Ring

(Hall, p. 105).

2 3/4" of 12 gauge sterling silver wire.

Thin out the ends, as described above. Anneal. Form the wire around a 5/8" diameter mandrel, then bend the thin part of the ends around the ring as shown in the figure. Try to get them thinner than I did in the ring pictured here.



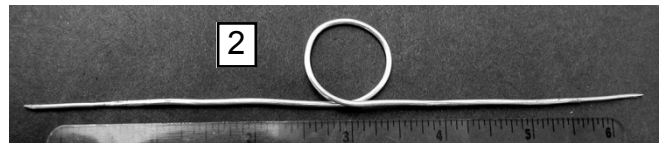
Anglo Saxon Spiral Finger Ring

[Jessup, Figure 32.1 and Smith fig. 45]

7.5" of 14 gauge sterling wire.

Thin down the last 1.5" at each end (1). Anneal. Wrap around a mandrel the diameter of your finger (2—after removing the mandrel). Spiral around itself and wrap the ends around the ring shank as shown in the figure (3). Put the ring shank between two wood blocks of the same height, so the spiral is resting on them (4), and hit the spiral with a hammer to flatten it (or don't, if you are happy with how it turned out initially). Put it on your finger (5).

Smith (p. 108) shows a piece with a much larger shank, presumably a bracelet.



Soldering

The remaining pieces require soldering, so in addition to what you already have you will need silver solder and flux for silver solder. Silver solder melts at a much higher temperature than the lead based solder you may be familiar with, which is why you need a small propane torch or something similar. (The period equivalent would be a small furnace—Maryon describes how to make one—or a blowpipe, a small tube used to blow air across a flame to create a hot jet of fire. A common flux was borax.) Binding wire, thin iron wire used to hold things together while you solder them, will be useful for the more difficult projects. You also need a surface to solder on that won't be burned or cracked by your torch. The easiest is a soldering pad, available from a jewelry supply store, but a piece of (not heat sensitive) rock or a container of sand should do.

A few points are worth making about silver soldering for those who have never done it. The most important is that silver soldering is done at temperatures close to the melting point of what you are soldering, so you have to be careful not to overheat and melt the piece down. For the sort of small pieces we are doing, you want the flame running along the length of the wire so as to heat all of it at once to a reasonably uniform temperature and you want to keep the flame moving, so as not to overheat any part of the wire.

A second point is that silver soldering is usually done with very small amounts of solder, so as to avoid flooding the piece. The little bits of solder I am using are pieces of 20 gauge wire (made out of silver solder, a silver alloy that melts at a lower temperature than sterling) about 1/16" long.

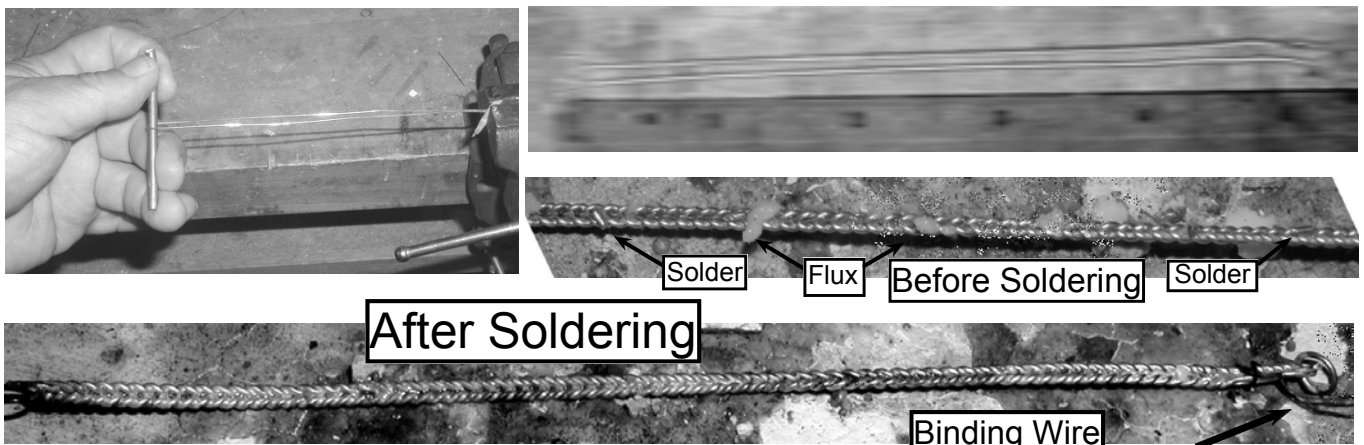
Double twist ring: 13th c.

2 feet of 22 gauge sterling wire.
Silver solder. Flux.

Cut the wire in half. Fold one of the halves in half again, this time over some small sticklike object. Put the ends in a vise as shown in the figure; if you don't have a vise hold them in a pair of pliers. Take the end that used to be the middle and now has the stick in it, and twist it clockwise about thirty-six times.

You now have a piece of twisted wire about 4 5/8" long, with what looks like about 16 twists per inch. The reason it is 16 instead of 8 is that if you twist a doubled up piece of wire around ten times you end up with what look like twenty twists, since both wires are going around. Hence twists per inch is twice what you would calculate from the number of times the wire is twisted (each twist being 360°) and the length of the wire.

Repeat with the remaining piece, this time twisting counterclockwise. You now have two pieces of wire, identical except for the direction of twist.



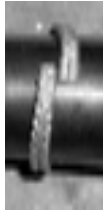
Lay the two pieces together; if you want you can tie them with binding wire. Put flux on them, put little bits of solder on them, (see figure). Heat the whole thing with your torch until the solder flows, joining the two pieces. This is easier if you already know how to solder silver or have someone to show you, but with patience you can figure it out for yourself. You may want to look at Maryon or some other good book on jewelry making for a more detailed explanation.

You now have a length of double twist wire. Wrap it around the same rigid cylinder you used for the first project—the one that is the same size as your finger. Cut off the surplus. File the ends flat so they will fit together. Squeeze the circle of wire so the ends slightly overlap, then pull it just far enough open so that you can put the ends against each other—that way the spring tension of the ring will hold the ends together. Get it arranged exactly the way you want it to end up—this is easy to say, but may require a lot of fiddling. The idea is to

have the two faces exactly match. Put some flux on the ends and a little bit of solder. Heat it until the solder melts and flows, joining the two ends. You now have a ring.

Unless you have a very big finger, you probably have enough double twist left over to make a second, smaller ring to give to a friend.

The original this piece is based on has a diameter of about $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The picture shows both it and my copy. The outside of the original is worn almost flat, but you can see the structure by looking at the inside.



Knot ring: late medieval

18" of 24 gauge sterling wire. Flux and solder.

Fold the wire in half and twist it, as in the previous project—but this time you want to end up with one piece of wire, all twisted clockwise. Twist about 90 times around, ending up with what looks like 22 twists/inch. Wrap it around your ring cylinder twice, leaving equal amounts extra at each end. Tie a knot with the ends, as shown. Now flux the whole piece, put some tiny bits of solder on it and heat it until the solder flows, joining the two wraps. The picture shows the original and my copy; the original is nicer.



A simple circle pin.

(Deefy and lots of other sources)

4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " of 12 gauge sterling silver wire.

Wrap the wire around a $\frac{7}{8}$ " ring mandrel once, with all the extra at one end. Cut off what is left; you are going to use that to make the pin. (You wrap before cutting because it is easier to wrap the silver when you have something excess to hold onto.) Take the circle of wire and solder the ends together—just like soldering the ends of the double twist wire (fiddle with it until the ends are flush and held together by spring tension), only easier.

Use your file to file a narrow section, as long as your wire is wide—this is where the pin is going to go on (see figure).





Flatten one end of the pin, using a hammer and/or a file, anneal it, and bend it around the ring brooch at the narrow section. You now have a ring with a pin on it. Cut the other end of the pin so it partly overlaps the width of the wire of the ring at the other side. Use your hammer and file to taper down the pin so that it goes from its full width at the base, where it wraps around the ring, to almost a point at the tip.

Circle pins like this, often smaller and often made of base metals such as brass, are very common in medieval digs. They may have been low end jewelry—or perhaps the medieval equivalent of safety pins.

A fancier circle pin. (Deefy RB 103)

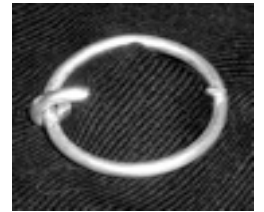
1 ½" of 10 gauge sterling wire (for the pin)
 18" of 24 gauge silver wire
 3 ½" of 18 gauge silver wire.

Cut the 24 gauge wire into two pieces, one 9 ½" long, one 8 ½" long. Fold each in half and twist it about 40 times around—the longer counterclockwise, the shorter clockwise. The longer one is going to be the outer circle, the shorter the inner, and doing it this way makes the twists correspond between the two.

Make your 18 gauge wire into a circle; solder closed. Measure the longer twist along the outside of the circle, subtract about a tenth of an inch (for the space where the pin goes), cut—you now have a length of left-handed twist that will go around the outside of the pin. Similarly shape and cut a length of right handed twist to go around the inside. Assemble the whole thing (binding wire will help a lot), solder it together. Make and

attach the pin as in the previous project.

This is a harder project than the others because of the delicate soldering needed to assemble the three circles. If you have never done silver soldering before you may want to get some experience with the easier projects before you try it.



Both of these are circle pins; the figure shows how they work. The basic idea is to pull some of the cloth through the circle, stick the pin through it, then pull enough back so it holds. The same design was also used for belt buckles, with the pin serving as the tongue of the buckle; Egan and Pritchard show a number of examples similar to the first one. You might try scaling up the second and fancier pin; it would make an attractive buckle.

In case, after doing all of these successfully, you are still feeling ambitious, you may find the pictures below of interest. The arm rings are bard bait; I make them to give to people who do a very good job of entertaining me and my guests at my bardic circle at Pennsic. Making them is much easier than people think, since although they appear to be braided they are actually only twisted. Stare at the picture long enough, think about rope, and you will see the pattern.

The other picture shows my favorite penannular fibula, a simple but elegant piece presently residing in a museum in Edinburgh.

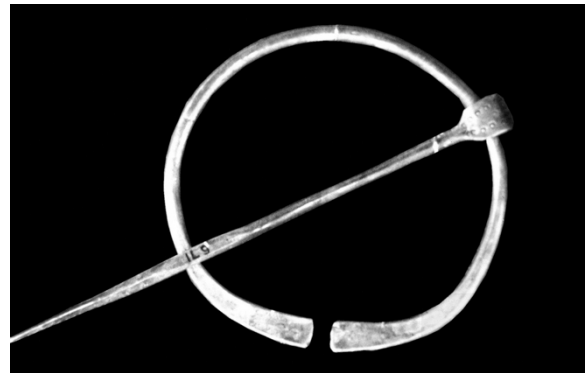


Finishing

All of these projects except the first require you to heat the silver, either to anneal it or to solder it. Heating may result in dark discoloration on the surface. To remove it, the piece should be pickled—immersed for a few minutes in a warm acid bath. The powder for making a pickling solution can be purchased from any jewelry supplier.

Pickling removes the discoloration but leaves a rather dull surface. This is usually polished using tripoli, a fine abrasive, on some sort of turning wheel. For a finer polish, you use first tripoli and then jeweler's rouge.

If you have a Dremel Mototool or an electric drill, you can probably find a suitable accessory to use as a polishing wheel. If you don't, it should be possible to polish small pieces like these by hand, using tripoli, a rag, and patience—but I must confess that I have not done it. Some pieces can be burnished—a period technique that consists of rubbing them with a very smooth piece of something very hard, such as steel (burnishers are available from jewelry supply stores)—but that is hard to do on something as intricate as the second circle pin. Rio Grande offers hand polishing sticks, but I have not tried them. If you polish your pieces by hand successfully please let me know, so I can tell other people how to do it next time I revise this piece.



Source for materials:

My favorite mail-order source for jewelry supplies is Rio Grande in Albuquerque. Their phone number is 800 545-6566. Their web page is: www.riogrande.com.

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For period jewelery technology, see:

John G. Hawthorne and Cyril Stanley Smith, *On Divers Arts: The Treatise of Theophilus*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1963. There is also a Dover reprint of this which may still be in print.



The Ashmolean Ring



The figure on the left shows a ring in the Ashmolean museum in Oxford. According to the museum label it is made of a lead alloy, presumably in imitation of silver, and dated to the 13th or 14th century. My copy, on the right, is made in silver in imitation of the original the Ashmolean ring is imitating.

To get the dimensions, I measured the width of the case the ring was in, then measured the width of the ring relative to the case in a photograph of the case, then measured the dimensions of the wire relative to the width of the ring in a photograph of the ring. By my calculations:

Ring: 1" diameter, .2" width
 Single twists: 1/40" wire (22 gauge), with about 29 twists to the inch
 Spacing wire: 1/40"
 Central double twist: .03" wire (20-21 gauge)
 Primary twist about 30/inch, secondary twist about 11/inch

Since there are two wires twisted around each other (two strands of two wires each in the case of the central double twist), I am counting twice for each full turn—once for each wire. When twisting the wire, you make half as many full turns as the numbers above—29 turns for every two inches of the single twist, for instance.

The diameter of the ring is about an inch, so each of the component circles is about three inches long. Twisting two strands of wire shortens them to about 5/7 of the original length. So a single ring requires about:

$4 \times (7/5) \times 3 = 17$ " of 22 gauge silver wire for the top and bottom twists
 $2 \times 3 = 6$ " of 22 gauge silver wire for the spacing wires
 $4 \times (7/5) \times 1.4 \times 3 = 24$ " of 20 gauge silver wire for the central double twist

You can expect losses at the ends

where the wire is held by a vise or drill, so you will want to start with somewhat more than the lengths given above.

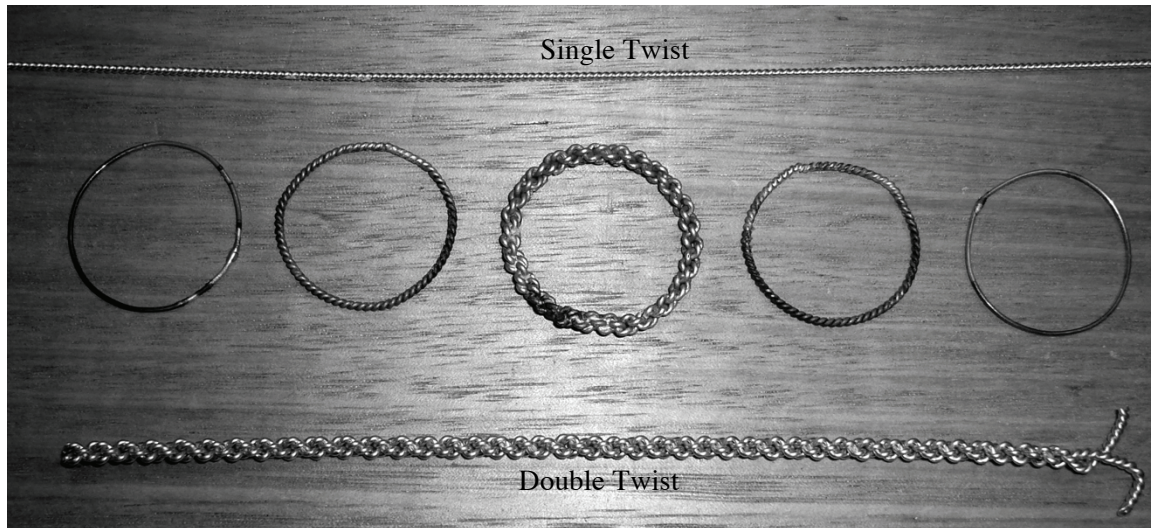
Cut about 2' of 22 gauge silver wire. Bend it in half. Twist in the direction shown in the pictures until you have an apparent 29 twists/inch (actually 29 full turns/2 inches). You may want to do this by taking a short piece of wooden dowel, drilling a hole crossways through it, running the wire through that and clamping both ends of the wire in a vise. You can then put the dowel in a variable speed electric drill, set it to turn in the right direction, and use it to twist the wire, checking from time to time on how many twists you have per inch. Alternatively, if you are patient, you can twist it by hand.

Cut about 3' of 20 gauge silver wire and do the same thing, ending with 30 twists/inch. Then double that up and twist the two twisted strands together in the opposite direction (if using an electric drill, remember to reverse it) to about 11 twists/inch.

Shape your single twist into two rings each 1" in diameter, and solder closed. Make two more rings out of single strands of 22 gauge wire and solder closed. Shape your double twist into one ring just a tiny bit bigger (because it is thicker, and you want the inside surface of the ring to be reasonably flat for comfort) and solder closed.

You now have five rings, all about the same size. The picture on the next page shows a single twist, a double twist, and the five rings. Use a ring mandrel or, failing that, a piece of 1" wooden dowel to get all of them round. Stack them in the order shown and solder together. This is easiest if you have a soldering mandrel to do it on, as in the picture. Pickle the ring, polish it, and you now have a reasonably accurate copy of an English ring that someone in the 13th or 14th century made a lead imitation of.

I sometimes have a problem with the wire breaking before I get it twisted all the way. If that happens, don't twist it quite as far. My measurements are, after all, based on a single ring—there is no guarantee that all others were identical.



I was in Mahdi's presence, says Ibn Hakim, when Sufyan Thawri the ascetic was brought in. He gave Mahdi only the common greeting, not the salutation fit for a Caliph, although behind Mahdi towered up his Headsman Rabi, leaning on his sword.

"Well, Sufyan," said Mahdi, with a smile, "once you escaped us, and again. Now we have you. Are you afraid of what our doom may be?"

"Doom me, and a King shall doom thee who is powerful to sort true from false."

"Prince of the True Believers!" cried Rabi, "shall such a one affront you so? Let me give him a tap on the neck."

"Nay," said Mahdi. "He and his like want nothing better, that we should kill them and be damned, while they are saved. Rather let be made out at once his commission as judge at Kufa, and let it be stated that no judgment he makes shall be subject to revision."

So it was done, and the commission handed to the ascetic. He departed the Palace, threw the commission in the Tigris, and took to his heels.

(Based on an account in *Mohammed's People*)

Shield and Weapon Weights

In Caid, as in some other kingdoms, there are minimum weight requirements for weapons and shields; in Caid, swords (including basket hilt and gauntlet) are to weigh at least one pound per foot and a 24" round shield is to weigh at least ten pounds. The latter requirement may, as I understand it, be waived in some circumstances.

I can see only two legitimate grounds for such weight requirements: safety and authenticity. So far as safety is concerned, minimum sword weight requirements tend if anything to make fighting more dangerous. Injuries are most likely to be inflicted by strong fighters, and in the hands of a strong fighter a heavy weapon is more dangerous than a light one. Heavy shields may protect somewhat better than light ones, provided the shield is not too heavy for the user to control. On the other hand, a heavy shield is more dangerous to the opponent, in case of accidents, than a light one. All things considered, I find it hard to see how such rules can be justified in terms of safety.

What about authenticity? One purpose of the Society is "to study the past by selective re-creation." To the extent that our rules permit, or still worse encourage, weapons whose handling characteristics are different from those of the real weapons they are intended to imitate, we fail in that purpose. If, for example, the swords which are most effective in our fighting are so light that real medieval swords of similar weight and balance would either break or fail to penetrate mail, or if our shields are so light that in real combat they would survive only a few blows, it is reasonable to forbid both light swords and light shields and require something more authentic. So far as I know, however, those who support weight limits have never provided any evidence of what the characteristics of early medieval swords and shields really were. In this article I try to do so.

Swords

Table 1 shows all of the broadswords for which length and weight are given in the three sources in which I have found such figures. Most are from the catalog of the Wallace collection in London, three from *Cut and Thrust Weapons* by Eduard Wagner and 3 from *Treasures From the Tower of London*, a catalog compiled by A.V.B. Norman and G.M. Wilson. The final column gives the weight in pounds divided by the length in feet; a weapon for which this figure is below 1 is illegal in Caid unless the fighter's gauntlet adds enough weight to make up the difference.

Examining table 1, we find that a majority of the swords are too light to be legal in Caid; the average weight per foot is .89 pounds, also too light to be legal. If we add in a half pound gauntlet (many medieval gauntlets would have been lighter; remember that our fighting rules are based on medieval combat prior to the adoption of plate) we bring the average up to 1.05 lb/foot; even with this addition a third of the swords in the table fail to meet the requirement. The requirement corresponds more nearly to the average weight of period swords than to its minimum, hence it cannot be justified on grounds of authenticity.

Not only is the requirement unjustified, it also has at least two undesirable consequences. It provides an unreasonable barrier to the weaker fighters, especially (but not exclusively) women, by forcing them to use equipment that is too heavy for them. In addition, the requirement encourages weapons that are realistic in weight but unrealistic in balance. Since the weight of a basket hilt or counterweight counts towards satisfying the requirement, fighters can and do make swords which have light blades and heavy hilts; such swords handle quite differently from real medieval swords, which are typically blade heavy. Since it is the strength of the blade which determines

whether a sword can cut armor without breaking, weight requirements, if any, should apply to the blade not to the whole sword. The present rule encourages unrealistic weapons (heavy swords balancing near the hilt) while forbidding some realistic ones (lighter swords balancing farther towards the point), thus defeating the whole idea of making rules that re-create actual medieval fighting.

What should be done? Lowering the weight requirement is only a partial solution; as long as the restriction is defined in terms of the total weight of the sword it encourages swords with unrealistic balance. The simplest solution, and the one I am inclined to favor, is to eliminate the rule; fighters will be discouraged from using unreasonably light swords by the difficulty of killing anyone with them. If that is not satisfactory, we should at least state the limit in terms of weight per foot for the blade, not for the sword; I would suggest about half a pound per foot.

Shields

Table 6 shows all of the circular or almost circular shields from before 1650 that are listed in the Wallace Collection catalog. They are all from the sixteenth or seventeenth century and most are described as “pageant” or “parade” shields (presumably ornamented shields are more likely to survive in collections than plain ones). Sixteenth century shields are in period for the Society but out of period for our sort of fighting. They give us some idea of what weight shields it is possible to make but they do not tell us what shields were or could be used in early medieval combat.

Unfortunately, early shields are rare. I have discussed the question of shield weights with the curator of one of the largest arms and armor collections in the country and the assistant curator of another; neither was willing to commit himself beyond the suggestion that one could use the surviving metal fittings from early shields to design a

reconstruction and weigh that. Hence while the fact that the average weight per square foot for the historical shields is less than the minimum permitted by Caidan rules suggests that the Caidan shield requirements are too high, I do not think the table justifies much more than the conclusion that, absent evidence on the other side, the burden of proof is on those who claim that a medieval shield could not weigh less than 3.2 pounds per square foot.

Fighting Style

I have so far ignored one argument for weapon limits unrelated to issues of safety or authenticity. It is sometimes said that some type of weapon (most commonly a large shield) encourages “bad” style. Sometimes the claim is that the style really does not work but novices adopt it because it is easier than learning to fight better and gives good results against other novices. In other cases the claim is that the bad style does work but should not, that somehow it defeats and drives out better styles. It is rarely explained in what sense the losing style is better.

Both of these arguments seem to me to be attempts by some fighters to use the rules to impose their views of how to fight on others, and as such indefensible. So far as novices are concerned, it is up to whomever is training them to advise them as to what weapons and fighting style work; if they choose to ignore the advice that is their concern. They might turn out to be right. I can easily enough imagine myself or others some years back informing a new fighter by the name of Paul of Bellatrix that he was doing it all wrong (“shields are for hiding behind”); perhaps if one of us had been King or Earl Marshall we could have come up with rules capable of dealing with someone who not only insisted on fighting all wrong but had the effrontery to kill us while doing so.

What about those who concede the effectiveness of the styles they dislike and

wish to ban them anyway? This attitude seems to me to be based on a misunderstanding of what fighting is about. It is true that good fighting is beautiful, but its beauty comes from the fighter pursuing a particular objective (killing his opponent) in an elegant and effective way. To claim that because certain styles of fighting are elegant they should be required even when they do not work is ultimately to argue for converting fighting into a form of dance. This seems to me entirely undesirable. It is also directly contrary to the idea of the Society as a group of people discovering how things were done by trying to do them.

There is one exception. Our fighting

corresponds in part to real medieval combat and in part to medieval tourney fighting done with blunt weapons under restrictive rules. To the extent that we are interested in reproducing the latter, it is appropriate to introduce restrictions based on the rules actually used in medieval tournament. Since these rules varied from time to time and from place to place, such restrictions are probably most appropriate in special tournaments held under rules based on the rules of particular historical tournaments.

[Published in *Crown Prints*, reprinted in *Tournaments Illuminated* no. 64. Tables 2-5 are new.]

Date(approx.)	Length	Weight (lb/oz)	Origin	Wt/Lgth (lb/ft)	Source
9th-10th c.	30 1/8"	2/8	Scand?	1.0	Wallace
1150-1200	32 3/8"	2/10	German	.97	Wallace
13th c.	33 3/8"	1/8		.53	Wallace
1340	33 3/4"	2/9	French?	.98	Wallace
1375-1400	30"	3/0	French	1.2	Wallace
14th c.	29 3/8"	2/1		.84	Wallace
1350-1400	29 3/16"	3/3	French	1.31	Wallace
1375-1400	23 5/8" *	2/8		1.27	Wallace
1380	31 1/8"	2/1		.8	Wallace
1400	34 3/8"	2/12		.96	Wallace
1460	34 3/4"	2/15	Italian?	1.01	Wallace
early 16th c.	36 1/8"	3/2	German	1.04	Wallace
9th-10th c.	75 1/2 cm.	.5 Kg.	Nordic	.44	Wagner
9th-11th c?	89 1/2 cm.	1.42 Kg.		1.06	Wagner
11th-13th c.	92 cm.	1 Kg.	Prague?	.73	Wagner
Before 1432	41"	1/11	Italian?	.49	Tower
about 1480**	43.2"	2/12	German?	.76	Tower
about 1500	35.4"	1/15	Swiss or Swabian	.66	Tower

* Approximately 5" of tip missing

** Hand and a half?

Date (approx.)	Length			Weight (lb/oz)	Origin	Wt/Lgth (lb/ft)
	Blade	Grip	Over all			
Mid 16th c	50 1/4"	23 3/4"	74"	8/6	German	1.36
1580	58 3/4"	19 5/8"	78 3/8"	14/3	German	2.
1580	50 1/8"	13 1/2"	63 5/8"	7/4	German	1.37
1500-10	44 5/8"	14 3/4"	59 3/8"	5/6.5	Italian	1.09
1530	48"	16 1/2"	64 1/2"	6/10	Italian	1.23
16th c.	53 1/4"	16"	69 1/4"	5/14	Spanish or German	1.02
early 16th c.	46 1/8"	17 5/8"	63 3/4"	6/6	German	1.2

Date (approx.)	Length	Weight (lb/oz)	Origin	Type	Source	
late 14th-early 15th c.	14 ¾"‡	4/8	Swiss	Halberd	Wallace	
1500	16 ¼"‡	4/7	German	Halberd	Wallace	
159: ³ / ₁₆	23 ½"‡	6/10	German	Halberd	Wallace	
1580-1620‡‡	31 ⅝"‡	7/4.5	Saxon	Halberd	Wallace	
1600-1620	21 ⅛"‡	5/5	Saxon	Halberd	Wallace	
about 1500	70"	6/7	European	Poleaxe	Tower	
about 1500	97"	9/1	European	Glaive	Tower	Modern Haft
1500-1550	93.5"	7/11	European	Poleaxe	Tower	Iron butt spike
early 16th c.	83.12"	4/12	Italian	Partizan	Tower	Modern Haft
early 16th c.	100.75"	4/0	Italian?	Partizan	Tower	Modern Haft
early 16th c.	91.5"	5/14	Italian	Halberd	Tower	Haft not original
16th c.	80.5"	5/1	English	Bill	Tower	Modern Haft
early 16th c.	85.5"	9/15	Italian	Bill	Tower	Modern Haft
about 1600	80.37"	4/7	Italian?	Partizan	Tower	

‡The head, in some cases including the socket. Four 17th c. halberds are listed with shafts. The overall lengths are 60 ⅝", 85", 90", and 75.5". The first is listed as an officer's halberd, and the fourth as a "Halberd or Pole-Axe."

‡‡There are 12 of these, "Carried by the Guard of the Elector of Saxony; all of one pattern but differing slightly in details."

Date	Length	Wt (lb/oz)	Origin
1470	15 ½"*	2/12	S. German
1560	17 ⅛"***	3/11	Milanese
1560	22 ⅛"	2/14.5	N. Italian
1540	25 ¾"	3/5	Italian
1540	25"	3/3.75	Italian
1550	23 ⅔"	2/12.7	Italian(?)
1550	25"	3/6	German
1580	17 ¾"***	4/1.5	Milanese
1560	18 ⅛"***	3/6.5	Milanese
*From the guard			
**Haft			

Date (approx.)	Length	Weight (lb/oz)	Origin	Wt/Lth
1590	46 ⅝"	3/4.5	Italian(?)	0.845
1600	41 ½"	2/13	German	0.813
1585	43 ⅝"	2/5.5	Italian(Milan)	0.645
1600	39 ½"	2/4.5	German	0.693
1590	42 ⅜"	3/5.5	North Italian	0.947
1590	43 ⅜"	3/2	Italian	0.86
1570-1600	47 ⅞"	3/6.5	Italian	0.854
1600	42 ⅜"	3/5	Italian	0.928
1600	44 ⅞"	3/1	Italian	0.819
1590	41 ¼"	2/13	Italian	0.818
1580-1600	41 ¼"	2/13.5	Sp(Toledo)	0.827
1600	40 ¼"	2/9.5	Italian(Brescia)	0.773
1600	45 ⅞"	2/9.5	Italian(?)	0.678
1600	41 ¾"	2/7	Italian (Milan)	0.701
1550-1600	44 ⅜"	3/2	Italian (Milan)	0.845
1600	44 ⅝"	2/15.5	Italian (Milan)	0.798
1600	41 ⅜"	3/9.5	German	1.05
Average Wt/Lgth:				0.82

Table Six: Shields and Bucklers				
Date (approx.)	Size	Weight (lb/oz)	Origin	Wt/Area (lbs/sq ft)
<u>Leather Targets for Parade</u>				
1560	22 ½ "	5/2.5	Italian	1.9
1560	22 11/16"	5/8	Italian	2.0
1560	22 3/16"	5/14	Italian	2.2
<u>Wooden Pageant Shields</u>				
1580	22 ⅝"	4/6	Italian	1.6
1590	18 27/32"	3/10.5	Italian	1.9
<u>Wooden Bucklers</u>				
1600	17 ½"	3/7	German	2.1
1600	20 ¾"	3/3	Italian?	1.4
<u>Steel Bucklers</u>				
16th c.	15 ½"	4/9	Italian	3.5
1600	21 ¼"	7/3.5	Italian	2.9
<u>Steel "Shield or Bucklers"</u>				
1560	23 ⅝"	9/4	Span/Ger	3.1
1560	22 ¼"	7/14	Italian	2.9
1580	22 ¼"	12/4	Italian	4.5
<u>Steel "Pageant Shields or Bucklers"</u>				
16th c.	21 ⅝"	7/1	Flem/Fr	2.8
16th c.	24 7/16"	9/5	Flem/Fr	2.8
1570	24 ⅞"	6/9.5	Ger/FI	2.0
1590	22 7/32"	8/12.5	German	3.3
1560	23 ⅛"	9/0	Italian	3.1
1560	23"	8/1	Italian	2.8
1570	21 ¾"	7/4.5	Italian	2.8
1570	22 ½"	7/1.5	Italian	2.6
1570	22 ¼"	9/3.5	Italian	3.4
1580-1600	23"	7/4	Italian	2.5
Post 1556	22 ¾"	10/4.5	Italian	3.9
1580	19 ½"	7/1	Italian	3.4
1590	22 3/16"	7/7.5	Italian	2.8
1590	23 ½"	8/2	Italian	2.7
1620	23 ⅝"	10/14	Ger/FI	3.6
Average of Historical Shields is 2.75 lb/sq ft, which corresponds to a 24" round weighing 8 lb 10 oz.				
A.S. XVI	24"	10/0	Caid Minimum	3.2
A.S. XVI	24"	8/0	Illegal	2.5
A.S. XVI	24"	6/0	Illegal	1.9
Note: Some of the shields were slightly oval; the average radius is shown. The last three shields are given for purposes of comparison.				

In-Persona Storytelling

One of my favorite activities at events is to wander from table to table at a feast or from campfire to campfire at a camping event, telling poems and stories. I know of no better way of pulling people out of the twentieth century, if only for a few minutes—especially if the story is presented as a medieval story told by a medieval storyteller. While I am telling a story, I am their environment—especially at night around a bardic circle, with nothing in sight that is obviously inappropriate to the twelfth century. A further attraction of storytelling is that it is an art with a real function in the SCA world, one that gets done not because someone has announced that we ought to promote the arts but because people want to do it.

By “in-persona storytelling” I do not mean telling stories about your persona, an activity I regard with considerable misgiving. I mean telling stories as your persona—from his point of view, not yours. This article is about how to do so.

Consider a simple example—a short period anecdote about the bird that is the world:

The Commander of the Faithful was sitting with his nadim, his cup companions. One of them said, “Commander of the Faithful, did you know that the world is a bird?” “No,” he answered, “tell me that tale.”

“Ah,” he said, “The world is a bird. Syria is its body; Iraq and Yemen are its wings. The Orient is its head—and the Maghreb, that is its tail.”

Sitting among the cup companions there was a Maghrebi, a Berber of the Maghreb like myself.

“It is a true tale,” he said. “And do you know what kind of a bird the world is?”

“No,” replied the Commander of the Faithful.

“Ah,” said the Maghrebi. “It is a peacock.”

There are a number of things worth noting about that story—aside from the observation that neither ethnic prejudice nor one-upmanship is a modern invention. I do not explain what “Commander of the Faithful” means—because the information is not necessary to understand the story and because my persona would take it for granted that his hearers already knew. Nor do I explain where the Maghreb is. I do, however, make it clear that I am myself a Maghrebi, and thus make myself part of the frame of the story. All of these are ways in which I try to project the illusion that both I and my hearers are medieval people. I do explain, in passing, what “nadim” means, on the theory that my listeners are foreigners, and so, although they will of course recognize such obvious terms as “Maghreb” (the Islamic west–North Africa and Muslim Spain), they might not know what “nadim” means. And even in that case, my explanation (“cup-companions”) takes for granted the social setting—a ruler surrounded by his favorites.

More subtly, I do not explain the social context of the story—that the Berbers, being neither, like the Arabs, the originators of Islam nor, like the Persians, major contributors to Islamic civilization, are viewed as second class citizens, natural targets for other people’s denigration. That is implicit in the story—and is precisely the sort of thing that people take for granted about their own situation and are unlikely to explain to others.

In-persona storytelling, like other forms of in-persona activity, involves changing your normal behavior in two ways. The first is by omitting elements that positively identify you as a person born in the twentieth century—not, for example, preceding the story with the explanation that it is a medieval North African anecdote from

the 14th c. Kitāb Mafākhir al-Barbar.¹³ The second is by adding touches that identify you as a medieval person—ideally, as a particular sort of medieval person from a particular time and place.

My describing myself as a Maghrebi and telling the story with the obvious pleasure of someone on the winning side of the exchange is a simple example. Another occurs when I recite Malkin Grey's poem "The Raven Banner," based on an incident in Njalsaga. The poem contains a reference to Odin. While there is no strong reason why a medieval Muslim should not tell foreign stories—I have a period reference to one telling a story from India, and there are surviving records of Muslim visits to both east and west Norse—there are good reasons why a believing Muslim would have reservations about references to a pagan God. The beginning of the Muslim credo is "There is no God but God," and while medieval Islam was a reasonably tolerant religion, there were limits. Hence when I tell that poem, I follow it with an explanation—that "Odin" is the name of a Djinn, demon, or some such creature that the Northmen, ignorant of the Unity of Allah (the Compassionate, the Merciful), worship as a god. In much the same way, a Christian storyteller telling an Islamic story might make some comment concerning the false doctrines of the Paynim. The point is not to start a religious argument but to make the teller's world-view into a medieval frame for the medieval tale. This is a period device; both the Indian collections described below and the *Nights* are structured many layers deep, with stories inside stories inside stories.

As the example suggests, I also sprinkle my conversation with stock phrases that would come naturally to a medieval Muslim but not to a modern American. When I refer to God it is "God the Most Great," or "Allah

(the Compassionate, the Merciful)." Mohammed is "Our Lord the Prophet (blessings to Him, his Kindred, and his Companion Train)." Solomon is "Suleiman Ibn Daud, King and Prophet, God's peace and blessing upon him."

What You Should Know and Where to Find It

In order to do this sort of story telling, you need three sorts of information:

1. You need to know what modern acts and words are inappropriate to your persona—and for the most part, you already do know that. It does not require extensive research to realize that a 12th century North African Berber would not introduce himself to people with "Hello, I am a North African Berber from the 12th century," any more than I introduce myself to people mundanely with "Hello, I am an American of Jewish descent from the 20th century." Some other examples are more subtle—I try, for instance, to avoid terms such as "O.K." that have an obviously modern ring to them. But the more subtle they are, the less it matters if you get them wrong; if you don't recognize a term as modern, most of your listeners probably won't either.

A related point to remember is what things your persona does not know. David, for example, knows that by Cariadoc's time (c. 1100) Muslim Spain has begun its long decline. Cariadoc's view is that, while the Franks to the north of al-Andalus have been troublesome of late, they have been driven back before and will be driven back again—just as soon as the Andalusian princes stop fighting each other long enough to deal with them. And if the party kings don't, Yussuf the Almoravid will. Again.

2. You need background information—information about how your persona would have viewed the world around him. The best way of getting that is to find readable primary sources from about the right time and place—books written by your persona's

¹³ Quoted in H.T. Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*. Longman 1982

neighbors. Such books, in my experience, are both the most interesting and the most reliable source of information about past points of view. Of course, some of what they tell you may be false—Alexander the Great was not a Muslim, for instance, and did not, so far as I know, have a wise vizier named al Khidr—but the people who read the *Iskander-nama* and told stories from it thought he was and did. What matters is not what is true but what your persona thinks is true.

3. You need period stories. You could make them up, but since you are not really a medieval person the stories you make up are likely to feel more like modern stories about the middle ages than like real medieval stories. That is especially likely if you start by making up stories instead of starting with stories actually told by medieval people and learning from them what sorts of stories they told. Hence my view, at least, is that most or all of your repertoire should consist of period stories. For sources, see below.

Learning to tell Stories

Most of us can talk much better than we can recite. Hence my approach to storytelling is to learn stories, not to memorize them. To learn a story, I read it over one or more times. Then I tell it. After I have been telling a story for a while, I like to go back and reread the original. Often it is a humbling experience—because I discover that I have misremembered some elements, or omitted details that make it a better story. The next time I tell it, I am a little closer to the original. I do not expect to ever end up with exactly the same words—nor is there any particular reason I should. But I do try to get steadily closer to the original.

One piece of advice I always give to new storytellers is to start with short stories. One reason is that it is easier to remember all of the contents of a short story. Another is that it is easier to do a competent job of presenting it. A final reason is that if you tell a short story badly, you only bore your

audience for a short time. A long story, told badly, can come close to killing a bardic circle.

Start with very short stories, such as the example at the beginning of this article. Tell them to anyone who looks interested—not only around a bardic circle but waiting in line to get into Pennsic or when conversation flags around the dinner table. The function of storytelling is to entertain—especially to entertain people who would otherwise be bored. It is, along with singing, the most portable of arts; since you always have it with you, you might as well use it. If you find that people like your short stories—ask for another instead of politely holding still until you are finished and then remembering a prior appointment somewhere at the other end of the event—you are ready to learn longer ones.

Who Are You and Why Are You Telling These Stories?

There are a variety of contexts in which medieval people might tell medieval stories. Some story tellers may have been wandering mendicants, hoping to collect enough from their listeners to pay for dinner and a roof over their heads. Others may have been professional entertainers, supported by patrons. One of the most famous works of medieval Arabic literature, the *Assemblies of Hariri*, revolves around Abu Zaid, a gifted poet, storyteller and con man working his way across al-Islam.

None of those fits very well with either my persona or my SCA history. For an alternative, consider one of my favorite sources—al-Tanukhi's Tenth Century *Tabletalk of a Mesopotamian Judge*. The author starts his book by complaining that the anecdotes told in polite company nowadays are not nearly as good as the ones he remembers from his youth—and proceeds to recount every story he can remember, presumably in the hope of improving the situation. The context is upper class men

entertaining each other with anecdotes, mostly about contemporaries. In a world without radio, television, or electric lighting, such casual storytelling must have played a much more important role than in our world—especially in a climate where sensible people rested during the midday heat and did much of their socializing in the cool of the evening.

There are a lot of places where period stories can be found. Some are collections of stories, others are histories, memoirs or long tales containing incidents that can be told as separate stories. Many of the sources are available in a variety of translations. Some can be found in almost any bookstore, others may require a search through a good university library or, nowadays, the web.

For the convenience of story tellers who prefer stories that their personae could have known, I include information on dates and places. It is worth noting, however, that stories traveled far and lasted long. Stories from the Indian collections appear in the *Thousand Nights and a Night*, the *Gesta Romanorum*, and the *Decameron*; the *Gesta Romanorum* was, in turn, a source for both Chaucer and Shakespeare. Similarly, Apuleius plagiarized parts of his plot from an earlier Greek work and contributed one story to the *Decameron*, published some twelve centuries after his death.

Sources

The Golden Ass by Apuleius. A lengthy and episodic story written in the second century.

Katha Sarit Sagara (aka *The Ocean of Story*). A very old and very large Indian collection, containing many of the stories found in the *Panchatantra*.

Panchatantra (aka *Fables of Bidpai*, *Kalila wa-Dimna*, *The Tales of Kalila and Dimna*). A very old Indian collection, possibly dating to 200 B.C. It was translated into Persian in the 6th century, into Arabic (as the *Kalila wa-Dimna*) in the 8th century,

from Arabic into Greek in the 11th century and, a little later, into Hebrew, and from Hebrew into Latin in the 13th century. The first English translation was in the 16th century.

The Thousand and One Nights. The story of Scheherazade, which provides the frame story for the *Nights*, is mentioned by al-Nadim in the 10th century, but the surviving texts are considerably later, possibly 15th century. The Burton translation (16 volumes!) is a delight; Payne is also supposed to be very good. Anything under eight hundred pages and calling itself the *Arabian Nights* is likely to be an abbreviated and bowdlerized version intended for children.

The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge, by al-Muhassin ibn Ali al-Tanukhi, D. S. Margoliouth, tr. Al-Tanukhi was a tenth century judge who found that the anecdotes people were telling were no longer as good as the ones he remembered from his youth, and decided to do something about it. The book is full of retellable stories, many about people the author knew.

An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munkidh, Philip Hitti tr. Usamah was a Syrian Emir; his memoirs, dictated in his old age, describe events during the period between the first and second crusades. They are entertaining and episodic, hence can easily be mined for stories.

The Travels of Ibn Battuta, H.A.R. Gibb tr. The author was a 14th c. North African world traveler who certainly made it to India, may have made it to China, and wrote an extensive account of his travels, some of whose incidents work as stories.

The Subtle Ruse: The Book of Arabic Wisdom and Guile. (*Raqa'iq al-hilal if Daqaiq al-hiyal*, author anonymous, Rene R. Hawam, tr.) Anecdotes about tricks, classified according to their perpetrators: God, Satan, angels, jinn, prophets, Caliphs, Kings, Sultans, Viziers, Governors, administrators, judges, witnesses, attorneys,

jurisconsults, devout men, and ascetics.

The *Shah-nameh* of Firdausi, the *Khamseh* of Nizami, the *Sikander-nama*. These are all famous works of Persian literature, and should have bits that can be excerpted as stories. I do not know them well enough to recommend particular translations.

The *Tutinama*, “parrot tales,” is a 14th century Persian collection of stories based on an earlier Sanskrit work. Imagine the 1001 Nights with Scheherazade replaced by a parrot.

Mohammad’s People, by Eric Schroeder. A history of the early centuries of al-Islam, made up of passages from period sources fitted together into a reasonably continuous whole. It contains one of my favorite stories (the death of Rabia, called Boy Longlocks).

The Book of The Superiority of Dogs over many of Those who wear Clothes by Ibn al-Marzuban. A 10th century collection of Arabic dog stories.

The *Bible*. It was extensively used as a source of stories in the Middle Ages.

The *Koran*.

The Travels of Marco Polo.

Gesta Francorum. An anonymous first-hand account of the first Crusade, extensively plagiarized by 12th century writers.

Gesta Romanorum. A collection of stories with morals, intended to be used in sermons; the Latin version dates from about 1300 and the English from about 1400. Its connection with real Roman history is tenuous at best.

The Mabinogion. A collection of Welsh stories written down in the 13th century, apparently based on much earlier verbal traditions.

Boccaccio, *The Decameron*. 14th century.

Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*. 14th century.

Malory, *Le Morte d’Arthur*. 15th century.

Marie de France, *The Breton Lais*. Popular 12th century poems, based on Celtic material.

Njal Saga, *Egil Saga*, *Jomsviking Saga*,

Gisli Saga, *Heimskringla*, etc. Histories and historical novels, mostly written in Iceland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. All of those listed, and no doubt many others with which I am less familiar, contain incidents that can be excerpted as stories. My own favorites include the killing of Gunnar, from *Njal Saga*, Egil’s confrontation with Eric Bloodaxe at York, from *Egil Saga*, the avenging of Vestan by his young sons, from *Gisli Saga*, and the encounter between Harold Godwinson and his brother Tostig just before the battle of Stamford Bridge, from *Harald Saga* (part of *Heimskringla*).

The Tains: Written sources for the Irish romances go back to the eleventh century, but much of the material is clearly much older. One of the most famous is the Táin bó Cuailnge, whose hero is Cuchulain.

The Life of Charlemagne by the Monk of St. Gall (aka Notker the Stammerer), included in *Two Lives of Charlemagne* (Penguin). This is a highly anecdotal “life” written in the ninth century and covering many subjects other than Charlemagne.

The Chansons de Geste. French “songs of deeds.” *The Song of Roland*, the earliest and most famous, dates from the late 11th century; the translation by Dorothy Sayers is readily available from Penguin and very good. Other chansons include *Ogier the Dane* and *Huon of Bordeaux*. A version of the latter by Andre Norton was published as *Huon of the Horn*.

Orlando Innamorato (1495) by Boiardo and *Orlando Furioso* (1516) by Ariosto. A single story, started by one poet and completed by another. They are a Renaissance Italian reworking of the Carolingian cycle, the stories of Charlemagne and his Paladins. The story (and characters) jump from Paris to London to Tartary, with or without intermediate stops. The tale is well supplied with magic rings, enchanted fountains, flying steeds, maidens in distress, valorous knights, both male and female, and wicked enchanters, also both male and female.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. A source of Greek and Roman myths for Renaissance writers.

De Nugis Curialium, by Walter Map, an English courtier of Welsh origin, is an entertaining 12th century collection of

anecdotes with the feel of an after dinner speech to an audience not entirely sober.

[An earlier version was in *Tournaments Illuminated*, No. 81, Winter 1986]

Concerning Heraldic Devices and Arms

Heraldic devices are the bright-colored stylized pictures you see on shields and surcoats and banners. A major part of the reason we use them is to lend color to the scene, but they also have the practical function of identifying people. Heraldic devices originally became popular when fighters started wearing closed-face helmets; a knight's chance of getting killed because his own people failed to recognize him provided a powerful motive for designing distinctive devices that could be seen and identified even in bad weather or the confusion of a battle. Two things are needed for this system of identification to work: each person's device must be different from everyone else's and a device must be clearly recognizable without close examination. These two requirements control what heraldic devices look like, and from them derive a number of rules and procedures for establishing a device of your own.

A device is defined not only by the things pictured (called "charges") and their arrangement, but also by the colors used, including the background color. In order that your device of a red lion on a white background is not confused with someone's orange lion on cream, heraldry uses a limited number of basic colors (in heraldic terms, "tinctures"). The seven basic tinctures are divided into the "colors" or dark tinctures, which are red, green, blue, purple, and black, and the "metals" or light tinctures, including white or silver (no distinction is made between them) and yellow or gold. The Rule of Tincture, a basic rule of heraldry, specifies that dark charges must be put on light backgrounds and vice versa; color on color or metal on metal is not allowed. The point of this rule is to produce

devices that people can see at a distance: a black castle on a blue background will not show up nearly as well as a gold castle on blue. (A modern parallel, where instant recognition at a distance is again desired, is the signs used by gas stations: Shell, Exxon, Gulf, and most others obey the Rule of Tincture.) In addition to these seven tinctures there are patterns derived from furs such as ermine, represented by a pattern of black spots on white. A charge may also be shown in its natural colors. When devices include fur patterns, natural-colored charges, or backgrounds divided between a color and a metal, common sense rather than an explicit rule determines if contrast is adequate; for instance, a white cat on an ermine background will not show up.

Just as heraldry does not use all possible gradations of color so that devices can be distinct from each other, so not all possible positions of charges are used. A charge may be shown from the front or back or side, but not in three-quarter view; animals are generally shown in one of a dozen or so standard poses, so that it is clear whether your lion is meant to be walking or leaping. Like most specialized fields, heraldry has developed a technical jargon designed to describe briefly and precisely what would take much longer to describe in ordinary English; in this technical language, all of the standard colors and positions and so forth have names. Therefore, a good rule of thumb for deciding whether a design is suitable as a heraldic device is to see if it can be described in heraldic terms (can be "blazoned"); if not, your design may well be intermediate between two of the standard heraldic ways of showing things and therefore be hard to distinguish from them.

The rule most important for ensuring visibility is: keep it simple. No one will be able to recognize a shield with seventeen different items on it, or with five layers of charges overlying each other.

In order that each heraldic device may be unique to one person, the SCA has a procedure for registering devices. In the course of this a proposed device is checked against all registered devices in the SCA, so that no two of us have identical or very similar devices, and also against mundane heraldic devices. If someone has the sole right, as head of a particular family, to display a coat of arms that his family has used for centuries, he is likely to take it seriously; it would be discourteous of us to appropriate it for use in the SCA. We also do not want anyone accidentally claiming by the device he wears to be king of England or the like. The organization in the SCA that registers heraldic devices is the College of Heraldry, represented in each barony or shire by the local herald.

The procedure works thus: you go to your local herald with a design, for example a pink biplane on a blue background. He explains that (1) pink is not a heraldic tincture, and (2) biplanes are not really suitable on a device to be used in a medieval organization. So you redesign with the herald's help and come up with something which as far as he knows satisfies the rules of heraldry and is not too similar to existing devices. You then fill out quite a lot of forms, and your herald sends them off to his superior at the kingdom level. Three months later she sends you a letter explaining that the device you submitted is almost the same as the arms of the Whosit family of Scotland. You redesign so that your proposed device is sufficiently different from the Whosit arms and send it off again.

If the kingdom herald approves your device it is sent on to the chief herald for the Society; if he approves it, it is registered as yours. From then on, no one else in the SCA may use it, and no one may register something very similar to it without your express permission.

Your device is your own personal symbol; only you should wear it. You will hear the heraldic devices of some people called "arms;" in the SCA, this term is used only when the person in question has received an award of arms from the Crown, or for the device of a branch of the SCA (kingdom, barony, etc.). Another kind of heraldic symbol is a badge, which follows the same rules for design and registration as a device except that a badge may have but is not required to have a specific background color. Badges are used by groups, such as households, guilds, baronies, or kingdoms, and are worn to show membership in or allegiance to the group; also, any individual may register a badge to be worn by his family or retainers, or to be used himself as a secondary device. The difference between the arms of a barony or other group and its badge is that the arms are only for the use of the official head of the group (the baron, in the case of a barony); the badge is for anyone in allegiance to the group. A device, arms, or a badge may be painted on a shield, worn on a surcoat or other clothing, displayed as a banner over your tent or in a feast hall to announce your presence, or put on your gear to mark it as yours.

[by Elizabeth, published in the newsletter
of the Barony of Axemoor]

*(This is an old piece; the College of Heraldry
no longer checks for conflict with mundane
arms)*

A certain holy man saw a barge on the river Tigris, loaded with thirty great clay jars. A bystander informed him that they contained wine for the palace of the caliph Mutadid (May Allah be content with him). So the holy man took a barge pole and smashed them, all but one.

He was brought before the Prince of the Muslims for judgment, who demanded of him who it was that had made him the inspector of the marketplace.

"He who made thee Prince of the Muslims."

And Mutadid was abashed at the reply, and ordered that the holy man be pardoned and released.

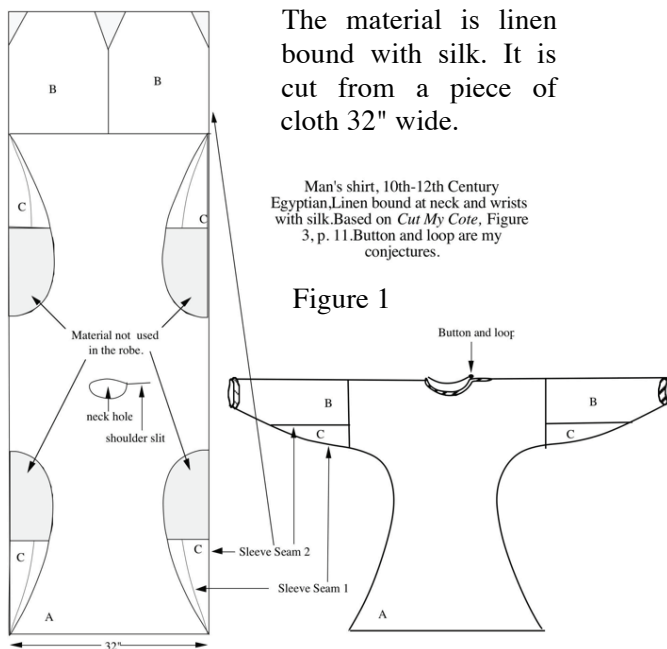
Notes on Islamic Clothing and Weapons

One of the problems with having a Muslim persona is that it is often difficult to get information on garb. In part this is because most people writing in English are more interested in medieval Christians than in medieval Muslims, in part because many Sunni Muslims regarded the making of pictures of living creatures as forbidden by religious law. Fortunately, the injunction was not always obeyed.

Persia eventually became (and still is) a predominantly Shia area. If you have a late Persian persona, you should find it fairly easy to get information on clothing. Simply find a book containing reproductions of lots of period Persian art. One particularly good source is the Houghton Shah-Nama, reproduced by the Metropolitan Museum under the title *A King's Book of Kings*.

The purpose of these notes is to pass on a few facts I have turned up about period garb, in particular period garb from southern and western Islam (my persona is a Maghribi, a North African Berber from about 1100 A.D.).

Figure 1 shows the cutting diagram for a garment presently in the Royal Ontario Museum. It is described as a shirt or Camis.



Overgarments

Period pictures show several sorts of robes, with both tight and loose sleeves; the latter are sometimes short-sleeved and worn over a tight-sleeved garment. Mayer mentions that in early period the tight-sleeved robes would have had sleeves many inches longer than the arms, and been worn "ending at the wrist in many folds." Period pictures also show what seems to be a jacket, open in front. Mayer says that the robe worn in the Fatimid period (i.e. Egypt before Saladin, who ended the Fatimid dynasty) was a tunic with a traditional straight slit; it is not clear to me if he means that it was open all the way in front or closed with a vertical slit at the throat. Some period pictures from Muslim Spain show parti-colored robes.



I have generally based my robes on the shirt described above, which has a slit (and, I conjecture, a button) over the left shoulder. This is probably a mistake, since neither slit nor button is generally visible in period pictures; it may have been a feature of the shirt but not of the robe over it.

Drawers

I have two sorts of sources for Islamic underpants. *Arab Painting* shows several pictures of men with the robes pulled up and the underpants exposed; the general impression is of a loose drawstring garment roughly knee length. There are similar pictures in other books. Also, Tilke shows detailed pictures of several types of modern (i.e. 19th or 20th century) Islamic underpants, which seem consistent with the period pictures. Figure 5 (p. 299) shows how I make mine; I believe the cutting pattern is somewhat simpler than for the garments Tilke shows, but the only copy of his book I currently have access to is missing some of the relevant pages. There is a drawstring. Aside from some tendency to pull out at the crotch, where four seams meet, they work fine; perhaps there should be an additional piece there. The figure also shows a second pattern I use and another design, from Tilke; the original is North African.

There are traditions of the Prophet in which he recommends that pants should reach to somewhere between knee and ankle.

Mayer shows a surviving pair of pants, but I suspect from his text that they are for a woman. Figure 2 shows pants labeled as 12th-13th c. Egyptian and part of a jacket labeled Egyptian or Mesopotamian.

Turbans

Kühnel lists several pieces of cloth tentatively identified as pieces of turbans from 12th century Egypt; typical widths are from 35 to 48 cms. There is also one possible turban from later (Egypt 13th-15th

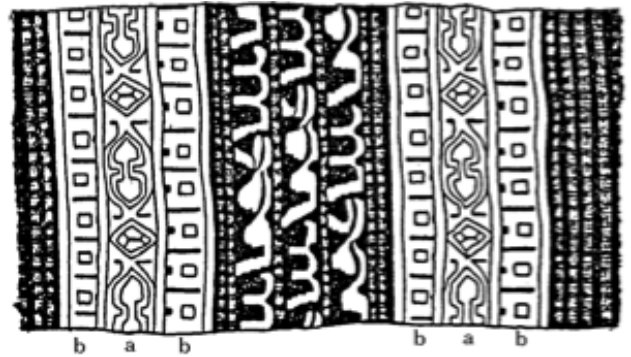


Figure 3: A piece of cloth tentatively identified as a Turban end. Egypt, 12th century.

Length 85 cm, Width 42 cm.

From Kühnel, piece '04, 284

centuries) that is 70 cm wide. I accordingly make my turbans about 20" wide.

He also shows a picture (reproduced as Figure 3) of a piece of cloth believed to be a turban end from 12th century Egypt. It is made from blue dyed linen. The bands labeled *a* are red-brown, salmon yellow, yellow and light green, with black outlines; he does not say which parts are which colors. The bands labeled *b* are black and yellow. The middle section is in yellow linen on blue, and consists of repetitions of the Arabic "Help from God."

I have no precise information on the length of turbans. At various times, non-Muslims were restricted to maximum turban lengths ranging from five to ten ells, which suggests that Muslims would at least sometimes wear turbans longer than that. If one interprets the ell as the English ell of 45 inches (Mayer, my source on this, does not say what ell he means), ten ells would be twelve and a half yards. I find that a length of about fifteen yards works well. Mayer describes the restrictions as a response to increases in turban length. Since he is describing a period later than my persona, it is possible that my turban should be somewhat shorter, but since I have no precise information for my exact period it is hard to be sure.

Other than this, my only basis for the way I tie my turban is what works—that is to say, what produces a result that looks like period pictures, such as those in *Arab*

Painting. I generally use a piece of light cotton 15 yards long by about 20 inches wide, although I occasionally use twice that width to get a very bulky turban. Before starting to wind the turban I put on a turban cap—a plain skullcap of heavy cloth. Its function is to keep hair from getting wrapped into the turban and to make sure that no hair shows through; while not essential, it is useful.

I start with one end of the turban about eight inches below the base of my neck; this is going to be the tail which one sees on some period turbans. The turban passes from there over my head to just above the forehead and then starts being wound. A single wind is a circle (clockwise seen from above) tilted somewhat from the horizontal. As I wind the turban, the circle precesses; the low point moves around my head by about 90° each wind. So if the first time around the low point is under my right ear then the next time it is at the back of my head, then left ear, then ... (this is very approximate). As you go, you can let the tilt increase, since the bottom of the circle will anchor itself below the bulge of cloth already there. When you are down to the last two yards or so, make a horizontal circle around the whole thing and tuck the end in. The result is the horizontal band that one often sees on period pictures.

For a more detailed description, see the next article. Practice when nobody is watching.

Tiraz Bands

Period pictures of Islamic garments frequently show ornamental bands on the sleeves. These are called tiraz bands. They normally consist of an Arabic inscription with associated decoration.

Tiraz bands are supposed to have started as a feature identifying cloth woven for the ruler's own use. Since giving away garments was a common form of generosity, those favored by the ruler wore such clothing. After a while, everyone wore robes with tiraz bands. The inscriptions commonly called down blessings on the current Caliph, although other religious formulas might appear instead. An example from tenth century Egypt is given in Kühnel, p. 17. The inscription on the garment and the equivalent in ordinary Arabic letters are shown as Figure 4. The translation is:

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Blessing from God and mercy upon the Caliph, the slave of God al-Mutili'llah, the prince of the believers. God lengthen his existence.

Sometimes, especially on later garments, the tiraz inscription seems to have become pure ornament, no longer meaning anything. I do not know whether the ornamental bands on European sleeves were a development from the tiraz band, but it seems likely. In *Arab Painting*, the tiraz bands seem often to be black on gold.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بركة من الله وكرامة للخليفة
عبد الله المطيع لله امير المؤمنين اطال الله بقاه

Figure 4

A Tiraz Band from Egypt, 946-947 A.D.,
Based on item 2631, Tafel 1, *Islamische Stoffe*

Notes on Mameluke Costume

The following information is from Mayer. It applies to the Mamelukes, who ruled Egypt and much of Syria from 1250 to 1560 A. D. I do not know how much of it would be true in other parts of al-Islam or at other times.

There was a religious injunction forbidding gold and silver on the clothing, except for the belt; as a result, belts were often very rich. There was a similar injunction, which I believe applied through most of al-Islam through most of history, against garments with too much silk in them. Interpretations of exactly what was forbidden varied, and the injunction seems to have been widely violated.

The sultan changed into white garments for the summer in May; he changed back into woolen clothes (color not specified) in November.

Turbans are especially associated with the Masters of the Pen; the military aristocracy (i.e. the Amirs) wore the Sharbûsh (probably "the stiff cap trimmed with fur, rising to a slightly triangular front, and characterized by a metal plaque above the forehead") and the Kalauta ("a yellow cap worn by the Sultan, the amirs and the rest of the military, with a broad border band and clasps.") The Sharbûsh is mentioned as far back as the time of Saladin; he founded the Ayyubid dynasty which preceded the Mamelukes.

A common form of footgear was the Khuff boot, described as a long leather stocking; it apparently had a vertical seam up the side, which is sometimes visible in pictures. The winter Khuff was yellow or black leather, the summer Khuff was white. A shoe was worn over the Khuff. "Above shirt and drawers the Mamluk amirs wore Tartar coats, above them takalâwât, and above those 'Islamic Coats.' Then the sword was girded on to the left and the saulaq and the kizlik on the right." The Tartar coat was a crossover robe, like a modern bathrobe, with "a hem crossing the chest diagonally

from left to right (in contradistinction to Turks, who preferred a hem from right to left)." I cannot clearly identify what all of these things were; the saulaq seems to be some sort of bag of black leather, possibly for carrying food.

According to Mayer, women wore a chemise under a gown; by the early fourteenth century, the latter was short with wide sleeves. They wore pants under the chemise, or trousers, the latter possibly instead of the chemise. Over everything they wore a wrap, typically white, fastened by a girdle. It appears that women sometimes wore turbans, although the practice was disapproved of and frequently forbidden.

On the subject of veiling, Mayer writes:

"It goes without saying that women went about veiled. Various forms of veils ... existed, mainly of the following types:

(a) a veil of black net covering the entire face.

(b) like (a) but leaving two holes for the eyes.

(c) a white or black face-veil covering the face up to the eyes.

To appear in public without the veil was a sign of great distress.

It is quite possible that dancers and singers used no veils, but of course we have to take into consideration that on miniatures, metalwork, etc. they are invariably shown indoors."

Mameluke women apparently wore khuff boots, with a low shoe over them outdoors. They also used wooden clogs. Red trousers were one of the signs of a prostitute.

The Aba

The aba is an Islamic over-robe, like a poncho but open in front; Figure 6 (p. 300) shows how I have made most of mine. It is still worn in modern Islamic societies; Tilke shows many different types. The earliest picture I have seen is in Nicholas de Nicolet, who shows something that looks like an aba. It is, however, frequently mentioned in period, most commonly as a wool

overgarment. There seems no reason to believe that it was any different then than now, although absent pictures or surviving garments, one cannot be certain. Silk abas are also mentioned.

There is a garment in the Metropolitan Museum in New York which is described as a "Tiraz Garment" but has the form of an aba. It is made from a single piece of cloth with the arm holes woven in, as shown in Figure 7. You simply fold on the dotted lines and sew the shoulders together. The figure shows only construction, not details. To make a reasonable imitation without your own loom, treat the arm holes as giant button holes—sew around them many times, then slit.

Seal Stones

There are traditions that the Prophet recommended making signet stones from carnelian.

Christians, Jews and Sabean

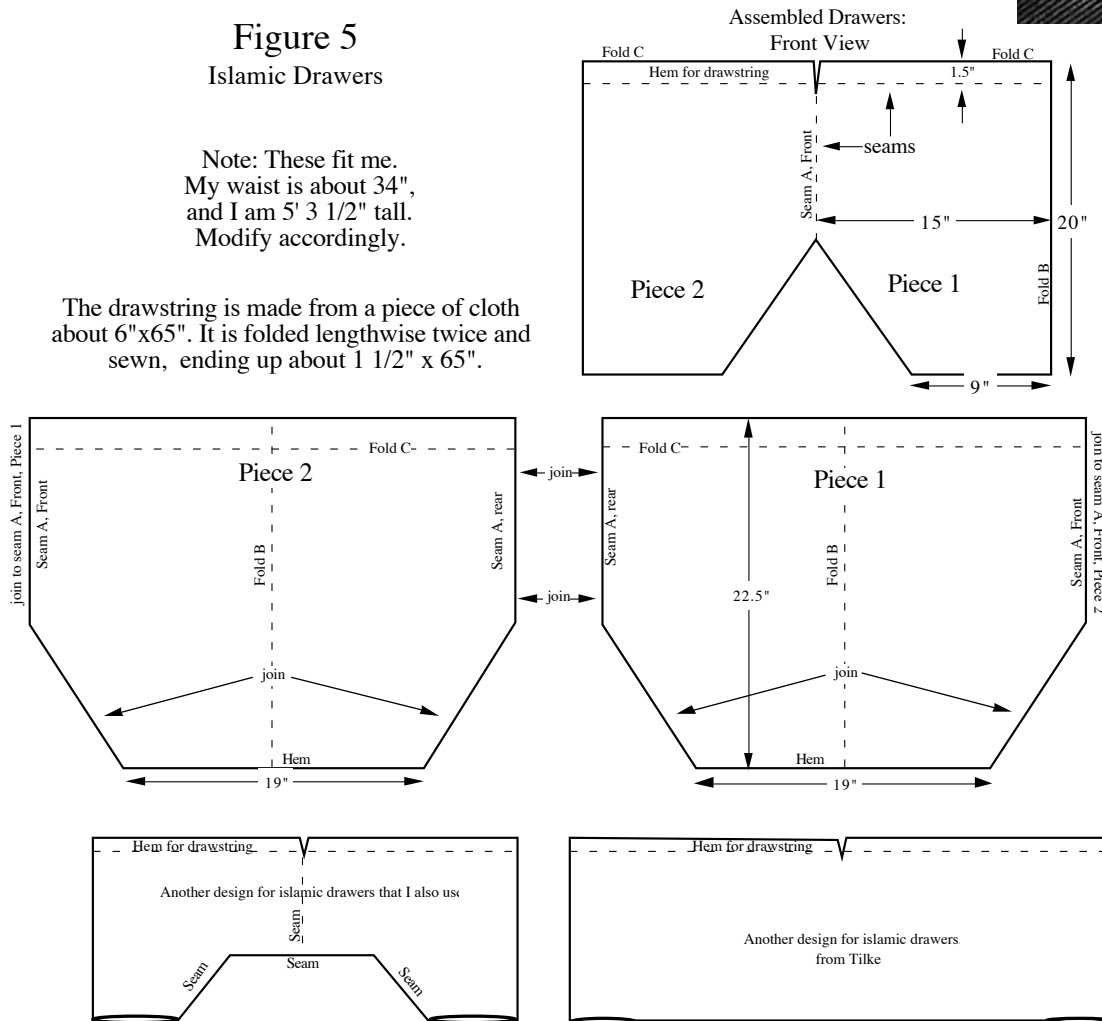
The Covenant of Umar was a set of rules for the tolerated religions, supposedly laid down by the second Caliph. One part of it was the requirement that Christians wear blue turbans, Jews yellow and Sabean red. This requirement seems to have been enforced intermittently.

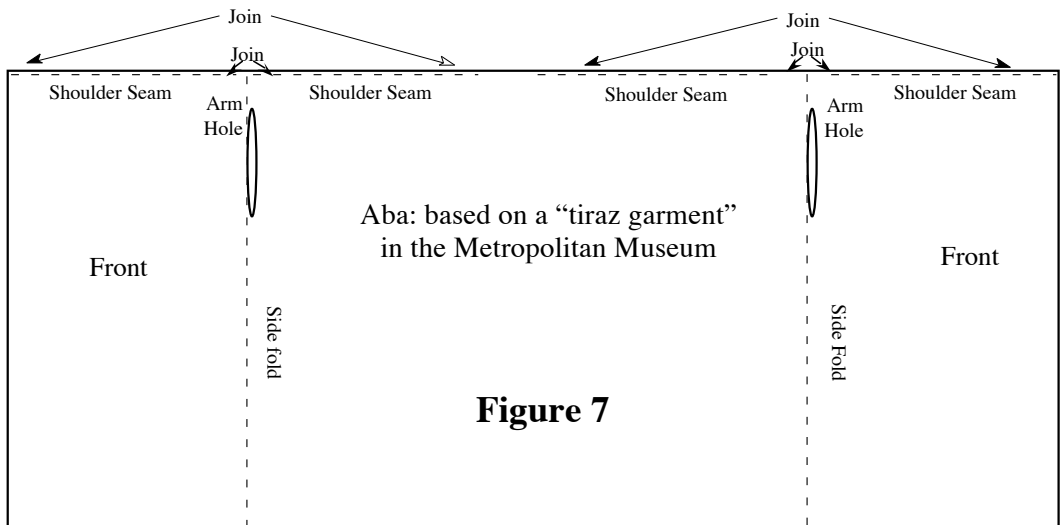
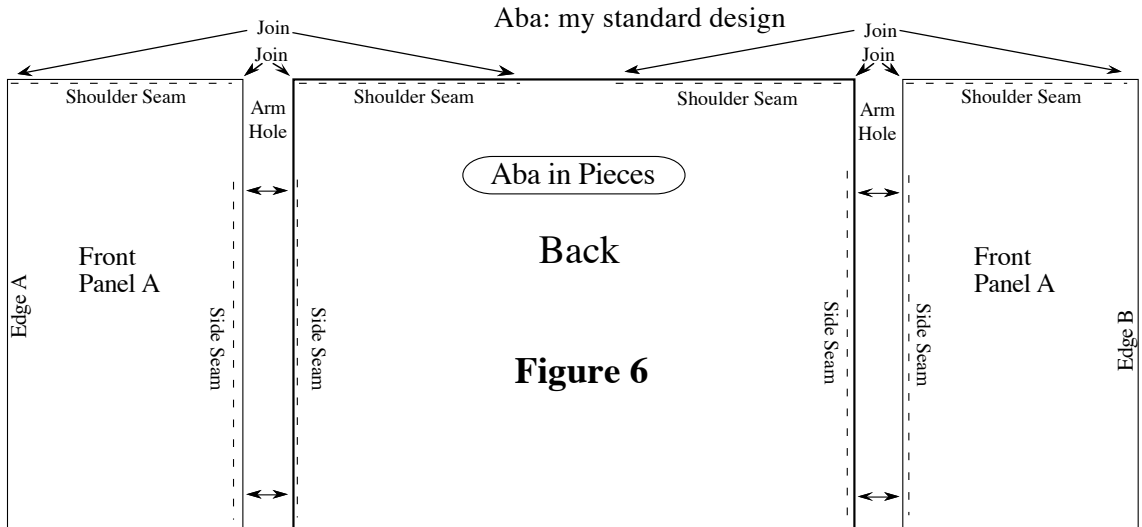
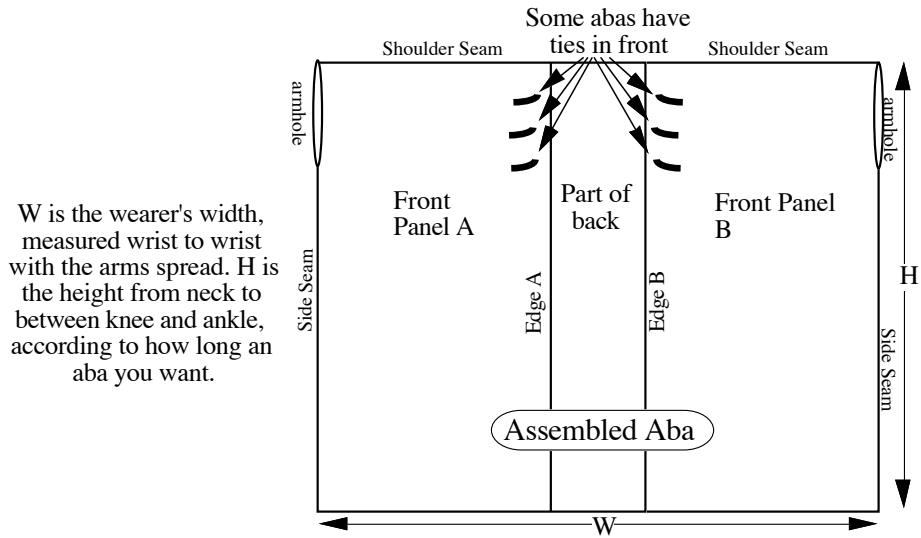


Figure 5
Islamic Drawers

Note: These fit me.
My waist is about 34",
and I am 5' 3 1/2" tall.
Modify accordingly.

The drawstring is made from a piece of cloth about 6"x65". It is folded lengthwise twice and sewn, ending up about 1 1/2" x 65".





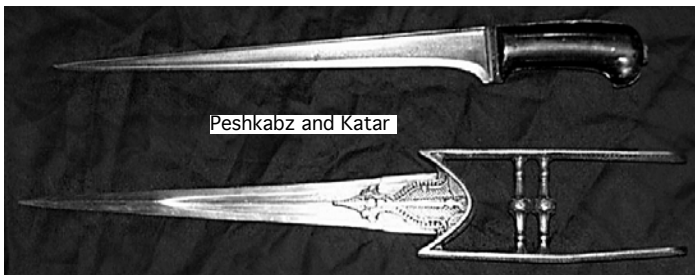
Knives

I have not been able to find any book with detailed information on what styles of knives were used when in al-Islam, but have come across the following fragments of information.

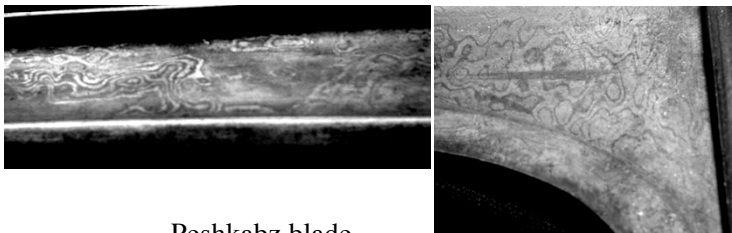
Jambiya: This is the Arabic term for dagger, used to describe a number of rather different weapons. *Islamiske Våben* shows what I would describe as a Persian Jambiya dated to the sixteenth century but calls it a Khandjar, another Arabic word for knife or dagger and one applied by Stone to a rather different type of knife. Two jambiyas are shown here; the top one is Kurdish, the bottom Moroccan.



Jambiyas



Peshkabz and Katar



Peshkabz blade
showing the pattern of damascus steel



Kard: This is a straight-bladed Persian knife; the smaller ones look rather like modern eating knives. Some have reinforced points, presumably for going through mail, but many appear to be general-purpose utility knives. Most surviving specimens are out of period, but *Islamiske Våben* shows one (Persian) from 1616 and another (Indian) from 1524, so (assuming they are correctly dated) kards exist in period. One sometimes sees them for sale, at Pennsic and elsewhere. Kards I have seen range from about nine to sixteen inches in overall length.



Kard blade
showing the pattern of damascus steel

Khatar: The Indian punch dagger. Two appear in a picture in *Islamiske Våben* dated 1528. A large Khatar, or possibly a Pata (the sword version of the Khatar) is described by Ibn Battuta in the fourteenth century as a weapon of the Hindus in India.

Pesh-kabz: A Persian and North Indian armor-piercing dagger. It is single edged; the back edge has a reinforcing rib, giving it a T cross section. Typical length is about sixteen inches.

All of these are probably appropriate for late Islamic persona and possibly for early ones. Examples can be purchased from arms and armor dealers or off eBay. A catalog I have from some years back lists kaskaras, khatars, jambiyas, pesh-kabz's and kards, with prices starting at about a hundred dollars. Antique Islamic weapons are usually less expensive than their European equivalents, especially if they are plain—without gold inlay and the like. Since the form of many of the Islamic weapons remained the same from (at least) late period until the nineteenth or twentieth century, a specimen dating from the eighteenth or nineteenth century may be reasonably close to what your persona would have worn.

Swords

Contrary to many movies, anecdotes, and historical novels the Saracens at the time of the crusades used straight swords. The curved sword seems to have become popular in the Middle East somewhere between the thirteenth and fourteenth century (see Nicolle and sources he cites). The traditional way of wearing the sword was on a baldric slung over the shoulder.

The kaskara, a straight bladed sword used in the Sudan and Northern Africa, appears to be a survival of the medieval Islamic broadsword; Stone shows one with a tenth century blade, and two (of unknown date) are shown on this page. If you have a pre-fourteenth century Islamic persona, want to wear a sword, and have access to someone who deals in antique arms and armor, you should be able to get a real kaskara for about the cost of a reasonably good replica broadsword.

The yataghan is a slightly curved Turkish sword sharp on the inside of the curve. I have seen a reference to a surviving yataghan dated to the sixteenth century; I believe they go back earlier than that.

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“An Introduction to Arms and Warfare in Classical Islam,” by D. Nicolle, in *Islamic Arms and Armor. Islam Stoffe aus Ägyptischen Gräbern* by Ernst Kühnel, 1927: Berlin Verlag Ernst Wasmuth.

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Cut My Cote, Dorothy K. Burnham, Textile Department, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Early Islamic Textiles, Clive Rogers Editor, Rogers & Podmore, Brighton 1983.

Islamiske våben i dansk privateje (Islamic Arms and Armour from private Danish collections), Udstilling på Davids Samling, København 1982.

Le Costume • Coupes et Formes, de L'Antiquité aux Temps Modernes, Max Tilke, Éditions Albert Morancé, Paris 1967. This is a wonderful book, full of detailed photographs of real garments. Unfortunately, most of them are out of period.

Mamluk Costume: A Survey, Mayer, L. A., Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1952.

The Modern Egyptians by Edward Lane, 1860 (facsimile from Dover).

A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armor, by George C. Stone.

[An earlier version of this article appeared in a *Creative Anachronist Islamic pamphlet*.]

“How was it,” one of Ali’s chiefs insolently inquired, “that Abu Bakr’s Caliphate and Umar’s were both so peaceful, and Othman’s and thine so full of trouble of schism.”

“For a simple reason,” Ali said: “Abu Bakr and Umar had Othman and me to help them in their time; but Othman and I had only you and your like.”

To Tie a Turban

I usually wear a turban at events, and from time to time someone asks me to show him how to tie it. Hence this article.

Sources of Information

I have not found any period descriptions of how to tie a turban. The method I describe below is based on indirect evidence of several sorts. There are quite a lot of surviving pictures from the Islamic world showing people wearing turbans (*Arab Painting*, Richard Ettinghausen, Macmillan, London 1977 is one good source). In addition, there is some evidence, archaeological and literary, on the dimensions of the turban sash—the piece of cloth that you wind around your head to make a turban—and there are surviving caps that might well be intended to go under turbans. For more information on both, see the previous article on Islamic clothing.

Finally, there are modern people who wear turbans. When I began trying to figure out how to reproduce the effect shown in period pictures, my first step was to go to a Sikh friend and ask him to show me how he tied his turban. The result looked quite different from what I had seen in the pictures—but it turned out that a slight modification of what he was doing fixed that.

How I Tie My Turban

1. Put on a turban cap. This is not essential, but it makes it less likely that stray wisps of hair will show when you are finished. [figure 1]

2. Take a strip of cloth about 20" wide and 15 yards long—I usually use light cotton. Lay it over your head, back to front, with the end about eight inches below the back of your neck—this is going to be the tail that appears in some, but not all, period pictures of turbans. [figure 2 shows it from behind.]

3. Put your left hand against the cloth high up on your head, so as to anchor the cloth there [figure 3]. In most of these pictures, I am wrapping the turban with my right hand, often out of the picture, and holding down parts of it with my left hand.

4. With your right hand, wrap the cloth in a slightly tilted (i.e. almost horizontal) circle around your head. You have to do it in such a way that the circle is roughly a circumference of your head, imagined as a (very approximate) sphere—in other words, tightening the circle shouldn't make the cloth slide.

The circle is precessing around your head, so that the low point is farther around each time. The first circle has its low point behind your head. Figure 4 shows the situation after one circle. Figure 5 shows it after the second circle; the low point was at the left side of the head. Figure 6 is after the third circle; the low point is at the right temple. My left hand (shown) is holding down the cloth near the low point

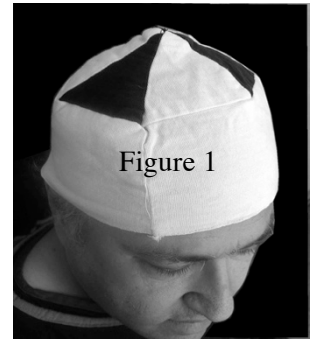


Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3

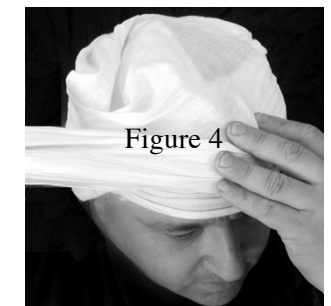


Figure 4

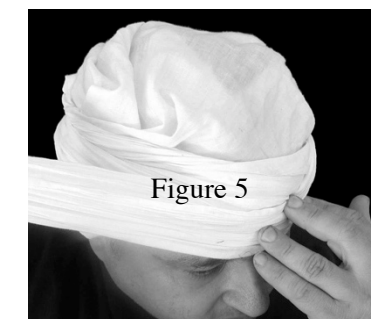


Figure 5

5. Once you have gone around several times, start tilting the circle—shifting it closer and closer to the vertical as you go—still precessing. You are able to do that because the earlier, more nearly horizontal, wraps provide a mass of cloth to anchor the low point of each circle. Figure 7 shows the beginning of a tilted circle, with the low point anchored under the bulge of cloth at the left side of the head. Figure 8 shows a later circle being anchored below the bulge of cloth over the right ear. Figure 9 shows an even more tilted circle, about to anchor at the back of the head. Figure 10 shows one of the last of the tilted circles. Notice that all of the turban except the very top is now made up of wraps of cloth.

6. When you are down to the last two feet or so of cloth, wrap it horizontally around your head to hold everything together (Figures 11, 12), and tuck the end under one of the previous wraps to hold it (Figure 13).

7. You are finished, except for one thing—the turban is too low over your forehead [Figure 14]. So take the whole turban and tilt it back a little until your forehead is clear [Figure 14].

Period pictures often show a horizontal colored band around the turban. To get this effect, add a turban end—a last two or three feet of colored cloth for the part of the turban that wraps around in steps 11-13. My classy turbans, such as the one shown here, are white with a gold silk end—but suit yours to your tastes.

Once you are comfortable tying a turban this way, try experimenting—preferably after looking at some period pictures. It is clear from the art that there were a variety of different ways of tying a turban in period. What I have described is simply a way I have found that works well to reproduce the effect shown in some period pictures.

The Sikh style of turban—which you can see not only on modern Sikhs but in Mughal art from late in our period—is done the same way as mine, but without the precessing. You do your first circle with its low point under the right ear. The second with its low point a little higher. The third a little higher still. Eventually the circle is flat. You tilt it a little farther, making the low point above the left ear. Keep tilting it until the low point is as low as with your first circle, but on the opposite side of the head. Now start flattening the circle again. Continue until you are almost out of cloth. Then anchor the end around the part of the turban above your forehead, where all the circles cross. The visual effect doing it this way is quite different, although the basic logic of what you are doing is almost identical.



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8

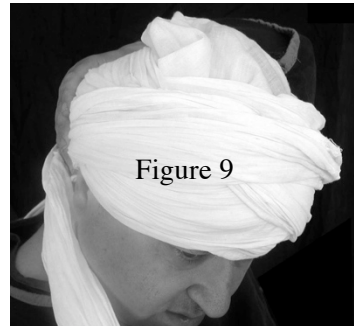


Figure 9

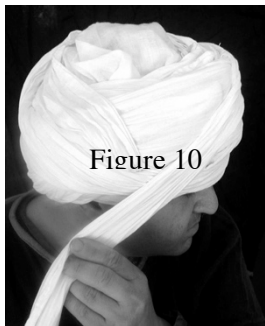


Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 13



Figure 12

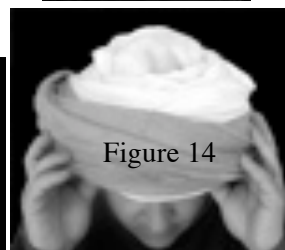


Figure 14



Figure 15
Finished: Front View

A Turban Cap

I have seen period Islamic caps in the Field Museum in Chicago and the Cleveland Museum of Art; one from the latter collection is shown on p. 234 of Atal and I believe there is also one in Rogers. A cap from the former collection is shown here. The cap shown in Figure 1 is a simplified version of the same design. One important difference is that my cap is made of a single layer of plain cloth, whereas the period ones appears to be quilted—silk on cotton in at least some cases—with ornamental designs. Finally, in the period cap there is cording on the seam joining each pair of triangles.

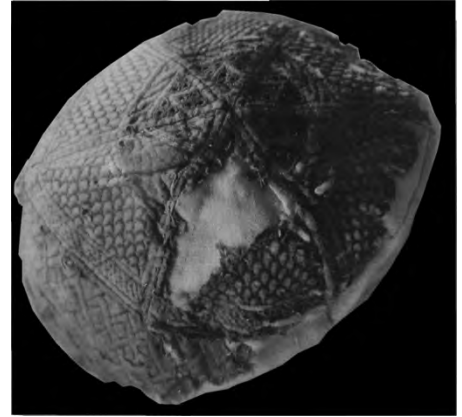
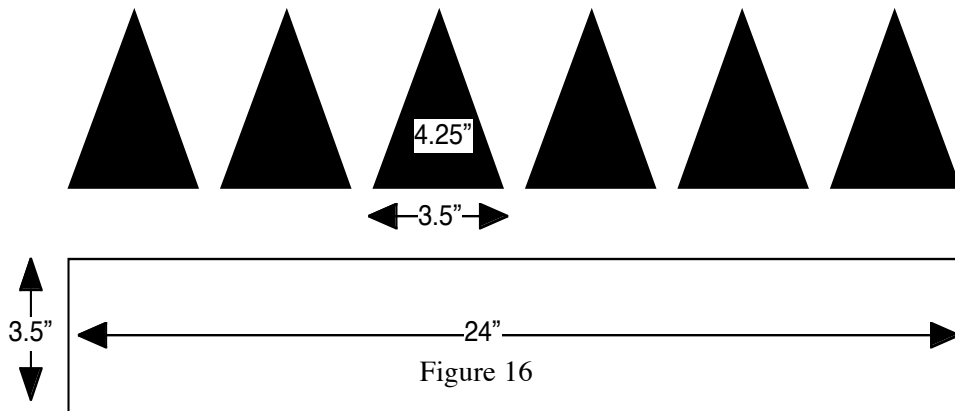


Figure 16 shows my cutting pattern, not including seam allowance. Assembly should be obvious from Figure 1. The one tricky point is that the total width of the triangles (not including seam allowance) is 21" (six triangles, each 3½" wide), while the total width of the rectangle they are sewn to is 24". The discrepancy is solved by small tucks in the top edge of the rectangle, designed to make the band of the cap a little tighter at the top than at the bottom. I'm not sure this is essential, but it seems to work.

Sources

Early Islamic Textiles, Clive Rogers Editor, Rogers & Podmore, Brighton 1983.

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The Perfect Armor

Suppose you were drawing up specifications for the perfect armor. It would be easy to make from inexpensive materials using commonly available tools. It would be light, strong and rustproof. It would look good. And, of course, it would be period.

Hardened leather, also known as cuirbouilli, meets all of those requirements. Since discovering how easy it is to make, I have used it to make forearm and elbow protectors, greaves, a half gauntlet, body armor, and edging for my shield. I even made a hardened leather hockey cup, on the theory that the usual white plastic version was the most strikingly mundane item in my armor bag.

In this essay I describe how to make several pieces of armor out of hardened leather: a medieval Islamic forearm and elbow protector (*bazuband*), Byzantine lamellar body armor (a *klibanion*), a gauntlet and a basket hilt. The same techniques can be applied to a wide variety of other pieces.

To start, you need some leather. It should be vegetable tanned leather rather than chrome tanned leather, and undyed. Chrome tanned, which is the most common modern variety, can usually be recognized by the gray color of the cut edge (unless the edge has been dyed). Vegetable tanned leather is used for carving, making belts and similar projects; it is often described as oak tanned leather or saddle skirting. Its color, before you harden it, is a light tan.

The thickness of leather is defined in ounces per square foot. One ounce corresponds to a thickness of $1/64$ " ; what is actually measured is usually thickness rather than weight. Ideally you should use at least 12 or 13 ounce leather. Leather as light as 8 or 9 ounces is still useful, but you should probably use a double layer over vulnerable parts such as the elbow. The *klibanion* is made of overlapping lamellae, giving a total thickness of about twice the thickness of a single layer of leather, so 8 ounce provides at least minimal protection.

Before you start making hardened leather armor, let me give you three

warnings. The first is that, although beeswax is attractive, pleasant smelling stuff, people who do not make armor and do share your kitchen may object to finding hardened drops of it scattered over the floor, stove, and countertops. The problem can be minimized by being careful with the molten wax. If you are not good at being careful, you will want to know that hardened wax is easier to remove if you use something soaked in hot water.

The second warning is that wax can burn—which is why it is used to make candles. I have never had beeswax catch fire on me when I was using it to harden leather, but I expect it could happen if you got it too hot. I have no experience with paraffin or other waxes that you might use instead. Be careful and keep a fire extinguisher nearby.

My final warning is to remind you that the bag that separates your inside from your outside is made of leather. Any tool designed to cut leather is also designed to cut you, so be careful. As Kipling put it in "The Wrong Thing," "Do your work with your heart's blood, but no need to let it show."

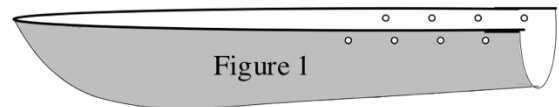


Figure 1

Figure 1 shows what a simple bazuband looks like; Figure 2 shows the piece of leather you will use. The measurements are the circumference of the wrist (a), the maximum circumference of the forearm (b) and the distance from the wrist to the crease that divides the forearm from the upper arm (c). I have given the measurements of the piece for my arm as an example. Allow for padding.

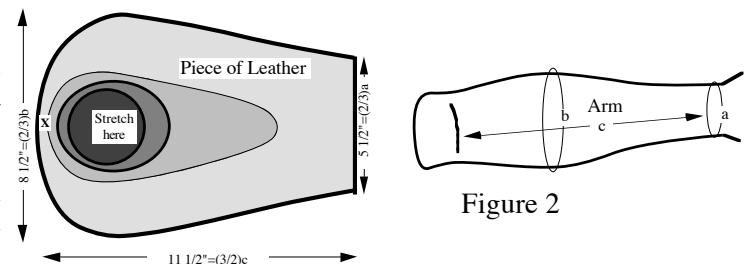


Figure 2

Cut out the piece, fill a pot with cold water from the tap, and put the leather in to soak; if you do not have a pot big enough, use the sink or bathtub. After the leather has soaked for half an hour or so it gets flexible and slightly stretchy. If you are making something that requires a good deal of stretching, such as a bazuband or greave, let the leather soak overnight, then take it out, cover it with a damp towel, and leave it for eight hours or so.

If you were simply making a forearm guard, all you would have to do to shape it would be wrap it around your arm (with padding), or around anything else about the same shape and size, and let it dry. A bazuband is a little trickier because of the part that covers the elbow, which is curved like part of a sphere. To make that, you have to stretch the central portion of the leather that goes over the elbow—the shaded area on Figure 2. The different degrees of shading are intended to give a rough idea of what is stretched how much.

One way is to use a medium sized bowl—say 6"-8" in diameter. Put the bowl upside down on a convenient counter and stretch the leather over it by hand. Another way is to use two bowls, one a little larger than the other, with the leather in between.

When the leather has been stretched enough, the next step is to tie it to the form. The form should be something about the size and shape the bazuband is going to be. That means that it should be cylindrical for eight inches or so, with a diameter of about four or five inches and an end that is roughly spherical—increase the numbers a little if you are a giant.

I happen to have a steel bazuband the right size, so I cover it with Saran Wrap to protect it from the wet leather and use it as my form. If you do not have any antique armor lying around, look on the shelf where you keep empty jars, wine bottles, and the like; you should be able to find something about the right size and shape. It does not have to be exact; you will be able to do a certain amount of reshaping of the damp

leather after you take it off the form. If you are really ambitious and good at whittling, you could probably make a wooden form and use it to make bazubands for everyone in your group. [For an example, see the next article.]

Tie the wet leather onto the form, using strips of cloth to avoid marking the leather. Better yet, use a roller bandage—one of those elastic bandages they sell to tie up a sprain, made out of stuff that sticks to itself. You probably have one left around from the time you sprained your ankle fighting.

The basic idea is to get the wet leather tied tightly onto the form so that when it dries it will have the shape of the form. The only hard part is the spherical section covering the elbow. Work that onto the corresponding part of the form by hand, trying to get it as smooth and wrinkle free as possible. I generally leave it for fifteen or twenty minutes, in the hope that it will stretch a bit more, then untie that part and try again. When you are finally satisfied, leave it for a few hours to dry.

At that point the leather should be stiff enough to hold its shape as long as you treat it gently; take it off the form so the inside as well as the outside can dry. If necessary reshape it a bit—open up the cylinder that goes over your forearm if it is too tight, or close it a little if it is too loose. Then leave it somewhere out of the way to finish drying. Do not start the next step until the leather is thoroughly dry, which probably means waiting several days; if you try to harden leather that is still a little damp, horrible things will happen to it.

Leather can be hardened by impregnating it with beeswax. Some people do this by melting wax in a large pot and putting in the leather. This method requires a lot of wax; I have never tried it. I harden my leather in the oven, using a large pan or a sheet of aluminum foil. In the pan I put the bazuband, with the hollow side up and a large chunk—half a pound or so—of beeswax inside it. Then I put the pan, leather, and wax in an oven set at about 220°.

When the leather is hot and the wax beginning to soften a little, take the pan out, rub the wax all over the surface of the leather, and put the pan (and wax and bazuband) back in the oven. Try not to spill wax anywhere where it is likely to catch fire. Continue the process for half an hour or more, rubbing wax on both sides, letting chunks of softened wax melt in the hollow part of the bazuband and running the melted wax around the inside, until the leather is soaked through with wax. Then turn off the oven and take out the pan, bazuband, and what is left of the wax. As long as the leather is hot the bazuband is reasonably flexible, so do any last minute reshaping to get the size just right, then let it cool and harden.

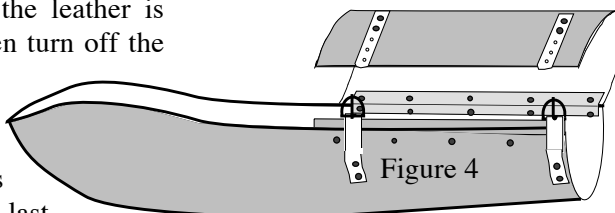
This is a simple bazuband, made of only one piece of leather, so all that remains to do is to punch holes in it (as shown in Figure 1), run a leather thong through the holes, and put in whatever kind of padding you prefer. You are done. You now have light, strong, rustproof protection for your sword arm and elbow. It is a beautiful brown color and looks (and is) very real.

If you wanted a somewhat fancier bazuband, you could make a second piece to cover the inside of your wrist, as shown on Figure 3. The hinge is simply a strip of unhardened leather, riveted or sewn to both pieces as shown. The side of the main piece that does not attach to the hinge has a lip for the wrist piece to fit over. It is simply a long rectangle of hardened leather, riveted to the main piece as shown. The bazuband is held closed by two buckles. The figure includes an end view of the piece, seen from the wrist end, showing how the hinge, the lip, the main piece and the piece

for the inside of the wrist go together.

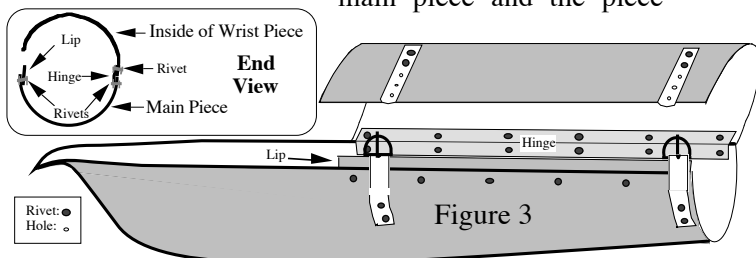
In addition to covering the inside of the wrist, the bazuband shown in Figure 3 is fancier in another respect as well. The tip of the part that covers the elbow has a reverse curve, to make it more comfortable—that way there is no edge pressing against your arm just above the elbow. Some bazubands were made this way, some were not. Figure 4 shows one where the design has been

modified to provide a little more protection to the sides of the elbow.



Obviously, there is lots of room for varying the details of the design to fit your taste and body. One of my bazubands currently has two extra holes in it near the elbow end, so that part of the lacing comes across the bend at the inside of my elbow; I think I like it better that way but am not quite sure. You can use buckles and straps instead of lacing. If you usually fight with a basket hilt, you can extend the bazuband at the wrist end a little, to provide a flap that covers the back of your hand and improves your wrist protection, like a half gauntlet.

What has your bazuband cost you to make? Where I live, the local leather stores sell scrap vegetable tanned leather, usually about 8 ounce, for \$3 a pound—apparently leftovers from making belts. Sometimes they have pieces suitable for something like a bazuband, sometimes not. For leather that is not scrap the price is usually given in dollars per square foot, but works out to about \$6 a pound. If your arm is the same size as mine, the piece of leather shown in Figure 1 is about two-thirds of a square foot; allowing for wastage, you will probably have to buy about one square foot. If you are using 12 ounce leather, that will weigh 12 ounces and cost under \$3 if you can find it as scrap, under \$6 otherwise. Add another dollar or two for the wax and you have a very nice piece of armor for less than eight



dollars worth of materials.

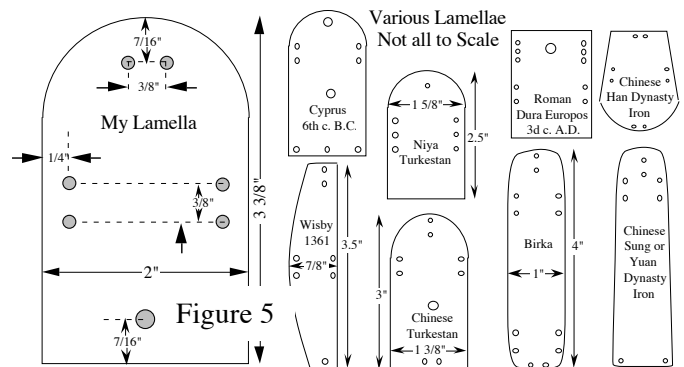
After you have been using the bazuband for a few months and blocking far too many blows with your swordarm instead of your shield, you may find that the leather has gotten a little soft in places and the color has gotten lighter. The solution is simple; put it back in the oven—provided, of course, that your padding is either ovenproof or removable. Ten or fifteen minutes in a 200° oven will remelt the wax, reharden the leather, and restore its original color. If it has been badly beaten, you might want to rub in a little more wax.

I have described the making of a particular piece of armor, but the same techniques can be used for other pieces. My greaves are essentially oversized bazubands (with a second piece covering the calf, like the wrist piece in the fancier version). Once I have gotten the knee part adequately stretched, I use my leg for the form to get the rest of the greave to shape. I have to hobble around for an hour or two with my leg wrapped in leather and roller bandage—but the final result is a greave molded exactly to the shape of my leg, like ancient Greek armor.

One problem I have occasionally had in making such armor is that the spherical parts come out not quite spherical enough; I have not stretched the leather sufficiently, with the result that my knee or elbow does not go quite far enough in to be adequately protected. There is a solution to this problem. Leather can be worked with a hammer on an anvil, much as steel is worked. The essential idea is to stretch the leather, before or after hardening, by hammering it against a hard surface. For details, consult a friendly armorer. An alternative way of solving the problem might be to make a two or three inch cut starting at the point marked X on Figure 2, overlap the edges of the cut, and rivet or sew the cut closed; I haven't tried that, but it seems like one obvious way of getting the hollow deeper.

To Make a Klibanion

Lamellar armor is made from lots of small plates of some rigid material, such as metal or leather, laced together. It was used by many different peoples, from Scandinavia to Japan. I call the piece I am describing a klibanion because that is a particular kind of lamellar armor for which I happen to have a name, but similar armor was used by many different people. Making lamellar armor is a project I had been thinking of for years but only got around to doing recently, while writing this article.



The first step is to cut out lots of lamellae. Figure 5 shows the size and shape I used, as well as several other shapes based on surviving lamellae (from Thordeman and Robinson). The material I used was 8 ounce vegetable tanned leather. A sleeveless lamellar vest, protecting me from the waist up, required about 180 lamellae.

The next step is to harden the leather. Since the pieces are flat, you can simply stack them in a cake pan or something similar, put a big lump of beeswax on top, stick them in a 220° oven and let the wax melt. When it is mostly or entirely melted, turn the pieces over, rearrange, and fiddle with them until every piece is saturated with wax. Then take them out and let them cool.

The next step is to put in the holes. You could do this with a leather punch but I think it is easier to use a drill, especially if you have access to a drill press. Mark out the positions of the holes on one lamella, put it on top of a stack of five or ten others, make

sure they are all aligned, and drill a hole through the whole stack. Put a nail or something similar into the hole to make it harder for the lamellae to shift around, then drill a second hole. Put another nail in that hole, then drill the rest; two nails will keep the lamellae pretty well aligned. Make sure you are drilling straight down, so the holes are in the same position in all the pieces.

Figure 6 shows a group of nine lamellae laced together and a diagram of the lacing pattern I use; it is slightly modified from a reconstruction by Bengt Thordeman described in *Byzantine Armies 886-1118*. I use leather thong for lacing. I lace the lamellae together into long horizontal strips, then lace the strips together. The lamellae in each strip overlap over those in the strip above, so the overlap is upward, unlike scale armor, which overlaps down.

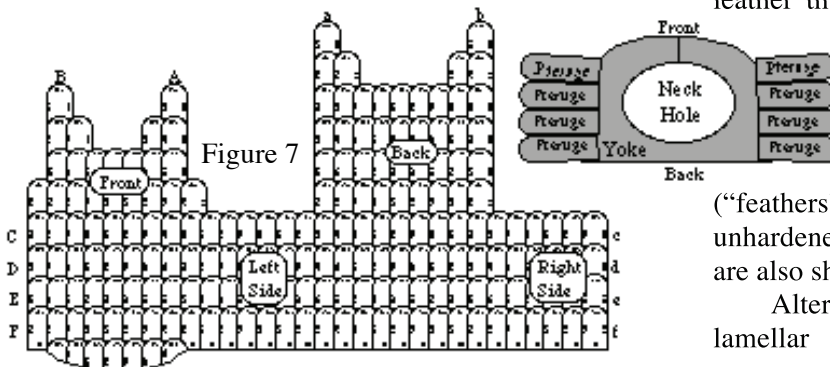
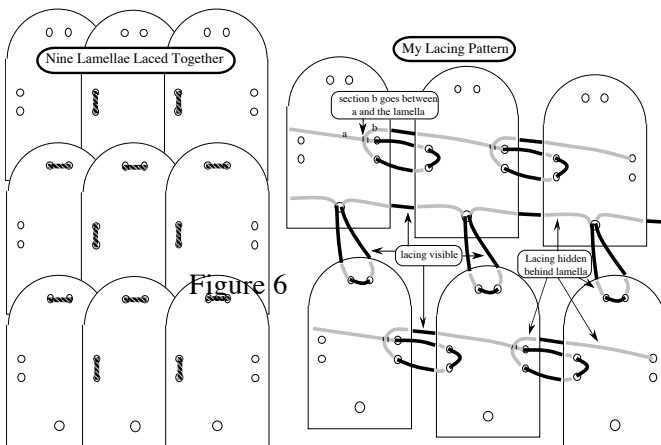
Figure 7 shows my klibanion, laid out flat. It fastens at the right front. I have no evidence on how historical ones fastened; I did it that way because it required fewer fastenings than fastening it up the front. The

next one I make will fasten up the front; that will require one more buckle, but make it easier to get it over my head. The figure does not show the join between the back and front part of the shoulder straps (also made of lamellae), since with the shoulder straps assembled the piece no longer lies flat. When the klibanion is completely finished, points **a**, **b** on the back shoulder piece lace to points **A**, **B** on the front ones and lamellae **c-f** touch lamellae **C-F**. The front of the klibanion has an extra row of partial lamellae at the bottom, cut to fit the curve of the body—this is a feature you can see on the period pictures.

I have not shown how the armor fastens together. The simplest way is to take a foot or so of leather thong, tie a knot in one end, run it into one of the empty edge holes of lamella C, through the matching hole in lamella c, back out through the other hole in c and finally back to front through the matching hole in C, then tie a knot in the other end. If you pull it tight and tie it the thong holds the two lamellae together as if they were laced. Repeat for D, E, and F. Untying the thongs (but not pulling them out of the lamellae they are laced through) lets you separate the two edges (c-f and C-F) by enough to put the garment on. For a more convenient fastening, use buckles. The straps that the buckles are on lace to the lamellae at one side of the gap, the straps that go into the buckles lace to the lamellae at the other side. You may want to add enough extra lamellae so that the two sides can overlap a little.

My klibanion has a yoke of unhardened leather that fits over my shoulders, with a hole for my head and a slit in front. The lamellae on the shoulder lace down to the yoke. My shoulders and upper arms are protected by *pteruges* (“feathers”—long rectangular pieces) of unhardened leather. The yoke and pteruges are also shown on Figure 7.

Alternatively, one could make a lamellar flap to protect the shoulder, a



feature of both Japanese and Persian lamellar armor. A larger flap, possibly 3 rows of 11 lamellae each, could be hung from the back of the waist to protect the buttocks. Another alternative would be more pteruges, hanging down from the bottom edge of the klibanion to protect the upper thighs—I believe that is the way the real Byzantine klibanions were often constructed. Yet another possibility, and one I may try for my next project, is a longer coat of lamellar, coming down to mid thigh and split front and back to permit better leg movement.

After the klibanion is assembled, there is a final step. Put it back in the oven at about 200°. Then put on your gambeson—or whatever else you plan to wear under the armor. When the armor gets limp, which should only take a few minutes, take it out and put it on, being careful not to burn yourself. Wrap several strips of cloth around your body over the armor, forcing the lamellae flat against you; make sure there is at least one strip over each row of lamellae. Let the armor cool and harden, then take it off. You now have a klibanion custom fitted to your body. If the whole piece won't fit in your oven, do this step a little earlier, when you have almost but not quite finished lacing the lamellae together, so that the armor is still in two or three separate pieces.

Once you have shaped the armor to your body, you do not want to reshape it to something else. I have been told that a closed car in the sun can get hot enough to soften waxed leather; although I have never had it happen, it is probably worth taking care not to leave your cuirbouilli anywhere very hot. Of course, if you forget, you can always put it back in the oven and reshape it. I have also been told that cuirbouilli armor can soften somewhat if you fight in it in very hot weather. My current view on the subject is that if it is too hot out for my armor it is also too hot for me.

What will it take to make your klibanion? The one illustrated contains about 180 lamellae with a total area of about

nine square feet, so you will need about four and a half pounds of eight ounce leather—more if you use something thicker. You will also need about two pounds of beeswax and ninety feet of lacing.

If you can get suitable scrap leather for \$3 a pound, your total cost for leather, wax, and lacing should come to under \$25, otherwise to under \$50—somewhat more if you choose to use something heavier than eight ounce leather. Once you have figured out what you are doing, it should take about a minute per lamella to cut them out, about another minute to harden and drill them, and less than a minute per lamella to lace them, so in principle you should be able to make your second klibanion in about eight to ten hours of work (the first will take longer). In practice, most of us cannot keep working at full speed for hour after hour, but it is still a reasonable project for a weekend or two. The lacing provides those of us who do not knit something to do with our hands while conversing with friends or watching small children.

The finished piece protects my torso from the waist up and weighs about six pounds. I am 5'3" tall with a 36" waist; if you are substantially bigger or smaller, scale the figures accordingly. Nine square feet of lamellae comes to about four and a half square feet of armor, so I am covered, on average, by two layers of 8 ounce hardened leather. I believe that that, over a reasonable gambeson, should satisfy the armor requirements of any kingdom, but check with your local marshal to make sure.

Whether or not it is legal, is it adequate protection? That depends on what sort of fighting you do. For the average sword and shield fighter doing mostly single combat, I think the answer is yes. The klibanion is light and easy to move in and protects you reasonably well against the occasional shot that gets through to your body—although you will want to add additional protection for your torso below your waist and for your shoulders.

On the other hand, if you often take

hard body blows—for instance, if you fight bastard sword or two sword, or get involved in a lot of very messy melees—you probably want substantially more protection for your body. One way to get it would be to use thicker leather, perhaps 12 or 13 ounce or more, at least for the most important parts of the armor, which probably means the sides. Another is to use steel lamellae for some parts of the armor. That takes more time and more tools, but it gives you armor combining most of the protection of steel with most of the lightness of leather. I have tried both of these. My current klibanion has steel lamellae alternating with hardened leather on one side and thick hardened leather lamellae on the other—both seem to work fine. An alternative that I have not tried is to move the holes in the lamellae farther in from the edge, in order to increase the amount of overlap.

This is a very simple klibanion. The ones shown in Byzantine pictures provided more coverage of the upper body and shoulders and often had additional pieces of leather (pteruges) hanging down from the waist to protect the tops of the legs.

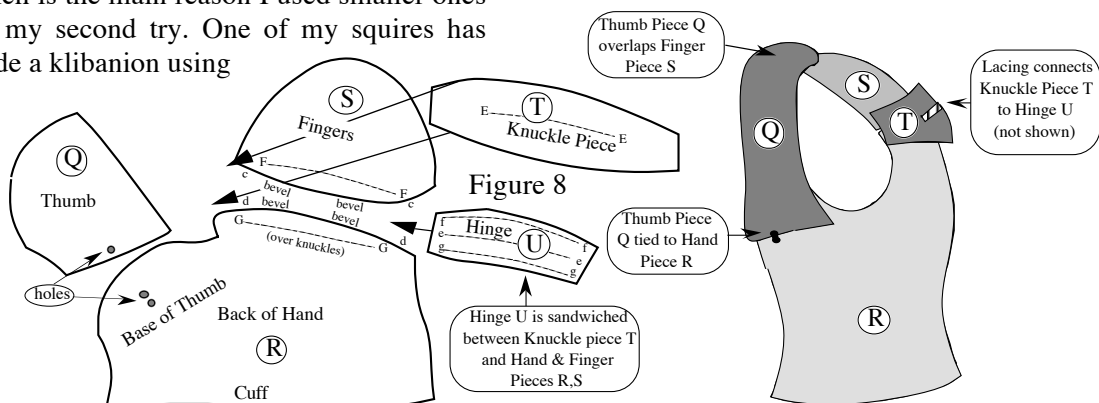
Size and shape of surviving lamellae vary over a wide range; you may want to experiment. My first klibanion used rectangular lamellae 3"x5". It was less work to make than the one I have shown and provided about the same protection, although slightly less flexibility. None of the pictures I have seen show lamellae that big, which is the main reason I used smaller ones for my second try. One of my squires has made a klibanion using

lamellae similar to mine, but about an inch wider. It was less work to make, since it required fewer lamellae, and it probably provides slightly better protection; my next one will use a similar pattern.

You should also feel free to use your own inspiration, guided, where practical, by pictures of period lamellar armor, in varying the design. One of the nice things about lamellar is that when you decide you need a little less under the arm and a little more over the shoulder, all you have to do is move a few lamellae. Try doing that with a steel breastplate.

A Gauntlet

Figure 8 shows a hardened leather gauntlet, both the cut out pieces and the whole thing shaped and assembled. It is made of four pieces of hardened leather (I recommend at least 14 oz) plus a hinge of unhardened leather (7 oz). The hinge **U** is laced to the finger piece **S** along ff (which laces to FF), to the hand piece **R** along gg (which laces to GG) and to the knuckle piece **T** along ee (which laces to EE). The base of the thumb piece overlaps the hand piece **R**, and is fastened by a piece of leather thong, going through one hole at the base of **Q** and two holes in **R**. The edges cc and dd, which touch when the gauntlet is assembled, are beveled at the bottom (the inside of the gauntlet), to help the gauntlet bend better.



The hard part, of course, is shaping the wet leather. The simplest way is to use a steel mitten gauntlet of about the right shape as your form. If that is not available, look for common household objects with the right shapes. The finger piece **S**, for example, must curve down (to protect the sides and tips of the fingers) everywhere except along cc, where it touches the hand piece **R**. You can get this shape by molding it into the bottom of a shallow bowl, with cc running roughly through the center of the bottom—that way the other three sides curve up, but cc does not. When you think you have it about right, take it out and do the final shaping by hand.

The hand piece **R** should end up with a sort of hourglass shape, with the cuff flaring out from the wrist. To get this put the narrow end of a fairly large funnel into the mouth of a jar, and tie them together. Then tie the wet leather over the resulting hourglass shaped form.

Complete instructions for something as complicated as a gauntlet would require a much longer discussion, a much better artist, and much more precise drawings. This should, however, give you enough information to get started on your own process of trial and error. If you do it right, you should end up with a gauntlet that entirely bridges the hand and thumb, so that the force of a blow to the hand is transmitted to your sword, not your hand.

Other Possibilities

There are lots of other things you can make out of hardened leather. My upper legs, for instance, are protected by armored underpants—loose drawstring pants with pockets holding long pieces of hardened leather. My gorget is hardened leather, and one of our new people has been making himself hardened leather copies of a simple steel elbow cop, using two thicknesses of eight ounce leather. Another member of our group made a hardened leather basket hilt; Figure 9 shows his design. I would

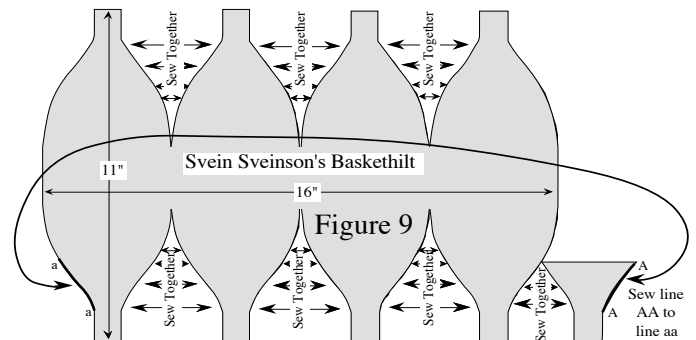
recommend using at least 14 oz leather. One could easily enough make a Visby coat of plates or a backplate and breastplate combination, although I have not yet done either. I have made a waterbottle out of wax hardened leather; it looks handsome and works reasonably well. And, of course, there is always the hardened leather hockey cup—for which I recommend very thick leather.

Rawhide

So far I have been discussing cuirbouilli—hardened leather. Another material worth trying is rawhide. Unfortunately, it is more difficult to get; the maximum thickness sold by the only commercial sources I have located so far is about 4 or 5 ounces, too light for armor.

One solution is to make your own; I have not tried that, although I know someone who has. Fortunately, one of the members of our group knows someone who makes drum heads, and was able to get a lot of scrap rawhide from him for me to experiment with. My conclusions so far are fairly tentative, since I have made a few things but not yet fought with them.

The rawhide I have been working with is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick when dry; I believe this is the full thickness of the cowhide, so unless you have a source for rawhide from a rhinoceros, it is probably about as thick as you can get. It is both very hard and very tough—substantially stronger than 8 ounce hardened leather. It can be cut with a saw, or soaked for a few hours to soften it and then cut with a knife. While wet it can be



stretched—the best way seems to be to punch holes in the edges of the piece and then use laces to pull it tightly over the form. I made a dhal, a small buckler, by stretching the rawhide over a bowl.

One advantage—possibly—of rawhide is that it can be dyed. My Irish squire has been planning a patchwork klibanion, which should be interesting. One problem with rawhide is that when it gets wet it gets soft. I have visions of putting a klibanion into an armor bag along with a very sweaty gambeson, and a week later pulling out a large rawhide pretzel. My solution to this problem is to wax the rawhide just as I would wax leather. Waxed rawhide is no harder than unwaxed rawhide—but it seems to be waterproof.

Tools and Materials

The only expensive tool you will need for making hardened leather armor is one most of us already have—an oven. A utility knife costs about \$3 and does an adequate job of cutting leather. For cutting lamellae, a large metal ruler is useful, and even more useful if it is a right angle ruler. You will want a piece of scrap plywood or linoleum to cut the leather on—utility knives mark up cutting boards pretty badly. Aside from strips of rags, an empty wine bottle to use as a form for your bazuband, a 2" diameter jar lid to put on the lamella and cut along in order to cut the rounded end, and a few similar odds and ends, that is it.

To find local sources for leather, look in the Business to Business Yellow Pages under leather, tanners and shoe making supplies. The Leather Factory is a chain with stores in many states; I have found their prices somewhat better than Tandy's. Currently, a 20-22 sq. ft. hide of commercial grade saddle skirting, 13-15 ounce thickness, is about \$80 (plus postage) on sale, \$110 otherwise. Beeswax is sometimes available from health food stores or from places that sell leather. It can be purchased by mail from Glorybee Bee Supply store (1-

800-GLORYBE). Their price, as of November 1991, was \$1.95/pound plus postage in quantities of ten pounds or more, and \$2.95 a pound plus postage for smaller quantities. [As of 2011, beeswax online is \$5-\$10+/lb]

A Historical Note

In describing hardened leather armor at the beginning of this article, I said that, in addition to all of its other virtues, it is also period. I should qualify that by saying that although hardened leather was used as armor in period, I do not know the details of how it was hardened; for my current best guess, formed after this article's original publication, see the next article. I should also add that although the bazuband is a period piece of armor—it appears in pictures from the eighth century and is common in late period Persian art (see Robinson and Elgood)—the surviving ones that I know of are made of metal. It could have been made of hardened leather and I think it likely that some were, but I cannot prove it. Nicolle does show pictures of surviving leather lamellar armor dated 12th-13th century.

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(An earlier version of this article appeared in the Spring 1992 Tournaments Illuminated.)

The Perfect Armor Improved: Water Hardened Leather

Some years ago, I wrote an article on how to make hardened leather armor using beeswax. Since then I have concluded that although the method I described works reasonably well for SCA purposes—I have fought in my wax hardened klibanion for a good many years now—it is quite unlikely that it is the method used in period for armor.

I reached that conclusion for three reasons:

1. Beeswax is a lubricant. Furthermore, stiffening the leather makes it easier to cut—just as it is easier to slice meat if it is half frozen. So although wax hardened leather provides protection against the sort of blunt weapons we fight with, it would be of very limited usefulness against sharp swords, arrows, and the like.

2. Although I have found no period descriptions of the process for hardening leather, the period term for hardened leather is “cuirboulli,” which translates as “boiled (or cooked) leather.” That is not the natural way of describing the wax hardening process.

3. I have found an entirely different way of hardening leather which does fit the term and which produces armor that is much better protection against real weapons. This article describes that process. As it happens, in addition to being a better guess at what was done in period, it is also a somewhat better technology for making SCA armor.

How to Water Harden Leather

Take a piece of vegetable tanned leather. Immerse it in water long enough to get it soaked—ten minutes will do. Heat a pot of water to 180°. Immerse the leather in the hot water. Watch it.

In about a minute, the leather will begin to darken, go limp, and curl up. If you pull it out at that point, it will have shrunk a little, thickened a little, and be stretchy, like a

thick sheet of rubber; at this point it can be stretched and formed. In a minute or two the stretchiness will go away, but the leather will still be flexible. Over the course of the next few hours it will become increasingly stiff. You will end up with a piece a little thicker and a little harder than what you started with.

The longer you leave the leather in the hot water after the process has started, the more it shrinks, the more it darkens, the thicker it gets—and the harder the final piece will be. A sufficiently long immersion gives you something that feels like wood. Unfortunately, when the piece gets harder and stiffer it also gets more brittle. If I were making lamellar armor to defend myself against real weapons, I would use a long immersion and plan on replacing a few cracked lamellae after each fight. For SCA purposes I normally leave the leather in the hot water for about thirty seconds after the process starts. This gives me, very roughly, shrinkage to about $\frac{7}{8}$ of the original dimensions, an increase in thickness of about 25%, and a piece that is hard but not totally inflexible.

The process is very sensitive to the temperature of the water, so you will want an accurate thermometer. The timing and the result also depend to some degree on the particular piece of leather. Instead of trying to work entirely by the clock, experiment with pieces of scrap until you have a reasonably good idea of how the leather looks at various stages in the process and how it comes out when finished, then judge the progress of your piece in part by time and in part by appearance.

You can also harden leather in boiling water—considerably faster. In my experience, about a twenty second boil gives shrinkage to $\frac{7}{8}$, about a forty second gives you a shrinkage to $\frac{2}{3}$ and roughly doubles the thickness. That has the advantage of not requiring a thermometer.

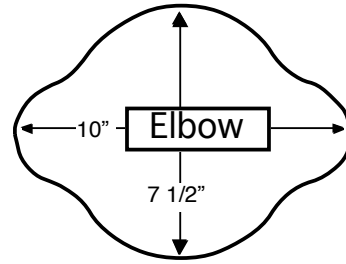
It has two disadvantages. First, the faster process is harder to control precisely. Second, the hotter water produces a less uniform hardening—you tend to get pieces where the surface is harder and more brittle than the interior, eventually producing surface cracks. I therefore prefer the lower temperature process. I have not done any extensive experimentation on what happens at intermediate temperatures.

Easy Projects

Making flat pieces such as lamellae or scales is easy. Because it is hard to predict the exact amount of shrinkage, you may want to first water harden the whole piece of leather, then flatten it under a cutting board or something similar for a few minutes, then cut out your lamellae with a utility knife and add holes with a leather punch; at this stage in the process the leather can still be cut fairly easily.

If I want my lamellae slightly curved in the horizontal direction, to provide a little additional stiffness and to better fit my body, I take a cooking pot with a diameter of a foot or more, line up the lamellae around it while they are still flexible, tie them on with a strip of rag, and let them dry that way.

Making a vambrace, a rerebrace, or any other piece that is curved but not stretched—any shape you could make from a sheet of paper—is equally easy. Cut the piece of leather a little bigger than you think you need (remembering to allow for shrinkage), harden it. Wrap a towel around your forearm to protect it from heat and provide extra thickness to allow for padding (or wear your gambeson, if it covers your arm—my wife points out that towel or gambeson may end up stained brown). Tie the piece of leather around your arm with strips of cloth (string will leave marks on the leather). Leave it there for fifteen minutes or so. Untie it and take it off, being careful to keep the shape—at this point the leather is still fairly flexible. Trim off any surplus. Leave it somewhere to dry. Instant vambrace.



Harder Projects

One advantage of water hardening is that when the piece comes out of the water it is stretchy—more so than leather that has been soaked for a much longer time in cold water as described in my earlier article. This makes it possible to form pieces. You must work quickly, since the stretchiness goes away in a minute or two.

Elbow cops are easy. Start with a roughly oval shape about 10" by 7.5", as shown in the figure above. Find two bowls, diameter about 6.5", that will nest together. When the piece comes out of the hot water, put it into one of the bowls, forcing it down with your fingers to stretch the leather into the bowl, then put in the other bowl, stretching the leather between the two.

Finally, take out the inside bowl and make sure that the leather is fitting into the other with no folds, crinkles, etc.—if necessary smooth those out with your fingers. Let the leather dry. Sew on straps and you have an elbow cop. For a knee cop, do the same thing, making the piece about 14" x 10" and using about 8" diameter bowls. Details will vary according to the size of your elbow and knee and how thick your padding is going to be.

A bazuband—the Islamic forearm and elbow piece



described in the previous article and shown here—is a more complicated shape. There are four ways to try to make it.

1. Use your arm, wrapped in a towel, as the mold. This will probably work better with two people, giving you three hands to stretch leather. I have not yet tried doing the initial stretching that way, although I usually put the piece over my arm for the final adjustments.

2. A positive form. Get something roughly the shape of the outside of the bazuband. A steel bazuband is ideal if you happen to have one lying around, but lots of other things will do. For a less precisely designed form somewhat easier to obtain, use a wine bottle with steep shoulders.

With a positive form, you take the leather out of the hot water and stretch it over the form. I find that it helps to tie the wrist end of the leather around the form with strips of cloth, then do the stretching at the elbow end, which is where it is most needed. then tie that down to the form with strips of cloth or an elastic bandage. This is like making an elbow cop with only one bowl, by stretching the leather over the bowl—but harder. You may find it useful to do some preliminary stretching over a rounded corner of the kitchen table or something similar.

3. A negative form. Get something shaped like the inside of the bazuband and stretch the leather into it—like forming your elbow cop in the inside of a bowl. This is easier than 2. I've recently been experimenting with cutting open a 2 liter plastic soda bottle and embedding it in plaster of paris to give me a negative form for a bazuband

4. Nested forms. This is the best way—once you have the forms. I've done it using a pair of steel bazubands, but once you have made a cuirboulli bazuband you are happy with, you can use it as your negative form for the next one, with the positive form you used to make it nested into it.

Alternatively you could make both



positive and negative forms out of wood, using lengths of 2x4 sandwiched together and pegged. The idea is to end up with forms that can be made narrower, for thin people's arms, by removing the central piece, or wider, for big people's legs, by adding another piece.

Dimensions

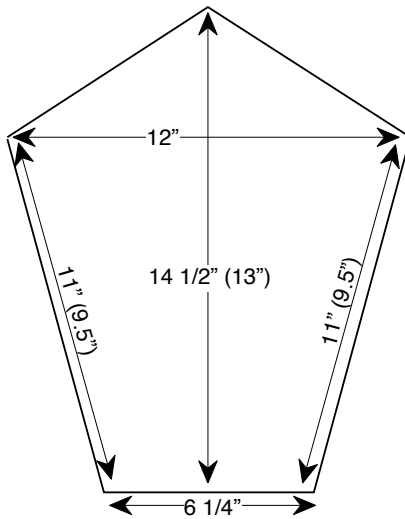
The figures at the top of the next page show a piece of leather intended for a bazuband and top and bottom views of the completed piece; numbers in parentheses were measured after shrinkage. My wrist circumference is 7.5" and my arm is 9" from the wrist to the tip of the elbow, 8" from the wrist to the inside of the bend of the elbow. You can experiment with different starting shapes and forms to make different sorts of bazubands.

Simple Fixes

After doing your best to stretch the leather over or into your form, you may discover that your best was not good enough—the edge of the leather at the elbow won't fit against the form without wrinkling.

There are at least two possible solutions. One is selective shrinkage. Put the edge of the elbow end back into the hot water for another minute or two until it starts to get darker and shrink. With luck, you can tighten the wrinkles away. A simpler solution, shown at right, is to pinch the tip of the elbow end,



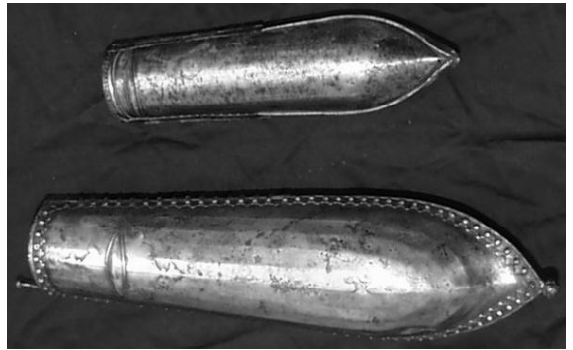
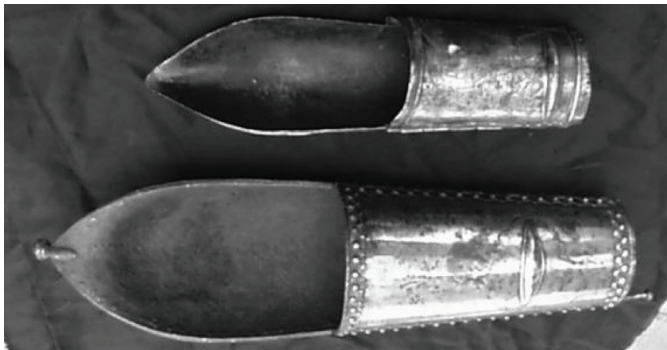


giving you one elegant fold instead of several inelegant wrinkles. Hold the pinch closed with a clamp while the leather dries and stiffens.

your five year old would like for Christmas—and considerably less expensive than the latest Playmobile castle.

After discovering how simple the technology is it may occur to you, if you are a parent, that cuirboulli armor is just what

The idea is not new. The pictures below show two father/son pairs of bazubands—one Indian, possibly 18th century, and one a little more recent.



Doing without Bicycle Tires and Heater Hose

A simpler stretched leather project is shield edging. Start with a strip about 3 inches wide and long enough to go around your shield after allowing for shrinkage—or several strips that add up to enough length if you prefer. When the leather goes limp, pull it out of the water and stretch it tightly around the shield; it will form itself to the shield edge in a fashion wondrous to behold. To completely eliminate non-period materials from your shield, use many layers of scrap wool to provide padding between the wood and the leather.

Further Details

For SCA fighting, you should probably start with at least 8 ounce leather, which the hardening process will thicken to about 10 ounce. 12-14 ounce is better—but harder to stretch over forms. In general, you will want thicker leather over vulnerable points such as knees and elbows—which means either starting with thicker leather or leaving your leather in the hot water longer to get more shrinkage.

Sometimes something will go wrong; you pull the piece of leather intended for a bazuband out of the water only to discover that it has shrunk too much to fit your form, or that a thin section you didn't notice



has shriveled up, ruining the piece. All is not lost. Flatten the piece out and cut it into lamellae. Enough mistakes and you have a free klibanian.

One minor problem with the process is that the leather gradually turns the water you are using brown. For a simple project, such as making lamellae, this may be tolerable; you can stir the piece of leather to the top of the pot every ten seconds or so to check its condition. For something more complicated, such as a bazuband or greaves, you may want to heat fresh water for each piece—which is a nuisance but makes it easier to see what you are doing.

For the Future

I am fairly sure that water hardened cuirboulli, starting with 14 oz leather, would be adequate for gauntlets but I have not yet made any. Starting with even thicker leather I could probably make a workable helmet—but I doubt I could talk the marshals into letting me use it. I do, however, plan to fight at Pennsic this year wearing my brand new cuirboulli cup.

Cuirboulli can also serve a variety of more peaceful purposes. Think of it as a medieval plastic—literally true, if you take “plastic” in its general sense and consider the condition of the leather immediately after it comes out of the water.

Umar was the first to use the title “Prince of the Muslims.” Anas, who had been a servant of Muhammed, one day heard Umar talking to himself on the other side of a wall.

“Umar ibn Khattab, Prince of the True Believers! That sounds very fine. Thou hadst best watch out for God, Umar ibn Khattab.”

Umar's daughter Hafsa, his son Abdallah, and some others pleaded with the Caliph against his fasting. If thou were to eat well, they said, thy eating would strengthen thee for the maintaining of the truth.

I understand your counsel, he replied. But it was in a certain path that I said good-bye to two Companions of mine, and if I turn out of the path I walked with them, I shall never find them again at journey's end.

Closed Form Heater: A Voice from A.S. IV

SCA fighting is a new sport. Although there is a substantial amount of surviving information on the use of weapons in period, we have made very little use of it; most of what we do is of our own invention. One result is that we can watch how fighting styles have changed and evolved around us over the past twenty-seven years and how they continue to do so.

I was trained in sword and shield fighting in about A.S. IV by Master Edwin Bersark, one of the early SCA fighters, trainers, and theorists of fighting. In the early years of the Society what he taught was, I think, the nearest thing we had to an orthodox style, although even then there were quite a lot of fighters, including good ones, who used other forms. In more recent years, in part as the result of the efforts of a later fighter and theorist, Duke Paul of Bellatrix, other approaches have come to dominate Society fighting.

Edwin's form, with some modifications, is what I still use. I thus find myself in the odd position of fighting a style so old that it is new—most of the fighters I encounter, at least in my part of the Middle Kingdom, are almost entirely unfamiliar with it. The purpose of this essay is to explain that style of fighting, in its original form and as I have modified it over the years. I hope that others will find the information interesting, both as a part of our history and as a way of fighting that still seems to be reasonably effective.

The explanation has three parts. The first is a long extract from a pamphlet on fighting that I wrote about A.S. IX. Aside from correcting spelling mistakes and renumbering the figures, I have left it unchanged from the original and included the original drawings by Lady (now Mistress) Alia bint Ulek ibn el Kharish; she also did the drawings I have put at the end of this article. The second part is a new addendum to the manual, covering things that were not explained in the original, in

some cases because I did not then know them. The third is a brief discussion of differences between the style I am describing and what seem to have become the dominant styles, along with some comments on advantages and disadvantages of each.

A manual on The Use and Construction of the Weapons of the Current Middle Ages



This manual is not an official publication of the Society for Creative Anachronism Inc., nor are its contents an official statement of the policy of that organization or any of its branches.

Fighting

The best way to learn the use of medieval weapons is to locate a knight willing to take you as squire, or a trained fighter willing to train you. Failing that, find another novice to train with. In the following pages I cover the things I would say to a novice at his first training session. While I hope these comments will be useful, they are no substitute for practice; one cannot learn the use of a broadsword from a book.

Broadsword and shield is the most common weapon form. Others are mace and shield, axe and shield, short sword and shield, two sword (commonly a short sword in one hand and a broad sword in the other), greatsword (a two handed sword used without a shield, unless you have three hands), two handed axe, and pike

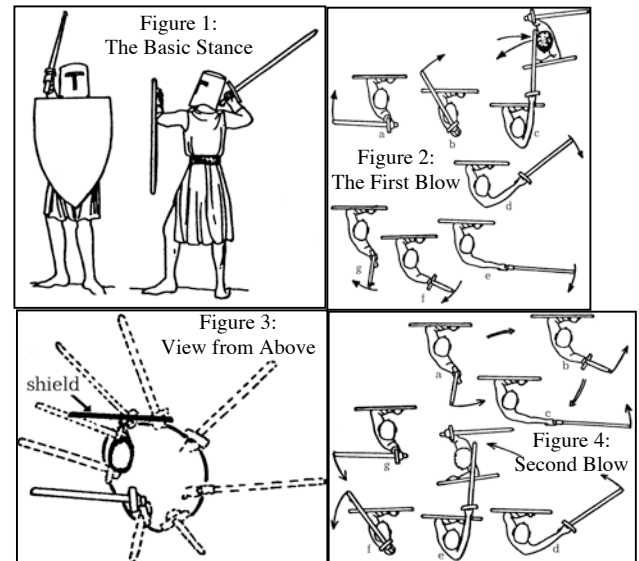
maul. A fighter should first learn the use of broadsword and shield.

The first thing to learn is that the shield is not a counterweight to be flung out picturesquely behind you. It is to hide behind. Take up a position with your left shoulder pointing at your opponent (assuming you are right handed). Hold your shield perpendicular to the line between you and your opponent and perpendicular to the ground, as shown in figure 1. You are now entirely protected by your shield, except for your head, which comes above the shield and can be protected by raising it, and your legs, which are below, and can be protected by lowering the shield. Have your opponent strike several blows, between waist and shoulder high. Your shield, without moving, will block them.

This is the basic stance for sword and shield fighting (also mace and shield, axe and shield, etc.). As nearly as possible you remain in it at all times—even when striking a blow. The most common, and most dangerous, error is to “open up” while fighting, usually when striking a blow. To open up is to turn to face your opponent, swinging your shield out of line. This exposes your sword arm and right side.

Striking Blows

The first and simplest blow to learn is aimed at the right side of your opponent’s helm. Start with your sword hand and sword behind your head. Your hand comes over your head and across so that the sword circles from (your) left to right, striking him on the right side of the helm, as shown in figures 2a, b, c. If the sword is stopped (by his helm, as in 2c, or his shield) it bounces back, and returns to its starting position, returning the way it came, as shown by figures 2a, b, c, b, a with the arrows on the last two reversed. If the sword is not stopped (if, for instance, you aim too high and the blow goes over his head or if he blocks the blow and your sword glances over the top of his shield) it continues its circle, ending up where it began, behind you, as in figures 2d, e, f, g. Note that in the entire process of striking the blow and bringing the sword back you never move out of your stance, and your sword hand never goes farther forward than the rim of your own shield. The edge of the sword which strikes the opponent in this blow will be called the front



edge, and the blow will be called the first blow in the remainder of this manual.

As I have described the blow, both sword and hand describe roughly a horizontal circle, as shown in figure 3. The blow can be varied by making the circle more nearly vertical, up to the point where the sword moves in a vertical circle, coming down on the top of the opponent’s helm. In this case the sword must be stopped by something, either the opponent or his shield, and bounced back the way it come; if the circle were completed it would intersect your own shield.

The second blow you should learn is aimed at the left side of your opponent’s helm. If you strike this blow in the way that feels natural, you will again hit the opponent with the front edge of your sword. This is the same blow described before, except that the vertical circle has tilted over even further and become a horizontal circle from right to left. There are serious difficulties with striking the blow in this way and I do not teach it.

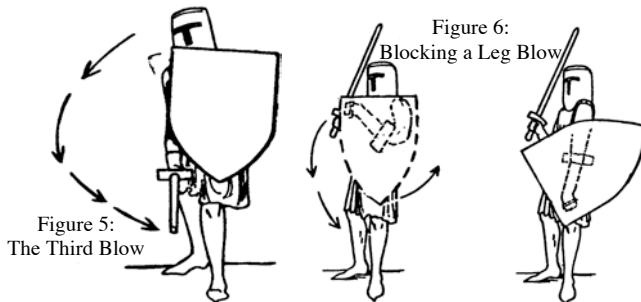
The problem is that as your sword comes around, you reach a point, shortly before you hit your opponent, where you must either turn with the blow, opening, or else turn your sword over, striking with the flat. This is more easily shown than described; try the blow and you will see what I mean. Be careful to start standing sideways to your opponent, and to try to remain in that position.

The correct way to strike this blow is with the back edge of the blade, the opposite edge to that used in the first blow (medieval

broadwords were usually doubled edged). In other words, you turn your hand, and sword, over before you strike. This feels clumsy and unnatural until you get used to it. Also, since the force of the blow tends to knock the sword out of your hand instead of into it as with other blows, the chance of losing your sword is greater.

To see how this second blow works, strike the first blow slowly, horizontally, so that the sword circles from left to right. Now do the same blow running backwards in time—as if you were running a film in reverse. The sword will come around in a circle from right to left, with the back edge leading, as shown in figure 4. Here again, the sword may either rebound the way it came (figure 4a, b, c, d, e, d, c, b, a with the arrows reversed on the last four) or complete the circle, as shown on 4a-g. This is the correct second blow. For most fighters it becomes comfortable only after considerable practice. Like the first blow, it can be struck in a vertical as well as a horizontal circle.

The third blow is struck under your shield, at the back of your opponent's left thigh (assuming he is right handed and in correct stance). It is usually struck with the front edge of the sword, although it may be struck with the back edge. See figure 5.



There are two important points to remember about these blows. The first is that while striking the fighter remains in stance, protected by his shield. He never opens. The second is that every blow ultimately returns to where it starts. Either it makes a full circle or it is stopped by the opponent's body or shield and returns the way it came. The reason for this is that a blow must start fairly far back in order to be struck with sufficient force to penetrate mail. A sword in front of you and standing still is worthless. As soon as the blow is struck, the

sword must get back to a position from which it can strike another blow.

In striking, always remember that a blow with the tip of the blade will be weak and probably ignored. The sword should hit about a third of the way down the blade from the point.

Use of the Shield

Your shield is opaque; you cannot see through it. While you are blocking a blow, therefore, your view of your opponent is partly or entirely obscured; if you keep your shield up after blocking, say, a blow at your helmet, you will never see where the next blow is coming from. Or going to. Hence the first rule in using your shield is to get it back into position as soon as possible after blocking a blow.

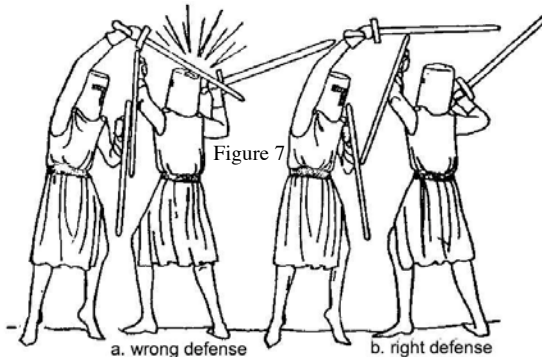
Instead of holding your shield up against your opponent's blow and waiting until after the blow to pull it down, you should bounce your shield off his sword. Thus his blow does the work of reversing the direction your shield is moving.

The second rule is to block with the edge of your shield, not the face. Your shield should remain perpendicular to the line between you and your opponent (one exception is noted below). If your opponent strikes at your left side (actually your left back if you are standing properly sideways) your natural instinct is to swing your shield out, and catch the blow on the face of the shield. This is a great deal of work, and leaves you wide open (see shield snatches, below). Instead, take the blow on the edge of your shield; you can do this without even moving. Similarly, a vertical blow down at your head is taken on the top edge of the shield. The orthodox way to block a blow at your leg is by straightening out your shield arm, as in figure 6, so the shield moves down, still perpendicular to the ground and to the line between you and your opponent, and turns over. You are then blocking a blow at the back of your thigh with the side of the shield which normally guards the front of your trunk.

I am shorter than most of those I fight, and find that by making my heater a little longer than normal I can guard my legs by simply bending my knees (which lowers me) and slightly dropping the shield. Longer fighters can get the same effect by using a kite shield. With either this or the orthodox block, the shield should be

brought back to its normal position immediately.

The two basic rules in using a shield are that the shield should always be in position—in front of you, vertical, perpendicular to the line between you and your opponent—and that it should be returned to that position immediately after blocking a blow. There is one exception to the former rule. It is possible to strike a blow such that the sword, when it hits, angles down from the hand, reaching over the opponent's shield, as in figure 7. This is especially common with the second blow. It can be done only when the fighters are very close together, as should be clear from the figure. Against an opponent considerably taller than yourself, it is impossible to block such a blow with the shield vertical; your opponent can reach higher than you can. This is shown in figure 7a. It may therefore be necessary to swing the shield somewhat over you as a “roof”; this is shown in figure 7b. In a sense the shield is still perpendicular to the line between you and your opponent; his end of the line is simply very high. Although you are breaking the rule, you are achieving its purpose—maintaining the largest effective area for your shield in relation to the direction from which your opponent is striking.



Offensive Shield Work

The shield is used not only to block blows, but also to knock down or pull out of line the opponent's shield. One common trick is the shield snatch or the shield jam. You strike the opponent's shield on its left side. He, foolishly, swings the shield out to catch the blow on the face of the shield, thus opening. You come in, catch the inside of his shield with the right edge of yours (probably catching his shield between the hand grip and the edge) and pull his shield even farther open, while striking with your

sword. The same maneuver can be done if your opponent opens as he strikes at you (usually using the wrong version of the second blow, as discussed above), although in that case it may be more effective to just cut at the exposed arm.

When your opponent keeps his shield properly in position, try an overrun—charging him and driving his shield down with yours. Or a shield snatch—reaching in with the right edge of your shield to pull his open. This is dangerous; you are more vulnerable than he is, and he may shield snatch you. Of course, since you start the attack you have the advantage of knowing what is going on first. Such an attack is especially dangerous against a physically strong opponent, since he can pull your shield open better than you can pull his. For offensive shield work in general, a heavy shield is useful.

Training

One way to train is to pick up a sword, put on your gear, and go to it. Since you are doing many things at once, all new, you are likely to do most of them wrong. This develops bad habits. That is why pells work and sword and shield work, which let you concentrate on one thing at a time, are useful.

A pells was and is a post against which fighters practice their blows. It should be man high and very sturdy. You may wish to wrap it in burlap or the like, to minimize the wear on sword and swordarm. You should wear gauntlets and shield when practicing, even though the pells will probably not hit back. Your shield shows you whether you are holding stance or opening on your blows, and also limits the blows you can strike (striking through your own shield is difficult). Gauntlets affect the way you hold your sword; you must learn to strike while wearing them.

Sword training consists of striking at an opponent who is defending himself but not striking back. Shield training is what the opponent is doing. You should stand close enough together so that a blow which gets through hits about a third of the way down the blade from the point, as described above. Try not to move your feet. Do not use your shield offensively. The objective is to practice the basics of striking and blocking blows.

The fighter who is striking should start

slowly, concentrating on form. As the fighters get better, the speed increases, until eventually blows are struck full speed and full force, in rapid sequence (about one a second). You should practice series in which the sword moves smoothly from one blow to the next without stopping. Decide in advance on the sequence of blows. For instance, the first blow, rebounding off the shield, coming back around and full circle into the second blow (remember that first and second are the names of particular blows, illustrated in figures 2 and 4), rebounding off the shield, coming back around into the first blow, this time a little more vertical, rebounding up and around into the third blow, rebounding back into a (vertical) first blow. This series, full force, should take about four seconds. Remember to turn your hand over going from a first to a second blow.

Once you can do series, you should practice more complicated things, such as body feints, in which you move so as to appear to start a blow, hesitate, then actually strike just as your opponent lowers his shield to see what is happening. Or one and a half circle blows, in which the sword glances off the top edge of the shield without slowing down, and keeps going around in a horizontal circle to strike a second blow as the shield comes down from the first.

When the fighters get tired, they can exchange roles, since each has exhausted only one arm. As they become more skillful, they should spend more time actually fighting each other, but even a trained fighter will still find shield and sword work useful.

Exercise

While most fights are over quickly, some may continue for a long time. A fighter should be in good physical condition. The muscles that control sword and shield are especially important. For the former do shield exercises; put on your shield and block an imaginary blow to the left side of your head from above, one to the right side from above, then one to the back of the left leg. Repeat. You should be able to go through this sequence at least a hundred time; three or four hundred is better. Pells work is probably the best exercise for the sword hand. In addition, try anything that strengthens grip, wrist, and arm. Jogging is said to be good for

endurance.

Final Comments

Weapons and their use are individual matters; what one fighter does another considers suicidal. This manual contains my opinions; I do not claim that they are infallible. There are doubtless many fighters who disagree with me on one point or another, and are willing enough to argue the matter on the field.

The general form I have described was taught to me years ago by Master Edwin Bersark. Insofar as it is good form, the credit is his. There are doubtless many details in which my form, as it has developed, differs from what he teaches, for better or for worse. In the latter case the fault is mine.

Cariadoc



Addendum to the Manual

The Third Dimension: One detail I did not mention in the manual was that, when doing the first and second blow, the circle goes more smoothly if your hand is quite low in the part of the blow represented by Figure 2 e and f, where your wrist is in the process of turning over. Your hand then rises from f to g to a. You do not have to do it that way, but it is easier, and for some reason makes the turnover less of a strain on the wrist. I also find it useful to do the second blow in such a way that while the hand is rising from d to e on Figure 4, the point of the sword is dropping relative to the hand. The result is that the sword comes in almost horizontally to the opponent's left temple; this makes the sword less likely to glance than if the sword, like the hand, was rising at the moment of impact.

Leg Shots: The manual's discussion of the ordinary leg shot, done with the front edge of the sword, fails to explain the associated movement of shield and body. Imagine you have a spike driven through

you, front to back, at about your belly button. To throw the blow you pivot around this horizontal spike. Your shoulders move to your right (backwards from the standpoint of an opponent facing you, since you are standing with your left side towards him) and your hip moves towards your left. This swings your shield arm and shield up, your sword arm down. The shield is still in front of you, but it is now slightly higher and angled, with the top edge closer to you than the point. This leaves enough room for your sword, moving in a descending spiral, to pass under the point of the shield on its way to the outside of your opponent's left leg. Your body and sword arm are fully protected by the shield at every point in the blow.

The wrong way of throwing this blow, and the way most people naturally try to throw it, is to pivot around a vertical axis running from the top of your head through the middle of your body, moving your shield arm and shield back (to the opponent's right) and your sword arm forward. This gets the shield out of the way of your sword but it also gets it out of the way of your opponent's sword if he happens to be throwing a blow at your sword arm, shoulder, or right temple while you are throwing one at his leg.

An alternative way of throwing the leg shot is to use the back edge of the sword, just as with the second blow described in the manual. This can be done, like the blow I have just described, as a horizontal blow; it will wrap farther around the opponent, striking the back of his left leg.

There is another and, in my experience, more effective way to strike at the leg with the back edge of your sword. The sword describes an almost vertical circle, with the tip passing just above the ground before rising into the opponent's left leg. One weakness of the blow is that, when it hits, the blade is moving up and only slightly inward. If the opponent's leg is straight the blow will probably glance up it. Most opponents, however, will be in a partial

crouch, which gives just enough angle for the blow to bite.

This blow has two advantages. The first is that, because it comes in vertically rather than horizontally, an opponent who defends his leg by putting the point of his shield slightly to the left of his leg will fail to block the blow. The blow will come into the notch between his leg and the point of his shield. The second advantage is that, because the sword is at almost a right angle to your arm when it hits, it is possible to throw the blow around your own shield. This means that you can throw it without moving anything but your sword and sword arm, which makes it less likely that your opponent will notice what you are doing.

Arm blow: When your (right handed) opponent strikes at your left leg or left temple, he is quite likely to expose his sword arm. You would like to be able to hit it without exposing your own arm in the process.

Get in stance. Put your sword hand at about the middle of the right edge of your shield, with the sword running horizontally at about a 45° angle out from the face of the shield. If you now add an imaginary opponent who is striking at your left leg and has swung his shield out of line in the process, you will see that the edge of your sword blade is lying across the top of his forearm. The angle between your sword blade and your forearm is about 120°—which is how you are able to reach around your own shield, striking him without exposing your arm. Figure 8 gives front and top views of the blow; both show it at the point I have just described. The sword blade is moving

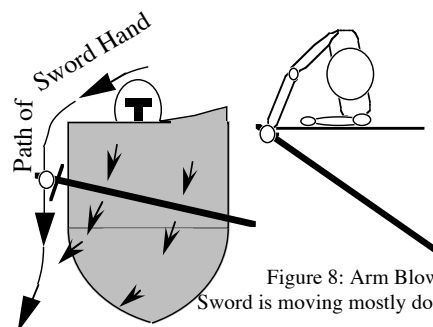


Figure 8: Arm Blow
Sword is moving mostly downwards

almost straight down.

This is the position you want to be in when you hit him. You start in the normal on guard position and strike the blow as a modified version of the first blow described in the manual. The sword blade, moving in a smooth curve, passes over your head and left shoulder then over the top edge of your shield, angling down until your sword hits your opponent's arm in the position described above. If your sword is not stopped, the point will pass just above the ground about two feet in front of you (i.e. to your opponent's left front) then finish its (almost vertical) circle by rising back up behind you into the normal on guard position from which it started.

Do the blow in front of a mirror. If you do it correctly, your sword hand passes down the right edge of your shield and your sword arm is never exposed.

Offside Leg Shot: Almost exactly the same blow can be used to strike your opponent's right leg, especially if he has moved it forward in the process of throwing a blow to your left leg or head. If you do the blow exactly as I have described it and his arm does not get in the way, you may well hit his leg instead. Unfortunately, because the direction of movement of the sword at that point is almost vertical, the blow will probably glance down his leg.

The solution is to lower your shield as the sword comes over it, making possible a more nearly horizontal version of the blow. The problem with this is that lowering your shield exposes your head. The only safe time to throw this blow is when you know your opponent cannot hit you in the next half second or so—which usually means throwing it as a fast response to one blow and trusting that you will have time to get your shield back up before the next one.

This blow was not part of what I taught at the time I wrote the manual. The reason is that it is unlikely to work against an opponent who is himself fighting in closed form—the right edge of his shield will block the blow before it reaches his leg. It turns

out to be quite effective, however, against the more open styles that are now common.

Snaps: There are two other blows that I use now and did not use then. One I learned from Duke Paul and the other is modified from it. The first is what I believe was originally referred to as the Bellatrix snap—a term now used rather broadly. It is thrown to the left side of the opponent's helmet with the front edge of the sword and is a much faster alternative to the manual's second blow.

The snap is most easily thrown from a slightly different starting position than I have so far described. The sword hand, instead of being behind the top of the helm, is beside the head just below the right ear. The blow consists of throwing your sword at your opponent's head hilt first, then stopping the hilt so that the blade snaps around in a horizontal circle, striking your opponent on his left temple. The arm movement is not a swing but a punch forward and back; the effect is rather like cracking a whip. Most fighters who are currently active have probably been taught the blow, and many may have read Duke Paul's more detailed descriptions of it.

One important difference between the blow as I do it and as it is commonly taught is in what happens to the sword after you fail to kill your opponent. In my version, the snap is one more example of the principle that all blows are circles. If it glances off the top of the opponent's shield it continues the circle, coming around into another snap, or the second blow, or a leg blow with either front or back edge of the sword.

The other new blow I use is a vertical snap. My arm punches forward; the sword blade describes a vertical semicircle, giving a fast blow to the top of my opponent's helm. Both this and the flat snap require me to break my rules to the extent of opening slightly, so that my blow can go past the right edge of my shield rather than over it.

There is one other addition I have made to my style as a result of encounters with more modern forms. My current shield is

about three inches higher on its left edge than in the middle and right. That modification was my response to discovering that Duke Paul, using the flat snap, could hit me on the left temple before I could raise my shield to block.

Single Timing and Slot Work

There are two related elements of Master Edwin's teaching that I neglected in the manual. As he explained it, one can fight in either double time or single time. Double time means that you hit me, I block, I hit you, you block, Single time means that when you hit me I block and hit you at the same time, with the result that our blows are almost simultaneous. This allows me to take advantage of the tendency of fighters to expose themselves somewhat while striking.

One approach to learning how to single time your opponent is what Master Edwin called slotwork. The slot is the space between the opponent's sword and his shield. If you put your sword through that slot you will hit something. Slot work consists of learning, for each attack your opponent might make, where the slot is and how to hit it.

A second element in learning to fight in single time is learning how to combine blows and blocks. Consider, for example, the leg blow struck with the front edge of the blade (figure 5). As I described it earlier, part of the movement is swinging the shield up and out to let the sword go under it. That is very close to what you do when you are blocking a blow to your head. So it is fairly easy to learn to combine the two moves, automatically striking at your opponent's leg while blocking your head.

Old and New

It would take a much longer article than this one to adequately describe the forms currently popular with Society fighters and I am not competent to write it. For the purposes of this essay it is sufficient to

briefly sketch some of the characteristics that many of those forms share.

Newfangled Fighting

Typically the stance is half open. Instead of standing with the left shoulder towards the opponent, the fighter takes a position with his shoulders about 45° from the line between him and his opponent. His shield is at an angle to his shoulders of at least 90° (Figure 9a) and often much more (Figure 9b), so that the shield is at least partly edge on to the opponent. This stance makes it possible for a fighter to see, and to throw blows, past the right edge of his own shield.

Blows tend to be punches or snaps rather than the circles I have described. Swords are usually shorter than my standard 40 inches. The sword hand in the on guard position is typically beside the head and sometimes even slightly in front of it.

Two styles of blocking are common. One, taught by Duke Paul, is punch blocking. Instead of blocking a head blow near your own head, you punch the shield forward to intercept the blow early in its trajectory. This has the advantage of making it possible to block a blow without knowing where it is going, since you can intercept it before the alternative trajectories (to the head and to the leg, say) have separated very much.

The other style uses the right edge of the shield, which is the front edge in a half open style, for interposition blocks. Versions of both styles also exist that make substantial use of sword blocks.

What Is Wrong With How I Fight

My closed form has several significant disadvantages relative to the more recent styles. For one thing, visibility is worse; since my shield is in front of me, I must either keep it below the level of my eyes or be blinded by it. That is why I try to bounce my shield off my opponent's sword; I have

to get it back down fast enough to see the next blow.

The same problem is the reason I have a horn on the left side of my shield (shown on Figure 8). Without that, keeping my shield low enough to see over it means keeping it low enough so that a really fast opponent can throw a snap to my left temple faster than I can block it. If I were using a half open form, I could keep the shield higher and watch my opponent past its edge instead of over it. I find that the visibility problem is especially serious when I am fighting on my knees, perhaps because I must then keep my shield higher to guard against a standing opponent. In that situation I sometimes find myself forced to shift to a partly open stance.

Another disadvantage comes in throwing blows. My shield side is pointed towards my opponent and my sword side away from him. That means that, with a given length of sword, my range is less than if I was turning my body to put the sword shoulder in front of the body as I struck, as is common in the more open forms. And my blows have to travel farther, which may make them slower.

And What Is Right

There are, however, compensating advantages. The same geometry that puts my shield in the way of my vision also puts it in the way of spears, arrows, and other unfriendly objects coming from behind my opponent. Someone who normally fights in a half open position must shift to a closed position any time he is facing a shield wall. I can continue fighting in essentially the same stance I use for single combat. Similarly, the half open position is wide open to a left handed opponent, forcing someone who

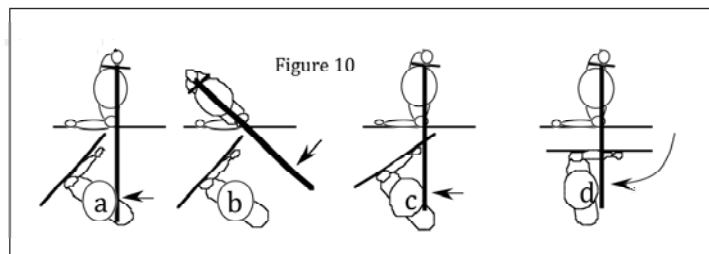
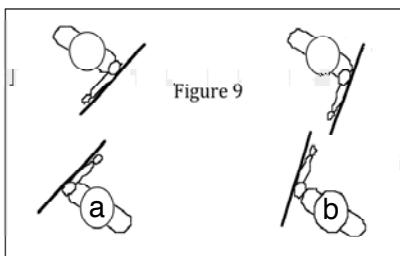
fights in that position to drastically modify his usual style.

A more serious problem with the half open style is that it does a poor job of defending against a right handed fighter capable of throwing blows to his opponent's right side. I mentioned one example earlier—my blow to the off side leg. Another example is the manual's first blow (Figures 2 and 10a, c, d).

The vulnerability of the right side is not obvious to many modern fighters because the modern forms are well adapted to defend against themselves. It is difficult for a right hander fighting in a half open stance to throw a blow that comes around the left side of his shield to hit the opponent's right temple—which is what the manual's first blow does. If you try to throw the same blow from a half open position, it comes into the right front of the opponent's helm instead of the side and is blocked by the front edge of his shield (see figure 10b). If someone fighting in a particular stance cannot throw a blow, the fact that he cannot block it very well is not important—as long as his opponents use the same stance.

A similar pattern holds for punch blocks and punch blows. In the modern style, at least as commonly taught around here, essentially all blows start as punches going past the thrower's right cheek. That means that a punch block aimed to just in front of your opponent's cheek, if done fast enough, picks up everything.

I was made aware of this feature of the modern styles some years ago when practicing with a fairly good opponent who used punch blocks. I repeatedly hit him on his right temple or shoulder. After a while he congratulated me on how good I was at the punch that goes past the thrower's right cheek then whips around to strike the right



side of the opponent's helm. He knew I must be good at it because it was somehow getting past his blocks.

I, of course, had never thrown that blow. My shots were going around the left side of my helm, making his punch blocks to the right side of my helm irrelevant.

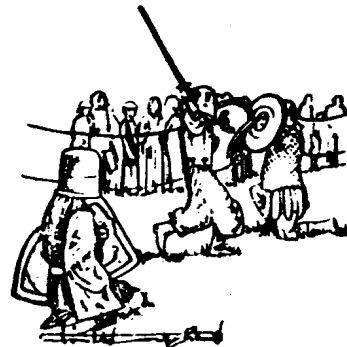
There are a number of other advantages to the closed form. While you lose speed because the sword has to travel farther, you gain it because the sword is moving in continuous circles rather than stopping and starting again as is often (although by no means always) the case with sequences of punch blows. The longer travel may also make it easier for relatively weak fighters to strike full force blows.

The blows that go with the closed form are well adapted for reaching over shields. Figure 10c shows how this works against a half open opponent. The attacker's hand is substantially higher than his sword's point; the sword slants down over the opponent's shield to his helm. The point end of the sword, which is low enough so that the shield could have stopped it, passed around the right edge of the shield on its way to the helm. Figure 10d shows the same blow against a fully closed opponent, with the arrow marking the path followed by the part of the sword that ends up hitting the helm. Similar blows to the left side of the helm are possible using the manual's second blow, again with the sword hand substantially higher than the sword point.

Going around the edge of a shield to hit an apparently blocked helm in this way, is, I think, harder to achieve with the shorter swords and more linear blows of the newer styles. On the other hand, there are some effective blows for getting past the edge of a shield that are harder to do in the closed form, in part because your own shield gets in the way.

There is at least one other advantage to the closed form worth mentioning. A common approach to fighting an opponent who has lost his leg is to put the edge of your shield practically against his sword hand, thus blocking all blows. This is much easier to do if your opponent's sword hand is fairly far forward and his shield partly open. In order for an opponent to put his shield edge against my sword hand he must first put it through my shield.

I do not want to end this essay by leaving the reader with the impression that I think the old form is clearly superior to the new. If that were the case, we would still be using it—it would take more than one superbly talented fighter to persuade most of the known world to change its style from better to worse. What I do want to claim is that, judging by my experience and observations, the old orthodoxy, properly modified to be used against the new, is not substantially inferior. It has advantages and disadvantages—and, at present, the advantage of being relatively unfamiliar to fighters in much of the Society.





Part III: Poetry

Quest for a Kingdom

*(written to a set topic for a Meistersing by
the Tanist of the East)*

Comes now an errant knight of Tregirtsea;
How can I quest a kingdom who have found
An empty throne beside the eastern sea
And know that more than serfs are sovereigns
bound?

All quests are ended when a King is crowned;
It were for England a more fortunate thing
Had Barbarossa lived and Richard drowned,
For where is quest sufficient to a King?

But what and where's my Kingdom? Can it be
This tattered cloak, this faded purple gown,
An empty chair beside the restless sea?
To such dead things must Eastern Kings be
bound?

Nay, few would fight for such a leaden crown.
Not though the land were gardens in the spring
And mine to watch it blooming from the ground;
There were no quest sufficient to a king.

Only the crown descendeth unto me.
The Kingdom's no more solid than a sound
That must be built on air unceasingly,
And to that labor must a King be bound.
There is the light that burns above the crown,
Fair goal and farthest grail of wandering;
The new crowned King who searches far around
Will find no quest sufficient to a King.

A Kingdom is all dike-land and must drown,
Save that its Lord do battle with the sea.
To that long labour must a King be bound.
There is the quest sufficient to a King.

*[Tournaments Illuminated, very many years
ago]*

Dawn Over Barrendown

There in the east the sky grows grey,
Paling the stars. No clouds today
To mirror dawn above the sun.
The stars go out, the sky is bright,
One last blue day before the night,
The long night is begun.

And now the links of hammered steel,
Heavier than before; their feel
Is cold, but in their heavy smell
Twelve battles bitter long, and her,
Cold fingers on Excalibur.
My comrades of those battles swell
Mordred's grim ranks this quiet day.
Above my head the sky pales grey;
The sunlight touches on the hill;
Only the guards are up, and I
To seek some aid from the empty sky.
I hear no bird, the leaves are still.

There is no voice to answer me,
Lancelot dreams beyond the sea;
Neither forgiveness, hope, nor fear
May call him back in time. Most wise
Merlin sleeps drowned in Nimue's eyes,
While far away dreams Guenivere.

Alone at last, and I am old,
And age has dulled my sword edge, cold
Has warped my grain. The lance will break.
And these new knights that ride with me
Are only children. Do they see
There where the oak shadows the lake
More than the morning mist? I see
A northern axe against the tree,
A floating leaf with a dragon head.
Mirror smooth the silver lake,
But spring will come, the North wind wake,
And the quiet beach run red.

At last the time is come to die,
My last sun burns across the sky,
Britain's last wall comes down today.
I, *Comes Brittanorum*, I
My last sun hurries up the sky
To burn that name away.

(Written in 1965, before the SCA existed)



William the Marshall has come into France to win him renown with his sword and his lance. In



All that fair country no knight could be found in battle or tourney to cast William down.

Gesta Gugliemi

(Part 2)

*(Being a part of the tale of the deeds of that most valiant and chivalrous warrior,
Sir William Marshall, set to a tune by Johanna of Dendermonde)*

William the Marshall is come into France
To win him renown with his sword and his lance;
In all that fair country no knight can be found
In battle or tourney to cast William down.

William the Marshall right loyal was he
And valiant in service to good King Henry;
On the helms of the French knights he made his
steel ring,
And beside them fought Richard, the son of our
king.

King Philip of France thought the war he had won
When he leagued with Count Richard, our king's
eldest son,
For an aging king's knights very rarely are known
To blithely bear steel 'gainst the heir to the throne.

Count Richard was doughty and heavy of hand
And called no man master through France or
England,
But William the Marshall, through all of the West,
Had fought in no combat save he proved the best.

It chanced that our army had suffered a rout
From which fled the king with but few men about;
Them did Count Richard most fiercely pursue,
And his company likewise was valiant but few.

Quoth Henry "Good comrades, the foe follow fast;
We have fought many battles, but this is the last."
"Nay Sire" said William "I think it not so.
By Your leave I remain here to hinder the foe."

So William the Marshall, with one knight beside,
His leige lord to save turned him back in his ride;
His shield on his arm and his lance couched low,
He wheeled round his horse and rode straight at the
foe.

Count Richard leads rashly, with three men or four,
So quickly he'd come that no armor he wore;
Straight at the leaders rides William in wrath,
With Richard Plantagenet right in his path.

They say that Count Richard was valiant and fell,
A lion in battle, as many tales tell,
But even a hero is apt to get hurt
When the best lance in Europe comes aimed at—his
shirt.

Count Richard was valiant and royally proud,
Yet he stood in his stirrups and shouted aloud:
"O slay me not Marshall, for armor I've none,
And to slay me unarmored right basely 'twere
done."

Sir William replied, for his rage it was hot,
"The Devil may slay you, the Marshall will not."
He slacked not his charge and he bent not his course,
But his lance point came down and he slew—
Richard's horse.

This only remains: ere a month passed away
King Henry of England upon his bier lay;
In grief were his knights there, all standing around,
When to them came Richard, the heir to the crown.

Seeing the Marshall he called him apart:
 "But lately you sought with your lance for my heart.
 You charged me unarmored and I would be dead,
 But your lance struck my arm and my horse died
 instead."

"Nay Sire," said William, "you do me great wrong;
 My eye is still clear and my arm is still strong.
 I struck where I aimed; had I wished it instead,
 Your horse would still live and another be dead."

"I sought for your death neither then nor before,
 But would think it no crime to have slain you in
 war."

"Be pardoned," said Richard, "I'll bear you no ire
 And pray that men serve me as you served my sire."

(Part 3)

For loyally serving his dying lord,
 William the Marshall was given in ward
 A virtuous maiden, wise and fair,
 Strongbow's daughter and only heir.

The rest of that tale is easy to tell;
 William is wedded with Isabel.
 The bachelor knight, who lived by his sword,
 In the space of a night is become a lord,

Mighty in men and gold and rights;
 Her Norman lands feed forty-three knights,
 In Pembroke itself, if all else fails,
 He can rule like a prince on the Marches of Wales.

But better still does Isabel bring;
 Her mother was daughter to Leinster's king,
 A quarter of Ireland wedded and won
 By Richard Strongbow—who had no son.

Long in tourney and battle field
 Has William labored with lance and shield,
 First and foremost in all men's sight,
 Never defeated in any fight.

But now the knight plays a bigger game,
 Earl of Pembroke in all but name,
 A wealthy baron in Normandy,
 All but a king by the Irish sea.

The Angevin holdings everywhere
 Are held from Richard as Henry's heir,
 Save only that John, by their father's command,
 Is paramount lord of Ireland.

A baron in England or Normandy
 Holds from Richard his lands in fee;
 But William holds, by Isabel's hand,
 A fourth of a kingdom from John Lackland.

Richard is off on the long crusade,
 England is full of rumor and raid,
 Each against all with an eye to the throne—
 William sits silent and guards his own.

Richard is taken and held for gold,
 Now is the hour when truth is told;
 John goes after his brother's crown.
 William stands loyal and John goes down.

Richard is back, and at his side
 The Bishop of Ely stands in pride,
 A baseborn clerk but a loyal man
 Who serves his King with a heavy hand.

"Sire, safe you can never be
 While John is a sovereign across the sea;
 It would therefor be wise, in defense of your
 crown,
 That the Irish Barons to you should kneel down."

"My brother John holds Ireland free,
 From our father's hand and not from me.
 In England John has no strength to stand,
 But how am I sovereign of Ireland?"

"Sire, though John has a weighty claim,
 You are his master in might and fame.
 Though strong in law his case must yield,
 For parchment is not proof to steel.

On either side of either sea,
 What lord to John shows loyalty?
 If Ireland you claim today,
 Where is the knight to say you nay?"

Ely fell silent and looked at his lord.
 The king stood in thought with a hand on his
 sword,
 Gazing out over the glittering crowd,
 Then turned to the Bishop and cried out aloud:

"By the legs of sweet Jesus, see there where there
stands
The greatest Baron in Ireland.
Go speak to the Marshall and prove here tonight
If the barons of Ireland kneel or will fight."

As straight and as silent as arrow from string,
The Bishop sped off at the word of the king
And, passing by many of power and pride,
Went straight to the Marshall and drew him aside.

"Good Marshall, Sir William, as all men can see,
Prince John is defeated in base treachery.
Therefore I bring you King Richard's command
That you kneel now to him for your Irish land."

The knight replied "I will bow down
For English land to the English crown,
Richard by right holds the English throne,
But how can he claim what he does not own?"

I am a knight and owe my sword
For English lands to my English lord,
But Leinster never was English land
Nor Richard sovereign of Ireland."

So loud his voice rang through the hall
That men could hear him from wall to wall;
Richard stood silent and all beside
While loud the Bishop in wrath replied.

"I see a knight to his sovereign's cost
Planting a garden against the frost.
None can doubt it a prudent thing
To serve a prince who may yet be king."

The knight replied, "as you desire,
Plant, Sir Priest, with vine or briar;
Some might think it a perilous thing
To stand for justice against a King.

But a knight must cleave with lance and sword
And all his strength to his spoken word;
Pembroke I hold from Richard's hand,
But Leinster as his brother's man.

When John went after his brother's crown
I did my best to pull him down.
If Richard is claiming his brother's land,
I will withstand him as best I can."

Richard strode to the Marshall's side:
"It seems, good Bishop, your test is tried.
And I think my crown I can safely wear
While my knights hold true to the oaths they
swear."

Two Voices

There is nothing above the King,
No power to speak him nay;
This is the hour of anything,
The dawn of my golden day.

*This is the law behind the king:
Greater power, greater bond.
Who might order anything
Must bend to the breeze like a willow wand.*

There is nothing written above my throne.
No strength can cast me down.
The kingdom and power are mine alone
By the sword that won my crown.

*This is the law behind the king:
In feast or famine, in peace or war,
He is not master of anything,
The poorest peasant is richer far.*

The knights with their shining swords,
By right of might they are mine.
The people, their beasts and their lords;
Ghost be gone with thy riddle rhyme.

*Son be done with thy foolish words;
No man may rule my land,
No man can master a hundred swords
Whatever the strength of his hand.*

*Rule for power and pride
Alone in an empty hall;
Serve or step aside.
The King is a servant or nothing at all.*

Hildebrandslied

(Lay of Hildebrand. Old German c. 800 A.D.)

I have heard it told
 How between two hosts the heroes
 Hiltibrant and Hadubrante
 Son and father fought together,
 Fought apart. The heroes fasten
 Well tried war coats over ring shirts,
 Belt their brands on, ride to battle.
 Hiltibrant the ancient hero
 Asked the other his ancestry,
 Who among the hosts his father,
 What his family. "Noble folk
 Ken I all within the kingdom,
 So your sire's name suffices."
 Hadubrant spoke, Hiltibrantson,
 "Ancients of the tribe have told me
 Hiltibrante hight my father;
 I hight Hadubrant.
 He fled east from Odoacer's
 royal wrath fled Hiltibrante
 With his warriors to Theotrih.
 Left behind him wife in bower,
 Babe and young wife both behind him.
 Theotrih, that was so friendless,
 First of all his men my father
 Loved who, loathing Odoacer,
 Joyed in battle, brave at forefront,
 Brave men knew him well. He died
 I doubt not long ago."
 Hiltibrant spoke, Heribrantson
 "God hold witness from the heavens
 Never be thou battle met
 With so close to thee a kinsman."
 Drew the arm rings, king gifts golden,
 From his arm the Hun king's presents.
 "These I give thee glad in friendship."
 Hadubrant spoke, Hiltibrantson,
 "Such things seek I with my spear point,
 Point to point in open battle.
 You are old in craft, most cunning,
 When your words make me unwary
 Then your spear throw quick will kill
 me;
 You grew old by such deception.
 Word comes over western waters,
 Sailors bring it, say in battle
 Dead is Hiltibrante Heribrantson."
 "From your brand and bright ring jerkin

I can see your lord is kindly.
 From his hand thou never had
 Exile and cruelty, God me pity, comes my fate.
 Thirty summers, thirty winters, I have wandered,
 Held the front in each fierce battle,
 Stormed before the walls, still no man
 Brought me death in any battle.
 Now my son's brand batters me down,
 Else I slay him with my sword.
 If thou hast courage come with death,
 Winning warcoat from warrior old,
 An easy task to him who for such things has any right.
 Not the most fearful of Eastern folk
 Could fight deny, thou art so eager, come; see of us who
 Gives up his battle coat, who brings home two."
 The heavy ashen spears they hurl like rain
 To cluster in the shields. They close on foot,
 Breaking the battle boards with heavy blows,
 Splitting them till the fragments fall apart,
 Broken by blows...
*(The original ends here; apparently the copyist ran out of
 room)*
 ...Now blade is loud on blade;
 Twice Hiltibrante bleeds, but not heart's blood.
 A third time Hadubrant brings down his sword
 Full on his father's helm.
 The blade falls, fountains fire, the helm
 Groans like a gong, glances the blow.
 Then Hadubrante cries aloud "Curse on the crippled blade,
 The old hun's head is hard as fire rock,
 His helm defends him though his blade is dumb,
 His craft is in this treasure and his tongue.
 I'll split them both." Throws down his broken shield,
 With both hands wheels his sword up to the height.
 Hadubrant lets fall the blow. Hiltibrant flings high his
 shield.
 The broken oak binds fast the falling blade.
 Then Hiltibrante, hot with rage,
 Strikes with a heavy hand. The blow goes home,
 Bursting the rings beneath the helmet rim,
 Through golden collar and through collar bone,
 Broken, battering a way.
 Hadubrant falls. With both hands Hiltibrant
 Tugs out the blade. Blood follows.
 Hadubrant Hiltibrantson,
 Dies in his blood while weeps above
 Hiltibrant Heribrantson.

The Merry Holt



There is a holt, a Merry Holt, below the Tregirt Sea; and there two maidens sit them down with



*certain ladies of renown, a mock to make of king and crown and half the chivalry
(Melody by Johanna of Dendermonde)*

There is a holt, a Merry Holt,
Below the Tree Girt Sea;
And there Two Maidens sit them down
With certain Ladies of Renown,
A mock to make of King and Crown
And half the chivalry.

They wrote a song, and another song
And another two or three;
They held not back from any sin,
They spared them neither kith nor kin,
Nor their good lord sweet Laurelin
From scorn and mockery.

When winters come and breezes numb
Blow from the Tregirt Sea,
The Ladies of the Merry Holt
They mostly ward them from the cold
As Tristram warded Queen Iseult
And Isolde of Brittany.

Alas the maids have no such aids
To keep them snug and warm;
All winter long these maidens sweet
Maintain their blood at fever heat
Inventing tales I'll not repeat
And thereby do great harm.

Such serpent's tongue in head so young
A wonder it must be;
But it is told in Merry Holt,
For maids so fair to grow so old
And keep their heads the ladies hold
A greater prodigy.

There is a holt, a Merry Holt,...

The Bees' Tale

There was a lonely castle
On a little travelled way;
A weary knight came riding there
At the close of an autumn day.

The drawbridge came a-clanging down,
The door swung open wide;
The Castellan stood there himself
To bid the knight inside.

"Be welcome here most noble sir
As long as you would bide;
To guest all weary travellers
It is my boast and pride."

"For I have sworn a mighty oath
By her I held most dear:
Not hungry, nay nor thirsty goeth
Any man from here."

The knight was bathed in water warm
And garbed in linen white,
Then joined that merry Castellan
And feasted through the night.

The feast was fine, the hall was fair,
With rushes on the floor.
Such mead as there unstinting flowed
He'd tasted not before.

An hour before the sun came up
 They staggered off to bed.
 The hour was late for journeying
 When the knight raised up his head.

The hour was late for journeying,
 The host he bade him stay
 Another night to rest him ere
 He went upon his way.

Another night he feasted and
 The mead in gallons flowed;
 The sext-bell rang for noontime
 Ere he was upon his road.

The sext bell rings for noontide but
 The vespers sets the sun;
 He heard it ring above him and
 He knew the day was done.

He heard it ring above him from
 That castle fair to see,
 Returned there, ye may suppose,
 By subtle sorcery.

But truth to tell there was no spell
 Save such as all men know.
 If he returned it was because
 He did not wish to go.

For errant knights see quite a lot
 Of war and desperate deeds,
 Of maids, crusades and bloody raids,
 But very little mead.

So every night he drained his cup
 And filled it up again.
 Both host and guest, we may suppose,
 Were very merry men.

The knight was gaunt when first he came,
 But he started filling out,
 For seven gallons every night
 Would make a hermit stout.

The barrels of that buttery
 Were wide and deep indeed;
 But seven gallons every night
 Is quite a lot of mead.

So while the guest waxed fatter,
 The buttery waned thin;
 The Castellan grew worried so
 He called his daughter in.

Now the daughter of that Castellan
 Was known far and wide
 As a paragon of virtues, but
 Her brewing was her pride.

She walked among her honey bees
 And told them what to do;
 She set the garden buzzing then
 She started in to brew.

She scoured her largest cauldron;
 She filled it to the top.
 She buzzed around her kitchen like
 A human humming top.

The knight he kept on drinking, but
 The mead-line did not sink;
 The daughter filled the barrels up
 As fast as he could drink.

Now when a month had passed so,
 Though he was fain to stay,
 The knight told the Castellan he
 Must be upon his way.

He set off for his castle old
 And it was strange to see;
 His steed, though sleek and full of grass,
 Yet labored wearily.

He labored wearily to bear
 What he had born before,
 For though the beast was nothing less,
 The man was something more.

So off he goes and you suppose
 That ends at last my song.
 So did that much tried Castellan,
 And both of you are wrong.

For on a day in early May
The knight came back again,
And at his back his squires rode,
Full seven thirsty men.

The Castellan he watched them come,
And oh his heart was sore;
But he thought upon his mighty oath
And opened wide the door.

He opened wide the door to them,
Although his heart it sank;
The knight and seven squires came in
And drank and drank and drank.

Now God forbend my tale should end
With every barrel dry;
No faster can the brewer brew
Nor honeybees can fly.
Despair is on the daughter's face,
A tear is in her eye.

And so the knight he found her
In a garden full of bees;
He took her hand in both of his
And sank upon his knees.

"I have returned to ask," he said,
"If thou wilt wed with me.
For mead is not the treasure
That brings me back to thee."

The maiden she consented,
The Castellan did too,
Though he ill could spare his daughter,
Yet at the least he knew
It was someone else's problem to
Fill up that thirsty crew.

The wedding was a merry one,
Proclaimed throughout the land,
And so Sir Gyrth was wedded to
The gentle Melisande.

The moral of my story
Is plain enough to see:
The fool's content with honey;
The wise man takes the bee.

Two Provençal Poems Dawn Song "Us Cavaliers Si Jazia"

*by Bertran d'Alamano (fl. 1230-1260)
or Gaucelm Faidir (fl. 1180-1215)*

A knight beside his sweet desire,
Between his kisses makes inquire:
"Sweet, what is to do my dear?
Dark must end as day draws near.
I hear the watchman's 'Up away;'
On the heels of dawn runs day.

"Sweet, if day and dawn for ever
Ended were that lovers sever,
Best of blessings where true knight
Lies beside his best delight.
I hear the watchman's 'Up away;'
On the heels of dawn runs day.

"Sweet, be sure there is no smarting
Pain can match with lover's parting;
I myself can count its pains
By how little night remains.
I hear the watchman's 'Up away;'
On the heels of dawn runs day.

"Sweet, I go but leave thee knowing
I am thine wherever going;
Keep me ever in thy mind,
For my heart remains behind.
I hear the watchman's 'Up away;'
On the heels of dawn runs day.

"Sweet, without you death would find me,
Love put all my life behind me.
I'll be back as soon as fled,
For without you I am dead.
I hear the watchman's 'Up away;'
On the heels of dawn runs day."

Riposte “Ma Domna Am de Bona Guiza”

Anonymous

My Lady hath my heart to rule,
Yet am I not some lovesick fool.

I pray the Lord to save me not
If ere I gave save as I got.

Her love in truth is what I pray for—
But will not have if I must pay for.

Her love for me is honor, yes,
But mine for her no honor less

(based on prose translations by Willard R. Trask in his Medieval Lyrics of Europe, The World Publishing Company. Cleveland: 1969.)

The Froggy Woods

*Composed in honor of the Most Noble Baron
Sir Francois du Vent
At His Investiture in His Barony of Draconia
(To the tune of The Tailor and The Mouse)*

With sword and spear to have a romp,
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle
We all went down to the Dragon Swamp
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle

Chorus:

*Hi-diddle-ump-cum
Tarum, Tantum
Through the froggy woods oh,
Hi-diddle-ump-cum over the lea
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle*

Just at the first watch of the night,
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle
We heard the frogs to left and right
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle
(Chorus)

But when the night was half along,
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle
It seemed that half the frogs were gone
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle

(Chorus)

And when the dawn was growing near,
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle
Not a croak assailed the ear
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle

(Chorus)

If you know where the frogs have gone,
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle
Then you have understood my song
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle

(Chorus)

Francois says that dinner's hot;
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle
Guess what's bubbling in his pot
Hi-diddle-ump-cum feedle

Twelve Days of Battle

(Tune: Twelve Days of Christmas)

1. On the first day of battle, my leige lord
sent to me,
a Patri in a pear tree.
2. ...Two tiny Dukes, ...
3. ...The whole Herlathing, ...
4. ...Four fighting maids, ...
5. ...Five fierce knights, ...
6. ...Six Saxons swinging, ...
7. ...Seven scared squires, ...
8. ...Eight Aetheling idiots, ...
9. ...Nine pursuivants punning, ...
10. ..Ten Tygers terrible, ...
11. ..El of the Two Knives, ...
12. On the twelfth day of battle, I sent to my
leige lord, 12 Dragon's Tails, borne by El ...
etc.

Two poems in praise of the Ladies of Caid

On a time it chanced that, travelling in the kingdom of Caid, I came upon a hall where the King of that land held feast and revelry, with his people about him. At that place was held a court of love, in the Frankish fashion, and to that court I presented a charge against the Ladies of Caid—to wit, that they were too beautiful, and so a temptation to sin for those of us permitted, by the Law of our Lord the Prophet (on whom be the peace and the blessing), only four wives. The court conceded the justice of my charge, yet (most unjustly) sentenced me, rather than the ladies, the sentence being that I was to write a poem in praise of the Ladies of Caid. Further, His Majesty, in delivering the verdict and sentence, chose to interpret my remarks as if I had asserted that the Ladies of Caid were more beautiful than the Ladies of other kingdoms, which thing I had most certainly not intended.

Being desirous to obey His Majesty's charge while correcting any misunderstanding, I wrote the following two poems:

Villanelle

*Written on Command
in Praise of the Ladies of Caid*

Caidan ladies, fair and wise,
For whom full many knights do sigh,
Though my own Love, whom most I prize,

Most strictly veils my wandering eyes
Yet through my lashes still I spy
Caidan ladies, fair and wise,

Nor can I wholly then disguise
My admiration from the eye
Of mine own Love, whom most I prize,

Yet pray it cause no false surmise
If I appear entranced by
Caidan ladies fair and wise.

For though no knight might e'er despise
Such lovely ladies passing by,
It is my own whom most I prize

And I must own my glad surprise
When ladies in Caid I spy
Almost as gentle, fair and wise
As mine own love, whom most I prize.

Verses In Praise of the Ladies of Caid

*Written at the Command of the King
Thereof*

Caid must seem a garden fair
Whose blossoms bloom in many climes
To errant knight that wanders there;
Her beauties praise I in my rhymes.

First met, and here by rights first told,
(Though beauties grow in every clime)
The golden bloom of Gildenholt;
I praise thy garden in my rhyme.

And last the warded flower that grows
(For blossoms bloom in many climes)
Beneath the Dragon and the Rose;
I praise her beauties in my rhymes.

The flowers spread like wildfire
(Well may I praise them in my rhymes)
From Calafia to Rieslingshire,
For beauties bloom in many climes.

Yet, King who guard this land so rare,
(That gladly praise I in my rhymes)
Think not that others are less fair;
For gardens grow in many climes.

XIII

At the fourth Pennsic War, Allah (the Compassionate, the Merciful) let fall upon us the Seas that are Above the Earth and it rained and it rained and it rained. To that War came thirteen fighting peers of the East, knights and masters together. Twelve fought and fell; one returned home, being displeased with the weather.

My belt is white, as white as snow,
My chain is bright as fire,
And I would be a fool to go
With them into the mire.

There wars my King, and by his side
Fight knights of great renown.
My snowy belt is all my pride;
I think I'll stay in town.

They pile in heaps the foemen dead
And die above them, yet
My place is here, for it is said
That blood is very wet.

My sword, my arms, might rust, and O,
Unless my blade is bright,
How will the pretty ladies know
I am a valiant knight?

Fly, Dragon, Fly

Fly, dragon, fly,
Although it may upset you;
Fly, dragon, fly,
The tyger's come to get you.

The tickling claws of cats, they say,
Make dragons catch their breath;
A pussycat is on his way
Who tickles them to death.

Fly, dragon, fly,
The tyger's come to get you.
Fly, dragon, fly,
As far as he will let you.

The dragon is designed to scare,
His face drives foes in flight;
But whoever heard a story where
The dragon slew the knight?

Fly, dragon, fly,
And pray we may forget you;
Fly, dragon, fly,
The tyger's come to get you.

Old Smaug was feared for miles around;
He fought a one worm war.
A single archer brought him down
And we have brought a score

Fly, dragon, fly,
They have not come to pet you;
fly, dragon, fly,
The tyger's here to get you.

Dragons have teeth and claws and things
And armor like a knight,
And best of all great leather wings
For flying from a fight.

Fly, dragon, fly,
Although it may upset you;
Fly, dragon, fly,
The tyger's come to get you

(These are both Pennsic songs; the dragon is the token of the Middle Kingdom, as the Tyger is of the East. Andrew of Seldom Rest, sometime King of the Middle, bore a dragonfly upon his shield.)

A Pennsic Tale

(Tune: Michael Said to his Man)

I've fought at Pennsic a time or two,
Fie, man, fie;

I've fought at Pennsic a time or two,
Who's the fool now?

I've fought at Pennsic a time or two
And just as the other warriors do
I've a tale that might be true.
Who's the fool now?

After the bodies are carted away,
Fie, man, fie

After the bodies are carted away,
Who's the fool now?

After the bodies are carted away,
The warriors feast till the break of day,
And I sit silent and hear what they say.
Who's the fool now?

We lost the war, as we most times do,
Fie, man, fie

We lost the war, as we most times do,
Who's the fool now?

We lost the war, as we most times do,
Which never stopped us telling anew
What each of us did, and how and to who.
Who's the fool now?

Of all our host that the foeman slew,
Fie, man, fie

Of all our host that the foeman slew,
Who's the fool now?

Of all our host that the foeman slew,
There wasn't a man or a woman who
Didn't take at least one or two.
Who's the fool now?

For glory in the ladies' sight,
Fie, man, fie

For glory in the ladies' sight,
Who's the fool now?

For honor in their ladies' sight
The squires fought with main and might;
Every squire slew a knight.
Who's the fool now?

The deeds of their lords were fierce and fell,
Fie, man, fie

The deeds of their lords were fierce and fell,
Who's the fool now?

The deeds of their lords were fierce and fell,
Twelve men Visivald sent down to hell;
Ferd slew a score, or so the tales tell.
Who's the fool now?

Gavin is certain of twenty-four,
Fie, man, fie

Gavin is certain of twenty-four,
Who's the fool now?

Gavin is certain of twenty-four,
But Tamara counted thirty more;
Add them up and he won the war.
Who's the fool now?

The host of Atlantia slew and slew,
Fie, man, fie

The host of Atlantia slew and slew,
Who's the fool now?

The host of Atlantia slew and slew,
Just how many no man knew,
But at least they're certain of forty-two.
Who's the fool now?

It comes to a hundred and ninety-four,
Fie, man, fie

It comes to a hundred and ninety-four,
Who's the fool now?

It comes to a hundred and ninety-four
We slew for certain—there might be more;
The rest should have drowned in that sea of gore.
Who's the fool now?

Knights and nobles of high degree,
Fie, man, fie

Knights and nobles of high degree,
Who's the fool now?

All the East's nobility,
This is their tale as they told it to me,
But the Middle started with fifty-three.
Who's the fool now?

So we lost the battle but slaughtered the foe,
Fie, man, fie;

So we lost the battle but slaughtered the foe,
Who's the fool now?

So we lost the battle but slaughtered the foe,
I may be wrong but I think I know
What really happened at Roncevaux.
Who's the fool now?

A Song in Praise of the Warriors of the Middle Kingdom

(Tune: Battle Hymn of the Republic, unfortunately)

The warriors of the Middle are as brave as brave can be;
Each summer ere the leaves turn red they turn them easterly,
Where they know their death is waiting with the Eastern King's army,
Praise to the Dragon Throne.

(Chorus)

*Glory, glory what a beautiful day to die,
Glory, glory what a beautiful day to die,
Glory, glory what a beautiful day to die,
To die for the Dragon Throne.*

There is none can fault the courage of the Middle Chivalry,
Though some believe they suffer from some dreadful sorcery
That herds them east like lemmings who will never reach the sea,
To die for the Dragon Throne.

(Chorus)

The Marches of Debate are where the Flower of the Brave,
When tired of the tourney field come east to find a grave.
We welcome them right royally and grant them what they crave,
To die for the Dragon Throne.

(Chorus)

The Ansteorran Tale

(To "The Rising of the Moon")

Oh, the Ansteorran warriors have one trick that never fails;
One body is a hundred when it comes to telling tales.
The smallest border skirmish is a fight where hundreds fell;
And the Ansteorrans won it in the tales their warriors tell.

Oh, the Ansteorran ladies, like ladies everywhere,
Are fair and wise and virtuous, and chaste and wise and fair,
But it's only Ansteorra where, when they get into a tiff,
The women all are warriors—like Sif, and Sif, and Sif.

Oh, the Ansteorran warriors on Pennsic's fields were few,
But they littered up the landscape with the multitudes they slew.
Each squire felled a score at least, each knight brought fifty low;
We know that's how it happened cause Duke Sigmund told us so.

Oh, the Ansteorran warriors have one trick that never fails;
One body is a hundred when it comes to telling tales.
The smallest border skirmish is a fight where hundreds fell;
And the Ansteorrans won it in the tales their warriors tell.

Limericks

Franks find that bloodshed and strife
 Occupy most of their life—
 The proper reward
 For serving a lord
 While ardently courting his wife.

When pursuing a maid who is very
 Passionate, proper and wary,
 You first must assure her
 Your amor is pura
 And then demonstrate the contrary.

The favor of ladies is bought,
 So the learned Andreas has taught,
 With fainting and sighs,
 But a lover who dies
 Has done rather more than he ought.

Dame Eugénie is lacking in front,
 Said a suitor whose language was blunt,
 A part love requires
 To quench its fierce fires.
 I presume that the part which he meant
 was the heart.

Though Shaums have a sound that is froggy,
 They should never be played when it's foggy,
 Lest ships go aground
 Through mistaking the sound
 For a foghorn—which makes sailors soggy.

For the Instruction of Pages

Address all unknowns as "gentle."
 Treat ladies as if sacramental.
 Unless their bare arms,
 Loose hair and bold charms,
 Announce that their favors are—rental.

As the she-wolf and lioness feel
 for their cubs, so the knight for his steel.
 When looking at such,
 Ask leave ere you touch,
 Or instead of seeing, you'll feel.

Be still when a bard holds the hall.
 Join the dancing or stand by the wall.
 Don't boast of your might
 Till you learn how to fight,
 Or after—or ever at all.

The Limerick Song

*(Chorus by Yang, Tune "traditional"—i.e.
 modern)*

Middle Kingdom Verses (ancient)

When two tall sons of one mother,
 The brothers de Tahe fight each other,
 The loser must kneel,
 Say "I yield to your steel,
 But my brother can still beat your brother."

(Chorus)

*Ai, yai, yai yai,
 Your knives are too ready to hand;
 If I stick to verity
 You'll show me no charity
 So here's all the truth you can stand.*

The trouble with fighting with Andy,
 Unless you're both hefty and handy,
 Is he gives you one leer
 Then makes it appear
 Like he's knocking down babies for candy.

You can fight with the horde if you wanna;
 You'll see plenty of blood, guts and honor.
 While you're turning them green
 With your shield work supreme,
 Watch out for the left hand katana.

His Grace or Her Grace, it depends,
 Whenever the Dark Horde descends
 With chickens and goats,
 Three Serbs and four Croats,
 Says "My friends? I thought they were your
 friends."

(An excellent parody/reply to this verse was written by a horde bard; perhaps you can find someone who still remembers it)

Though he mocks us with vigor and vim,
I have seen Azareal looking grim.
To make myself terse,
He loves pointed verse
Except—when it's pointed at him.

The magical music machine
That someone complained she had seen
Is a box made of tin,
A small mandolin,
And the Lady Diana Alene.

The trouble with fighting the Duke
Is enough to make anyone puke;
You cut at his thigh
And the Marshall cries "high,"
"You're shaving the Ducal puruke."

I tell this story since it's
The one Thorvald's said to wince at:
The sign that's above
When he rides out to love
Is "In hoc Signe Vincet."

The trouble with listening to Yang
Is that every damn song the man sang
Was either illicit,
Immoral, explicit
Or lower Mongolian slang.

East Kingdom Verses

Murad, a reliable source,
Informs me that Akbar's discourse
Is usually cryptic
Or curt and elliptic
Or spoken—alone—to his horse.

Sir Eolf strides out in shining mail,
Clutching a cat and biting its tail,
Or so it appears
To my eyes and my ears,
Though he swears it's the pipes of the Gael.

A blade is a maid's last appeal
To prove her refusal is real;
De _____, I'm told,
Being timid and bold,

Now courts in a full suit of steel.

Atlantian Verses

Sir Alaric Rotstern Graf Von,
When standing can just see the dawn
Coming up in the East
At the close of the feast
When the last of the sunset is gone.

Mistress Moira o Seaumus Maureen,
When in yellow or brown she is seen,
Is as meek as a child
But a thunderstorm's mild
Beside Mistress Moira in Green.
[Moira was Triton Herald]

Fair Tanis of far Tyr y Don
Deserves to be praised in a song
With trumpets and lutes
And a consort of flutes
Which I haven't and so I'll move on.

Alura's a Lady, no doubt,
Who would never get angry or shout
Or glower or roar,
Stamp her staff on the floor,
So her twin must be often about.

Once at the end of a feast,
Having finished three oxen at least,
And drunk half a tun,
Ragnar swore by Thor's thumb
To make Foebane the queen of the east.
[Foebane is Ragnar's axe.]

If you're looking for Donal the tall,
You'll find it no trouble at all;
He's the fellow you see
By the lovely lady
Who makes even Donal look small.

I am certain there must be a few,
One could probably find one or two,
Gentle arts, I've no doubt,
Giovanna's without
But everything else she can do.

In the lists of things great you won't read it
But Rome and Cathay would concede it;
The small city state
Has a wall that is great

For putting wherever you need it.
(The Dinas Moryn shield wall)

The Devil and Eugénie

(Tune: The Devil and the Farmer's Wife)

It chanced to the Baron of Isleway,
Rightfu, rightfu, titty fy day
 It chanced to the Baron of Isleway
 That the Devil came to him and to him did say
With a rightfu rightfu, titty fy day.

"See here, Baron John, I have come for your
 fool,
 Who has served us so well under both of our
 rule."

So the Devil tossed Eugénie up on his hump;
 With a flick of her wrist she laid open his rump.

Then down to Hell with her he did jump;
 When she got there she complained of the bump.

"If you don't bring me down here more gently
 and skilled,
 I fear you will make me unfit for the guild."

There stood three small devils the lady to flay;
 She gave them one look and they melted away.

When all but one devil away they had fled
 She noticed him there and she bit off his head.

The Devil tossed Eugénie back in his pack;
 They were three days coming but one going
 back.

It chanced to the baron of Isleway
 That the Devil came to him and to him did say

"See here, Baron John, I've brought back
 Eugénie,
 For Hell hath no fury to match such as she."

Barak's Song

*(Tune: An Irish Ballad by Tom Lehrer.
 Suitable for post-revels.)*

About a bold Viking I'll sing a song
Singing plunkety plinkety pling
 About a bold Viking I'll sing a song
 Who wasn't a Jomsviking very long,
 Though once the Jomsvikings were fierce and
 strong,
 Jarl Hakon did most of them in, them in,
 Jarl Hakon did most of them in.
(continue repeats for every verse)

Now a Jomsviking never may show any fear,
 However black things may appear,
 But then the fleet started to disappear
 Along with his kith and his kin.

Only one ship refused to run;
 They killed the crew off one by one
 And Orm became a Khazarian
 Though his Yiddishe accent was thin.

He wandered East and he wandered South,
 Through feast and famine, floud and drouth,
 Till he came to a host by the Dnieper's mouth
 Wearing yarmulkas made out of tin.

He hardly had started to brag and to boast
 When they welcomed him into the Khazar host,
 For the Persians were marching up the coast,
 And they would let anything in.

He plucked at a string and he started a tale;
 The Khazar host began to wail
 "It isn't enough we've got Azareal
 Another one's come for our sins."

But a Khazar warrior, old and grey,
 Said "Don't send the bards away,
 They're a gift from God to save the day,
 They're the only way we can win."

"There are just two gates in the mountain wall,
 Put a bard in each and let them squall,
 They'll hold the passes from spring to fall,
 The Persians will never come in."

And that's why the emirs, shahs, and shiekhs,
 Never crossed the Caucasian peaks;
 If you don't believe me, hear his shrieks,
 But first let me out of the inn, the inn,
 But first let me out of the inn.

Trouble on the Field

*(Somewhere there should be a tune for this,
distantly related to Brennan on the Moor.)*

There's none can match with Bork in trees,
At fencing Yang's a whiz;
Dagen once slew a dozen men—
But six of them were his.

*Trouble on the field, brothers,
Trouble on the field;
We can't keep up the image if
You can't keep up your shield.*

The Ninja they are mighty men
And masters of the steel;
They'd cut our foes in little bits
If only they were real.

*Trouble on the field, brothers,
Trouble on the field ...*

Post-revel we are past all count,
In rumour past all dream,
And when the sun is underground
We scheme and scheme and scheme.

*Trouble on the field, brothers,
They've got us three to one;
We can't keep up the image if
We vanish in the sun.*

Our Yurts are simply beautiful,
Our Troubador's a pearl;
If we only had an army we'd
Be masters of the world.

*Trouble on the field, brothers,
Trouble on the field;
We can't keep up the image if
You can't keep up your shield.*

Logistically we're past compare;
Three kingdoms fear our spies.
But its hard to fight an army with
Three girls and seven guys.

*Trouble on the field, brothers,
Our lines are getting scant.
The foemen say our women fight
Because our warriors can't.*

*Trouble on the field, brothers,
Trouble on the field;
We can't keep up the image if
You can't keep up your shield.*

The Maple Tree

(Tune: The Willow Tree)

There was a Khan, a cruel Khan,
In the Northwoods Barony;
Six great kings he had betrayed
By a lonely maple tree.

As he held speech with the Eastern King
Where the battle was to be,
An evil thought there came to him
By that lonely maple tree.

"Give up, give up your golden crown,
Your scepter yield to me,
For I claim lordship of all your lands
From here to the eastern sea."

"If your golden crown you'll not give up,
Then answer me this riddle:
Where will you find a host to fight
Both me and the Middle?"

"If my golden crown I must give up,
Then answer me one riddle:
When you, the Khakhan, are Eastern King
How fares it with the Middle?"

"When I, the Khakhan, am Eastern King
The Middle must yield to me,
For I claim lordship of all their lands
From here to the Tree girt sea."

"Come out, come out, my Cousin dear,"
The Eastern King cried he,
And the King of the Middle he came out
From behind the Maple tree.

"Die there, lie there, you cruel Khan,
Lie there, die there" cried he.
Six great kings you have betrayed;
Go keep them company."

They buried him at the forest's edge
With his Mongol company;
No living thing shed a tear for them
Save a Silver Maple tree.

Verses in Honor of Shaugn Rubaru

From Ireland, where, I've been told,
The men are fair, the women bold,
Where faith is strict and fancy free,
A warrior fared across the sea.

Through foam of wreck and raid and war
The shortship floundered to the shore
And out a tattered bundle threw
That struggled straight as—Rubaru.

Then cursing a blue streak about
(A passing Celt in woad, no doubt),
He whirled his broad sword round his crown
And brought the shortship's maintwig down.

Dressed in mail from toe to head,
The brave crew swam like lumps of lead;
Too courteous to stand and scoff,
Rubaru went striding off.

And coming on a homeless cow,
An orphaned chicken, and a sow,
A little distance from the sea
He gave them—Irish charity.

Then, leaving all his pets at peace,
He wiped his mouth and beard of grease
And, moaning loud for want of beer,
Started for a farmhouse near.

Told the farmer he had seen
His cow and sow loose on the green
And, having so dispatched the lout,
Sought his wife and daughter out.

Asked for drink and—something more.
But alas for his amour;
Though their principles were few,
They drew the line at Rubaru.

Drew the line and not the beer,
Flung him out upon his ear,
Barred the door and windows tight;
Rubaru set them alight.

And having quenched ni thirst ni lust,
Started off as dry as dust.
When will they ever learn?
First you plunder then you burn.

Two Verses for the Rowing Song from Silverlock

East of Abd-er Rahman he had seen his brother
fall,

Westward was the coast where all roads drown.
"Trust alone in Allah, for He alone knows all,"
He set his turban on a spear and went to find a
crown.

Al-Andalus and all the West when he had won
his throw,

With hunters baying at his heels he dared not
travel slow,

He made them brace and bend their backs and
row, row, row.

East of Kveldulf's island was a world his
foeman ruled,

West of it the land where men were free.

Death's the price of living and the Norns are
never fooled;

He saw the stolen ship go by and followed it to
sea.

He would never look on Iceland but he let proud
Harald know

That even kings pay wergeld, though they would
not have it so,

He made them brace and bend their backs and
row, row, row.

The New Order

(This was written, many years ago, as a comment on the chivalry merit badge—the list of detailed requirements for knighthood given in the corpora.)

This is what it is to be a knight

To be able to perform two dances common at court
to know the moves of chess
to know how to blazon the picture on your shield
Metals and tincture, argent
jingles in the pocket, azure
is a fine color for
costumes

Gules *(is the color of blood)*
Brave blood out of Roland's lips
Over the mouthpiece of crying Oliphant)

That is chivalry, and, O yes
To stand in a playing field with a stick of rattan
or a roll of toilet paper on a handle, wrapped with canvas,
and a piece of plywood tied to your left arm
and win a game. That is chivalry.
(A breeze slips through silk, touches
The bare brown skin of Mauretania's King
Riding alone and weaponless into the Emperor's camp)
that is all it is – a game. Costumes. Calling
pretty girls Lady, when you remember, or Mistress,
Knowing your tricks, saying your lines,
Passing the
examination,
cribbing tinctures scribbled on your tunic sleeve
with a quill pen.

That is all.

Wine is only a drink colored red.
Blood is only a red leak. Put a bandaid on it.
Chivalry is only something
to do with horses.
(Galled by base labor, dragged to Carl's hall,
Beiffreer greets Ogier like a trumpet call.
Twice Bayard struggles to his master's side;
At the last, masterless, dies.)
Now the Pavane
left together, right together, left, right, left together.
Let us all learn Chivalry
with Ogier and Lancelot
and Arthur Murray.

Mists War Song

For my Master

"A Warrior is the Shield of His People"

Before and before and long before,
Someone is walking along the shore,
Sowing seed as white as bone
Between the sea and the bitter stone.
The mist blows off; the empty sand
Shows no mark of the foot of man.

Meadow green, forest tall,
No beacon fire, keep or wall.
Sea wise eyes of Egil's kin
Scan the shore and send her in.
Sea steed drives to naked shore,
War hard hands on rope and oar.
Serpent scrapes the sand—and then
The shore is sudden black with men,
Tattered mist for pennon flies,
Broken backed the serpent dies.

Raiders, shun our fenceless sands,
Fortune find in other lands,
Though our walls be few and weak,
Hawk's hill fire elsewhere seek.
Walls of stone in time must fall,
Better ward a living wall.
Scan the ebbing shore again,
Rounded rocks or skulls of men?
Sand above, steel beneath,
Where Edwin sowed his dragon teeth.

The Second Caliph

Umar ibn Khattab was his name,
Who bore us on beyond the double loss,
Both Prophet and Successor under moss,
A big loud man among the first who came
To warm his heart at Mahmoud's holy flame.
He did not lie and had no friends. The toss
That gave him rule the Lands of Peace across
The wisest choice of Abu Bakr's fame.
He was a man who, once the truth was known,
Followed to death, beyond all limits brave,
Neither neglected, no nor glorified
His power. Going out on the dark tide,
He left us leaderless, at last alone,
The luck of Islam buried in his grave.

*(Written for a contest to a prescribed set
of end words)*

When Abu Bakr prayed by night, he used
to recite from the Koran in a low voice, but
Umar in a loud strong voice. The Prophet
asked Abu Bakr why he did as he did.

"He unto Whom I speak will hear," said
Abu Bakr.

"And why, Umar, dost thou recite at the
top of thy voice?"

"To wake the drowsy up, and drive the
devil away!" Said Umar.

Our lord the Prophet (God's peace and
blessing upon him) used to say that if the Devil
met Umar upon the road, the Devil would
climb a high hill to get out of his way.

(From Mohammed's People)

Dramatis Personae: Crosston

Tune of Jean de Nivelles

Geoffrey Scot he is a knight;
 Geoffrey Scot he is a knight.
 He has been known to want to fight;
 He has been known to want to fight,
 To fight and fight and fight a lot,
 Then fight some more, has Geoffrey Scot.
 Hey, hey, he's our man,
 Geoffrey does what Geoffrey can.

Geoffrey Matt does everything,
 Fight and sew and dance and sing,
 Shows a leg and more than that;
 He's a flirt is Geoffrey Matt.
 Hey, hey, he's our man,
 Geoffrey does what Geoffrey can.

Alessandro herds the choir
 Through the night from fire to fire,
 Basses, tenors, sharps and flats,
 Alessandro herding cats.
 Hey hey, he's our man,
 Sandro does what Sandro can.

Fair Colette has friends you'll see
 With twice as many legs as me;
 On Tiara she's the best
 To spear a ring or break a crest.
 Hey, Hey, watch her pass,
 Colette is a lively lass.

Good Sir John he is our pride,
 So loud and tall and thick and wide;
 He loves to fight and dance and sing
 And help with almost everything.
 Hey, hey, he's our man,
 Sir John does what Sir John can.

Cassie draws a deadly bow,
 Shafts and foemen fall like snow;
 Gentler arts as well inspire,
 Draw a Laurel from the fire.
 Hey, Hey, watch her pass,
 Cassie likes to play with glass.

Frederick is a shining star,
 Shedding light on near and far,
 So though the Mists might think it wrong
 We have put him in our song.
 Hey, Hey, he's our man,
 Frederick does what none else can.

Fair Crosston

Tune of Lord Willoughby's Welcome

Fair Crosston is the perfect place for learning
 something new,
 A bransle to dance, a round to sing, or how to
 sew a shoe;
 At every art beneath the sun we try to be the
 best,
 Which might be why we're sometimes known
 as Carolingia West.

With thread and needle Alia such pretty
 pictures painting,
 Flirtation by bold Geoffrey Matt it leaves the
 ladies fainting,
 On tourney field the warriors bold give all their
 heart to fight,
 But none of them goes hungry home if Crosston
 is on site.

For strays that come when sun is set there
 always is a roof,
 The bodies under Trouble's shade at morning
 show the proof;
 A few of us made Trouble while the others
 stood around,
 Yet it is said of all of us, in Trouble oft we're
 found.

However much the past has done there's always
 more to do,
 For how so old an art that lives must yet be
 born anew,
 So day by day beneath the sun we labor at our
 best
 To turn our arts to service of The Kingdom of
 the West

*("Trouble" is the large Crosston tent/sun
 shade)*

Old Things

A Report, in Verse, Presented to His Majesty Iriel of Brannoch, King of the Middle Kingdom, at Twelfth Night.

(some general verses about rumours of war. "Border Lords sharpening swords" etc. then...)

Young knights and squires only care
To prove their valour to ladies fair;
Border lords sharpen their brands
With a greedy eye on their neighbors' lands.

I am neither a squire nor a border lord
Nor a new dubbed knight with a thirsty sword;
I do not make war for an idle game,
I fight for my king and my kingdom's gain.

For three long months at feast and field,
As close as I watch my foeman's shield,
I have watched the play of the Eastern lords;
Ere three months more I will try their swords.

I watch a hand that is near a knife;
I listen to rumours of civil strife,
To tales of knights and their tourneying,
To the least little word that may aid my king.

I say again, as once before,
That only a fool goes blind to war.
I have served as eyes for the Middle King;
Harken all to the word I bring.

To match with our Middle Chivalry
Are four great lords by the Eastern Sea,
Fit to stand on a bloody field
And fight our fiercest, shield to shield.

From lands beyond the morning sky,
The valiant Shogun, Rakkurai.
From southron jungles hot as hell,
The dusky giant they call Lord El.

From the house that bears Old Murad's name
The noble Duke high Akbar came;
His sire, Old Murad, wise men tell
For a seasoned warrior, fierce and fell.

With divers squires by their side,
These are the four must break our tide;
If these four fall the kingdom's down
And you will have loot of the Eastern Crown,

And you will have loot of the Eastern lands,
Their castles and palaces under your hands,
To do your will with all things dear,
Women and horses and castles and gear.

But if these four with their folk beside
Break our ranks, then woe betide;
So ere you lead out your gathered powers,
Hear how I match their strength with ours.

Lord El's a mountain of a man,
No knight so tall in your hall stands,
With strength to move his giant's height
And will and skill enough to fight.

Yet I think a sword of Seldom Rest,
Dividing him below the crest,
About the level of the eyes
Could cut El down to Andrew's size.

Cast your Grim Hawk adown the sky
Against the noble Rakkurai;
The Shogun's tall and bitter strong,
But Thorvald's blade men say is long.

Set good Sir Franz at my right side
Or, if the Baron cannot ride,
His valiant Squire and we'll defy
House Murad's thrice crowned chivalry.

As for the Shogun's common men,
My brother Bashta and his friends,
Who feast beside us here tonight,
Could face them all in open fight.

Has the East Barons? Two or three,
But theirs cling to the Eastern sea,
While every march of the border land
Is loyal to my King's command.

But let them come, with all their might,
To put those baronies to flight
Remains beneath the King's own hand
A mighty host of the Middle Land.

Barin and Finnvairr, brothers tall,
The squires that feast in Thorvald's hall,
With all the marches' gathered bands,
Rough levies of the cloven lands.

The little lands are scattered far
But loyal to their King in war,
The triple Hills, the valiant Flame,
Castel Rouge on her northern plain.

I say again as twice before
That only a fool goes blind to war;
I have served as eyes for the Middle King;
Harken all to the word I bring.

The Shogun has heroes under his hand,
But we can match them man for man;
The Shogun has hosts by the Eastern Shore,
But my King's hosts are as many and more,
Sire, my word is War, War, War.

Verses prepared by the Ambassador of the Middle, Bringing the War Arrow to Rakkurai, Against a Contingency That did not Occur

How deep the dungeon where I guest
I still can whistle when the wind blows west;
And that wind blows through an apple tree
In a grove by the shore of the Tree Girt Sea
Where mine own lady waits for me.

When the wind is loud in her apple trees,
I can whistle in the west running breeze
And that same gale blow back to me
The loyal swords of Tregirtsea,
The dark horde under the command
Of my brother, Bashta of the Bloody Hand,
And maybe a prince, or a border lord,
Or an errant knight with a thirsty sword,
For my Lady waits by her apple tree,
Where half a kingdom does courtesy
To Her Grace, Diana de Tregirtsea.

A Brother's Tale

This is a tale of days long ago, and of matters that loom very small, it may be, in the affairs of great kingdoms. Yet to me it is of some moment, and it may be there is a lesson in it, even for these latter days. It is the tale of how I, who in my birth was given but one sister for sib, found for myself a brother, and that most strangely.

In those days I dwelt in my own lands in the Middle Kingdom, on the southern shore of the Tree Girt Sea. There chanced into the kingdom— it is a matter on which many tales touch—a wandering Mongol band. Between them and the Warriors of the Middle there was little love, for the Warriors of the Middle held the Sword Brothers of the Horde in scorn, thinking them poor foes unworthy of their steel, while to the Sword Brothers it seemed that the Warriors cared too much for victory and not enough for how it was won, and they believed, nor did they always scruple to say, that they themselves held closer to the codes befitting a warrior than did many a knight.

It chanced at a tourney, that same where Iriel of Brannoch was crowned King and Andrew of Seldom Rest won the right to be his heir, that there were many melees, the Sword Brothers of the Horde fighting against the Warriors of the Middle, and they were in numbers greatly outmatched. Seeing which I lent to them my aid, which I think no man else in the Kingdom did, though little enough good it did them. And it may be that is part of my tale, and it may be not.

On another day was a tourney held in the Canton of the Three Hills, and to it came the horde, and the Warriors of the Middle, I among them. It had been proposed that in that tournament some fight in a fashion then new to the kingdom, holding matches by the blow, each man permitted to strike so many blows and no more, the winner judged by a panel of fair ladies. There came to me Yang, the spokesman of the horde, and he proposed that we fight so, not one bout but five, with divers weapons. It seemed to me a brave thing that he did, for he was reputed more skillful with tongue than

sword, and I was then young and in the fullness of my strength and accounted a great warrior among my peers.

So we fought first with spear and shield, and he proved a fell foe, quick and skilled. Yet it chanced, in the noble fury of battle, that he struck the blows allotted to him, all five, and there remained to me yet one blow more. Thinking it no fit part of chivalry to chase about the field a foe who could do me no harm, I touched his shield with my spear point, and that was my fifth blow. I think no man saw it, save my foe alone. In the next match it chanced, through my carelessness or pride, that I struck all the allotted blows at him, and there remained one more to him, or it may be two; he touched my shield, and that was his blow. So the day went on. When our combats were done he filled a great cup and offered it to me, and for what I spoke I make no excuse, for I was young then, and full of joy and pride to do battle with so noble a foe. The toast was "To Ourselves. There are damn few of us left." And we drank the toast, we two, from one cup.

It chanced another time, some weeks thereafter, that high feast and revelry was held in a great hall in my own lands, in the province of the Tree Girt Sea. There came Yang attired as a minstrel, and with him many of his folk. When the feasting was done he sang songs for the company, and last one of his making. It was called the ballad of the Griffin and Snake, for Yang bears on his shield for a sign a snake, red as blood. That song by fortune you may hear from his lips.

Think then that this is that high hall, all about a bright company, at their head Iriel, King of the Middle, garbed black as a raven, with a hauberk of rings overall, and by him Morna, robed green as grass, than whom few fairer queens has any land known. There is a great stillness of all that company, and in it a voice clear as silver. The tale is of Griffin and Snake met in combat, each thinking the other but a weak foe. It tells how over the meeting blades each found in the foeman not skill alone that bringeth victory, but that also which he himself

held dearer than any victory that skill may bring.

The song ceased. He called me forth into the hall, and to me gave a knife, and with it his oath of aid whenever and wherever I had need of it, and likewise I did for him. We have called

each other brother since that day. His oath he repaid ere a year had passed, on a muddy hill, fighting at my side with a long spear against a foe that came and came and there was no end to them.

Pennsic I: Before the Battle

It is the morning before battle; the King of the East sits enthroned, and to him comes the spokesman of the Dark Horde, his warriors about him:

Cariadoc: Welcome, welcome most noble Yang. Have you come here with your valiant Sword Brothers to fight under the banner of the East against our common enemies of the Middle?

Yang: No.

(Brief Silence)

Cariadoc (slightly less enthusiastically): Forgive me, most noble and subtle Yang, by some called Silvertongue, Spokesman of the Dark Horde, if I misspoke. What I meant to ask was, have you come here to fight under your own banners, beside the East Kingdom as its allies, against our common enemies of the Middle?

Yang: No

(Longer Silence)

Cariadoc: Tell me then, oh most subtle and devious Yang, why have you come?

Yang: You may remember, Brother, that some while ago I promised you my aid if you had need of it. Well, Brother, today you have need of it.

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I hope that there may be a market for my collection, and that the result of my labours, and the physical exertion of putting down in writing, may not be wasted. It would be something, if it only proved better than blank paper—please God, whom I pray to direct my utterance, and to adjust all my actions; to protect me from errors, mistakes and aberrations. Truly he may be counted on for that, and speedily realizes that which is hoped for from Him. He "is sufficient for me," to Him I at all times resort, on Him I rely; there is no power nor strength save in Him, a right good Master and Trustee is He.

al-Muhassin ibn 'Ali al-Tanukhi
