

**THE LANGUAGE OF SPICE IN 15TH CENTURY
OTTOMAN CUISINE**

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To my grandfather, Ömer Güneş



DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis and that this is the true copy of my thesis, including the final revisions, approved by my thesis committee. All data and information have been obtained, produced, and presented in accordance with the rules of research ethics and principles of academic honesty. As required by these rules, to the best of my knowledge I have acknowledged ideas, thoughts, and any copyrighted material in accordance with the standard referencing rules. I certify that any part of this thesis has not been submitted for a degree or diploma in another educational institution.

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ABSTRACT

Spices appeared as objects of desire in Ancient and Medieval Europe due to their medicinal benefits and their value as luxury goods. In the Middle Ages, European spice consumption reached its highest point in history and existing supply routes became unable to meet demand. This situation pushed the authorities to search for new supply systems, and this search resulted in the discovery of America. To understand the reflections of the desire for spices, which had such a great impact on world history, in the Ottoman Empire, the recipes in a 15th century Ottoman cooking manuscript called Kitâbü't-Tabîh written by one of the Ottoman physicians of the period, Shirvani is analyzed. The recipes of this cookbook are examined one by one in order to distinguish the spices used at that time. Dried coriander, cinnamon, cumin, black pepper and mastic are the most common ingredients used in the recipes. Camphor and musk are used in very few desserts. Unlike the original recipes translated in Shirvani's cookbook, the recipes added by the author contain a limited variety of spices. The fact that there is a limited variety of spices in the recipes added by Shirvani, leads us to the conclusion that the use of spices in 15th century Ottoman cuisine differs both from medieval Arab and European cuisines.

Keywords: Ottoman Palace Cuisine, spice, Kitâbü't-Tabîh, Muhammad bin Mahmûd Shirvani

ÖZET

Baharatlar, tıbbi faydaları ve lüks tüketim maddesi olarak değerlendirmeleri sebebiyle Antik Dönem ve Ortaçağ Avrupa'sında arzu nesnesi olarak karşımıza çıkar. Ortaçağ'da, Avrupalıların baharat tüketimi tarihin en doruk noktasına ulaşır ve var olan tedarik yolları talebi karşılayamaz hale gelir. Bu durum otoriteleri yeni tedarik sistemleri aramaya iter ve bu arayış Amerika'nın keşfi ile sonuçlanır. Dünya tarihinde bu denli büyük etkileri olan baharat aşkının Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki yansımalarını anlamak için 15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı mutfağı özelindeki tek yemek kitabı olan dönemin Osmanlı hekimlerinden Şirvani'nin Kitâbü't-Tabîh'inde yer alan tarifler tek tek incelenerek tariflerde kullanılan baharatlar tespit edilmiştir. Tariflerde en çok kuru kişniş, tarçın, kimyon, karabiber, damla sakızı karşımıza çıkarken. Tatlıların pek azında kafur ve misk kullanımı görülür. Şirvani'nin kitabındaki çeviri tariflerden farklı olarak yazarın eklediği tarifler çok az bir seçkide baharat içerir. Şirvani'nin kendi eklediği tariflerde çok az baharat olması bizlere 15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı mutfağının baharat kullanımında Ortaçağ Arap ve 15. Yüzyıl Avrupa mutfaklarından farklı olduğu sonucuna götürür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı, baharat, Kitâbü't-Tabîh, Muhammed bin Mahmûd Şirvani

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and the Scope of The Study

The role of food across the globe reaches far beyond its base purpose and physiological effects. Food represents a lot more than merely delicious nutrients that satisfy our human needs. With intricate tastes and scents, food is the bearer of many cultural nuances. Spices in particular come in rich varieties and countless combinations, acting as one of the most significant players in penetrating these cultural subtleties. Today, we cannot imagine a Middle Eastern cuisine without cumin, or an Indian cuisine without curry. Beyond the unique flavor that spices leave in my mouth, at every meal I eat, I am looking for a holistic experience that transports me to the places, memories and dreams held within that particular taste. On the other hand, while spices maintain their significance as condiments, their therapeutic effects are also re-emphasized with the increasing popularity of healthy and natural nutrition trends. I say “re-emphasized”, because the use of spices within the foods due to medical concerns is not something new. The physiological benefits of food had been emphasized by Ancient Greek-Roman medicine and its pursuer, Islamic medicine, and spices in particular had been long valued due to their much more powerful therapeutic effects according to these medical understandings (Flandrin, 1999c; Sari, 2008).

In addition, spices, which were expensive due to the fact that they were supplied from the Far East to the Middle East and Europe, had been considered as luxury products and obtained many symbolic roles throughout history. However, it was observed that later, this great desire for spices in the Middle Ages, have been decreased in Europe and also in the Ottoman Empire (Flandrin, 1999a; Samancı; 2006). Based on all of these, I, who value spice both in terms as condiments and therapeutic substances, want to

understand the use of spices in 15th century Ottoman cuisine which is the ancestor of my culinary tradition.

Within the framework of the study, the 15th century cooking manuscript of Şirvani (*Muhammad bin Mahmûd Shirvanî*) was used as the primary source. The recipes described in the cookbook are analyzed one by one in order to understand the use and the consumption of spices in 15th century Ottoman culinary tradition. The recipes within the cookbook, considered as the Turkish translation of *Kitâbü't-Tabîh* of Baghdadi (*Muhammad bin al-Hasan bin Muhammad bin al-Karîm el-Kâtib al-Baghdadî*) written in Arabic in 1226, were examined and the spices used in them are listed and were represented in graphs.

On the other hand, this study encounters many difficulties in terms of sources. Although cookbooks offer important information about a culture's foodways, they don't do so in a didactic way. Therefore, one cannot really be sure if these recipes were really cooked by the reader. Moreover, how much of the Ottoman population was literate and how accessible these manuscripts and cookbooks were accessible to this literate part of the population are other matters that need to be questioned. Considering the territories annexed and lost to the lands of the Ottoman Empire over the centuries and the food cultures of these territories, such studies on Ottoman Cuisine also require a definition of Ottoman Cuisine itself. Therefore, in this study, the concept of Ottoman Cuisine represents the cuisine of literate elites, whose foodways are shaped with the influence of the Ottoman Palace, where food can become a pleasure rather than a vital need.

A study that analyzes the flavor profile of Ottoman cuisine over the centuries also requires the definition of spices. Scientific definition of spice, its definition in the Ottoman, and the distinction between spices and herbs are also among the issues that

should be considered in such a study. Since other condiments such as rose water etc. are other important ingredients that affect the flavor profile, they are also included in the analysis based on the recipes and are evaluated within the scope of the study if used to a significant extent. On the other hand, the fact that most of the recipes do not include the net usage amounts of these condiments are among the limitations of the study.

Although Shirvani's work constitutes a resource for those studying 15th century Ottoman cuisine, there is no study that examines the recipes in detail to understand the flavor profile. Therefore, I hope that this study will be a resource for researchers interested in Istanbul elite cuisine in terms of spice consumption and will contribute to the literature. The first chapter sheds light on the history of food studies becoming a respectable academic subject in the discipline of history, globally and in Turkey. Within the chapter, while some examples of food-related academic studies that emerged under the influence of Annales School are given, the Ottoman history studies on food related topics are reviewed more in detail. The second chapter explains the significance of spices which played an important role in the course of world history, and reveals their therapeutic and symbolic importance. The third chapter aims to give general information about the 15th century Ottoman Cuisine and to clarify the discourses on Shirvani's work which is the most important source for 15th century Ottoman food studies.

The fourth chapter represents the data of spices used in the recipes of each chapter and section of the cookbook. While graphed data showing the variety of spices, the recipes of each chapter are explained in terms of their cooking techniques, food flavor profile and textures. In the fifth chapter the findings represented in previous chapters will be evaluated in comparison to studies reflecting the 15th century Ottoman Palace culinary culture. Finally, the sixth chapter, provides an examination of the two common culinary

trends of the late medieval European cuisine, which stand out despite the differences in local preferences, the excessive use of spices and a flavor profile in which sweet and sour flavors.

1.2 Food History Studies

Food has played and will continue to play many significant roles in the course of history with regards to its production, supply, distribution, and consumption. Considering this whole process from soil into the stomach, among many scholars' food is now considered as a key subject which can be the main focus of many studies approached with diverse perspectives such as economic, political, environmental, medicinal, religious, cultural, psychological, and many other. Food studies are inherently interdisciplinary (Valenze, 2013). However, this acknowledgment of food as a respected topic in academic pursuit is a recent result of a gradual and tough sledding (Pilcher, 2012a). Until the mid-19th century history as a discipline was built on writing the course of political achievements based on state archives, and in the framework of such a disciplinary perspective food as a research topic was considered as insignificant. Regarding such a deprecative academic approach to the topic, it is not surprising that early historical studies on food were limited to researches carried out with political and economic concerns. Nevertheless, presenting many analyses on food production including roles of producers, and consumption patterns of common people, these studies paved the way for food becoming a valued topic within the field (Valenze, 2013). Afterwards, historical attention shifted to the significant influence of food supply chains and consumption patterns on class distinctions. Personal taste perceptions, the relationship between food consumption and self-identity, and food consumption patterns of the elites have taken their parts among the topics urged upon by food historians (Valenze, 2013).

The first steps of food becoming a valuable subject in the field of history, date back to the establishment of academic journal the *Annales*, which was founded in Strasbourg in 1929, and gained an international reputation within twenty years. French economic historians Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, founders of the *Annales*, gave a new impulse to the field of history, as their academic interests were based on society as whole and the concerns of everyday life. Their interdisciplinary and multi methodical approach laid the foundation of socioeconomic history, and researches focused on common people stood out as valuable studies certainly in France, as well as Germany and Britain too (Claflin, 2012 & Pilcher, 2012a & Watts, 2012). Moreover, Febvre had a keen interest in food as an academic topic, mostly in terms of its production and supply, due to the growing awareness of the food crisis occurring in Africa and Asia in the period. Therefore, his studies were carried out with a mostly economic perspective, not social or cultural (Watts, 2012). Fernand Braudel, who was the successor of Febvre and an important figure in the *Annales* school, carried his studies focused on food with Febvre's economic perspective. By bringing the methodical approach “*Longue Durée*” into the historical writing, Braudel studied the caloric intakes of past civilizations living in a certain geography using diverse quantitative methods. Primary foods such as maize, rice and wheat were also in his focus. Topics such as undernutrition, hunger, food security, husbandry, life conditions of peasants were also among the prominent issues at that time (Pilcher, 2012a & Watts, 2012).

During World War II, albeit out of political concerns, scholars focused on food with a broader perspective in Britain and Europe. Societies' food choices and food as a social need were among the most valued subjects. By highlighting the role of food in the formation of social classes, British Marxist historians discoursed the consumption

patterns of common people in ordinary life. Research questions regarding the production, distribution and consumption of food diversified, and food emerged as a representation of social status and living standards in the framework of food studies (Valenze, 2013).

In 1970, Jean-Jacques Hémardinquer edited a collected volume consisting of food-related essays which were published in the different issues of *Annales* within the previous 10 years. Therefore, his *Pour une histoire de l'alimentation* became the first edition dedicated to food history itself (Claflin, 2012).

In the 1980s, many studies focusing on food were carried out within the field of sociology, history, ethnography and most importantly anthropology. These important works enriched the field of food history. The studies in anthropology drew attention to commensality as a topic. Inspired by Barthes' emphasis on the symbolic meanings of food, Jean-Louis Flandrin, later generation Annalist, was interested in the psychosociology of food rather than its quantitative and scientific qualities (Claflin, 2012). As the topics diversified, so did the sources and methods: by using cookbooks, culinary and medical texts, Flandrin inspired many other scholars in terms of new sources and research methods (Watts, 2012). Cultural history made itself accepted as a research pursuit among the academic field and the cultural codes laying behind food consumption practices made an appearance as valuable topics. Differently from anthropology, the cultural history of food, urges to explain the role of food in transformations in cultural history. The tools, practices, rites, ideologies, and traditions inherited during the “quest for food”, can be considered as the subject of this field (Valenze, 2013). Taste preferences, the relationship between these food choices, social identity and fashion emerged as the new topics in academic pursuit. It would not be wrong to say that

Flandrin's approach focusing on cultural diversity of foodways for the first time, can be considered as a turning point in history as a discipline.

In conclusion, although the fact that "quest for food" shaped the course of broad social history seems wide-open and without dispute to us today, the acknowledgement of food-related topics within the academic field of history underwent a multi-layered process. The role played by *Annales* historians in this process is undeniable. Albeit with an economic or political perspective, and quantitative methods, food-related issues in everyday life gained a value as topics among the historians. Beginning from research topics such as food production and supply, hunger crises, caloric intakes of societies, academic interest shifted to topics such as food choices of societies, food as an indicator of social status etc. Influenced by anthropological studies, food culture has taken its place as a subject in historical studies.

1.3 Ottoman Food Studies

Annales's innovative perspective, in terms of both topics and methodologies, created a tremendous impression among the scholars not only in Europe but also in Türkiye. In the 1950's, the production and supply system of the foods, especially of the staple ones, became recognizable subjects among Ottoman economic historians, as food supply to the capital Istanbul was one of the most important concerns in the administration of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, Ottoman treasury and tax records constitute the primary sources for these studies with economic concerns mainly focused on food prices. Lütü Güçer's article¹, dated 1940-50, focusing on the supply of grains to Istanbul in the mid-eighteenth-century, was the first study centered around the food and led the way for

¹18. *Yüzyıl Ortalarında İstanbul'un İaşesi İçin Lüzumlu Hububatın Temini Meselesi* (The Issue of Supplying Necessary Grains for the Sustenance of Istanbul in the Mid-18th Century).

many others. Production of rice, flour and types of bread, cereal and meat supplies to Istanbul took their places among the valued research topics (Samancı, 2012). In 1962, French turcologist Robert Mantran published one of the first examples of socio-economic studies of Ottoman history. Inspired by the *Annales*' methods, his article² written in French, examines the available products in Istanbul's markets of the late sixteenth century (Samancı, 2012). Suraiya Faroqhi's article³, published in English in 1984, takes the work one step further and focuses on Anatolian towns from social and economic perspectives between the years 1520-1650 (Samancı, 2012). It is important to underline that these studies focusing on production and supply systems of the Ottoman empire do not present information on the consumption patterns and cultural aspects of the food (Samancı, 2012).

In 1963, Ottoman economic historian Ömer Lütfi Barkan's work⁴ on accounting balance sheets of the Ottoman palace kitchen, appears as one of the most important primary sources that shed light on the food products consumed in the Ottoman palace kitchen, for the scholars. Mübahat Küçükoglu's examination⁵ of the Ottoman Istanbul *narh* book of 1640, in which the state-fixed prices of the foods demanded in the market were recorded, the studies that constituted the primary source for Ottoman food studies began to diversify (Samancı, 2012).

Along with these Ottoman economic historical studies dealing with food, simultaneously, in the framework of folklore and turcology studies, Ottoman foodways came in as a valuable topic. In 1948, medical historian Süheyl Ünver published a book

² *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle. Essai d'histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale* (Istanbul in the second half of the 17th century. Institutional, economic and social history essay).

³ *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting 1520-1650*.

⁴ *Saray Mutfağının 894-895 (1489-1490) Yıllarına Ait Muhasebe Bilançoları* (Accounting Balance Sheets of the Palace Kitchen for the Years 894-895 (1489-1490)).

⁵ *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (The Administration of Narh in the Ottomans and the Narh Book of 1640).

called *Tarihte 50 Türk Yemeği* (50 Turkish Dishes in History) with recipes taken from an 18th century manuscript. Followed by this book, about which more information will be provided while detailing the studies of Turkology, Ünver published his second book⁶ about 15th century Ottoman recipes, in 1952 by resourcing the Ömer Lütfi Barkan's works (Samancı, 2012). In 1976, non-professional historian Burhan Oğuz published a book series⁷ about Turkish culture, that provides important information about Turkish food culture (Samancı, 2012). In 1978, Central Asian Turkish historian Bahaddin Ögel, published his book⁸ on the foodways of Central Asian Turks (Samancı, 2012).

It would not be wrong to say that with the increasing importance given to tourism studies, Turkish cuisine studies have also gained momentum. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism National Folklore Research Department⁹ organized two important symposiums in 1981¹⁰ and 1984¹¹, in which subjects such as Ottoman mealtimes, the relationship between medicine and food in Ottoman cuisine were covered for the first time. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism also supported non-professional researcher Feyzi Halıcı, in his five symposiums that occurred between 1985-1994. With the participation of foreign scholars, cuisines of regions that used to be in the Ottoman Empire territory, interaction between these regions, the origins of some specific food items appeared as the new topics within the field. As the topics diversified, so did the sources (Samancı, 2012).

As aforementioned, besides from the Ottoman economic historical studies and folklore studies, Turkology studies have great significance for the Ottoman food

⁶ *Fatih Devri Yemekleri* (Dishes of Fatih Era)

⁷ *Türkiye Halkının Kültür Kökenleri* (The Cultural Origins of the Turkish people)

⁸ *Türk Kültür Tarihine Giriş* (Cilt: 4) *Türklerde Yemek Kültürü* (Göktürklerden Osmanlılara) (Introduction To Turkish Culture History (Volume: 4) Food Culture in Turks (From Göktürks to Ottomans)).

⁹ *Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Milli Folklor Araştırma Dairesi*.

¹⁰ *Türk Mutfağı* (Turkish Cuisine).

¹¹ *Geleneksel Türk Tatlıları* (Traditional Turkish Desserts).

historiography. Transliteration of Ottoman cookery manuscripts and cookbooks written in Arabic alphabet into contemporary Turkish and Latin alphabet provided many valuable primary sources to the scholars. In 1984, Turkish literature researcher Günay Kut wrote an article¹² about an Ottoman Turkish cookery manuscript which is the translation of an Arabic cookery manuscript *Kitâbü't-Tabîh* written in 1226 by Baghdadi, and also the main source of this study. It would not be wrong to say that 1985 is a fertile year for Ottoman cuisine studies. Firstly, Nejat Sefercelioğlu transliterated a cookery manuscript¹³, about which further information will be given in the following section, of the 18th century, consisting of 129 recipes. A detailed work¹⁴ which is still used as a valuable source to today, was done by Turkish-Ottoman cultural researcher Turgut Kut within the same year. Kut, listed Ottoman cookery manuscripts and cookbooks, and cookbooks written in Armenian and published in Istanbul. In 1986, Günay Kut transliterated an Ottoman Turkish desserts manuscript written in 1828¹⁵. Kut also got down to working on a list of food served during the circumcision feast of Suleiman the Magnificent's sons Cihangir and Bâyezid, held in 1539. Later on, the list¹⁶ was published by Semih Tezcan in 1998 (Samancı, 2012). Cookery manuscripts and cookbooks play significant roles for the food studies as primary sources. Due to the fact that the main source of this study is also a cookery manuscript, a detailed section dedicated to Ottoman cookery manuscripts and cookbooks is given also in this chapter.

Since the 1990s, food has become a popular topic both for the academic environment and popular media. Suraiya Faroqhi's *Kultur und Alltag im Osmanischen*

¹² 13. Yüzyıla Ait Bir Yemek Kitabı (A 13th Century Cookbook).

¹³ Türk Yemekleri XVIII'a Ait Bir Yemek Risâlesi (Turkish Dishes A Cookery Booklet of XVII Century).

¹⁴ Açıklamalı Yemek Kitapları Bibliyografyası (Annotated Bibliography of Cookbooks).

¹⁵ Et-Terkibât fi Tabhi'l-Hulviyyât (Dessert Cooking Recipes).

¹⁶ Bir Ziyafet Defteri (A Banquet Book).

Reich (Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire) published in German in 1995, includes details about Ottoman foodways. One of the first valuable books on Turkish foodways is *Timeless Tastes: Turkish Culinary Culture* published in 1996, and later on translated into English, French and German. In 1999, Tuğrul Şavkay published a book titled *Ottoman Cuisine* in which there are also sections examining the changes that occurred in Turkish culinary culture from Central Asia to contemporary Turkey. In 1999, French Turkolog François Georgeon and Helene Desmet Gregoire, published a book¹⁷ on an Ottoman phenomenon, coffee houses and coffee culture, with another important book is *Hünkâr Beğendi 700 Years of Culinary Culture*, sponsored by Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism was published in 2000 to celebrate the 700th anniversary of the foundation of the Ottoman State (Samancı, 2020). Arif Bilgin's doctoral dissertation dated 2000¹⁸, is the first study presenting the Ottoman imperial kitchen organization. In his study Bilgin analyzes basically archival sources belonging to the years between 1489-1650 and he presents detailed information on the Ottoman imperial kitchen organization and its consumption patterns of the time (Samancı, 2012). Another significant work published in 2000 is Sula Bozis's book¹⁹ on the culinary cultures of Rum living in İstanbul. Gerry Oberling and Grace Martin Smith, in their *Osmanlı Sarayında Yemek Kültürü* (The Food Culture of The Ottoman Palace) published in 2001 by Turkish Ministry of Culture, propounds Ottoman foodways from 15th to 19th centuries, by using secondary literature and Ottoman traveler's accounts (Samancı, 2012).

¹⁷ *Doğu'da Kahve ve Kahvehaneler* (Coffee and Coffee Houses in East).

¹⁸ *Osmanlı Sarayının İâşesi (1489-1650)* (Subsistence of the Ottoman Palace (1489-1650)).

¹⁹ *İstanbul Lezzeti: İstanbullu Rumların Mutfak Kültürü* (Taste of Istanbul: Culinary Culture of Istanbulite Greeks).

In 2002, Stéphane Yerasimos published a book²⁰ analyzing Ottoman palace cuisine of the 15th and 16th centuries (Yerasimos, 2002). In the same year, Marianna Yerasimos published *500 Years of Ottoman Cuisine* referencing many new and diverse sources (Samancı, 2020). *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture* published in 2003, gathers fourteenth articles on food, drink and housing. Within the book, in her article *The Chickens of Paradise*, Hedda Reindl-Kiel analyzes the social status expressed over the meals served to different status during the imperial council in the Topkapı Palace in the 17th century. Another important article within the book is Christoph Neumann's *Spices in the Ottoman Palace: Courtly Cookery in the Eighteenth Century*. Neumann endeavors to shed light on spice consumption in Ottoman Palace Cuisine in the 18th century by analyzing registers of expenditures in the Ottoman archives (Faroghi & Neumann, 2003). In 2005, the first issue of a semi-academic journal *Yemek ve Kültür* (Food and Culture) was published, and still derives significant articles to the readers.

Another edited volume published in 2008 with the support of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism is *Turkish Cuisine* which brings together many important scholars studying Turkish food culture. Within the book edited by Özge Samancı and Arif Bilgin, many articles related to food are examined. In *Food as Medicine*, Nil Sarı underlines the very close relationship between food and medicine in Ottoman medicine. Sarı's work shows the great importance given to the therapeutic effects of foods for the prevention and the treatment of diseases. Nuran Yıldırım takes the work one step further in her

²⁰ *Sultan Sofraları: 15. ve 16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Saray Mutfacı* (Sultans' Tables: Ottoman Palace Cuisine in the 15th and 16th Centuries).

article²¹ in the same book, and offers a match of the diseases and the foods that are good for them. The book presents significant works on diverse subjects (Samancı, 2012).

Ottoman-Turkish food culture historian Özge Samancı, in her doctoral dissertation dated 2009²² and written in French, confers valuable study on the foodways of the nineteenth century Ottoman elites in Istanbul (Samancı, 2012). Sociologist Zafer Yenil, studies food consumption practices in Turkey through politic-economic and cultural aspects (Samancı, 2012). Tülay Artan, studied the status of dishes through differences between the palace and public foodways (Samancı, 2012).

In 2011, Amy Singer edited a volume²³ presenting many articles on Ottoman food culture. Within the volume, one of the most significant articles is Amy Singer's "*The Michelin Guide*" to *Public Kitchens in the Ottoman Empire* analyzing the menus of Anatolian *imarets* which were sort of public kitchens serving common people. In 2017, Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan examined the hierarchical codes expressed over the food which were served in the circumcision festival held in Istanbul in 1720 during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III (İşkorkutan, 2017). Today, food is now studied by academics from many different perspectives.

1.4 Ottoman Cookbooks

The first known Ottoman cookery manuscript was written by Shirvani (*Muhammad bin Mahmûd Shirvanî*) in the 15th century. The manuscript which is also the source of this study, is actually the Ottoman Turkish translation of the Arabic cookery manuscript *Kitâbü't-Tabîh* (Cookbook) written by Baghdadi (*Muhammad bin al-Hasan*

²¹ Soups, Main Dishes and Desserts Recommended to Sick People.

²² *La Cuisine d'Istanbul au xixe siècle* (The Cuisine of Istanbul in the 19th century).

²³ Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History.

bin Muhammad bin al-Karîm al-Kâtib al-Baghdadî) in 1226. The manuscript which was first discovered by Günay Kut has been transliterated into contemporary Turkish by Mustafa Argunşah and Müjgan Çakır in 2015 under the title *15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mutfağı* (15th Century Ottoman Cuisine) (Argunşah & Çakır, 2015). More than eighty recipes added by Shirvani during translation are very important as they reflect directly the taste of the time.

Unfortunately, any cookery manuscript belonging to the 16th or 17th centuries has not been found yet. However, two cooking manuscripts of the 18th century are present. Süheyl Ünver's *Tarihte 50 Türk Yemeği* (50 Turkish Dishes in History) published in 1948 includes firstly the recipes of one of these 18th century cookery manuscripts. Ünver mentions that this manuscript, consisting of 200 recipes, was given to him by Raif Yelkenci. In his second book about the dishes during the time of Fatih the Conqueror (*Fatih Devri Yemekleri*) published in 1952, Ünver stated that Raif Yelkenci had also a second copy of this same cookery manuscript (Özen, M. E., 2015). The so-called manuscript known as *Ağdiye Risalesi* was finally transliterated by Mine Esiner Özen in 2015. The copy she found at Mustafa Yeşil Library in Kütahya, has 200 recipes including side notes. Comparing the cookery manuscript that Ünver used for his book, Özen stated the few differences between two copies in the epilogue (Özen, 2015). Yet, the author of the cookery manuscript and the date of writing are still in discussion. Considering Süheyl Ünver's opinion on the author, from her own observations, Özen proposed that the cookery manuscript was written by an elite person whose circle shared recipes with each other, between 1775-1778. Özen claims that the author, who also presented the names of dishes and ingredients that varied according to many regions, is Dürrizade Nurullah Efendi (Özen, M. E., 2015). Nevertheless, the recipes written within the framework of

medicine are also featured in 19th century cookbooks (Samancı, 2020). In 1985, Nejat Sefercioğlu published the transliteration of another 18th century cooking manuscript under the title of *Türk Yemekleri 18. Yüzyıla ait Bir Yemek Risâlesi* (Turkish Dishes, A Cooking Manuscript of the 18th Century). This manuscript also has lots of common recipes with the Ağdiye manuscript.

When it comes to the 19th century Ottoman cuisine studies, primary sources show an increase. In his study *Açıklamalı Yemek Kitapları Bibliyografyası* (Annotated Bibliography of Cookbooks), Turgut Kut identified over forty Turkish cookbooks written in Arabic letters between 1844 and 1927 (Samancı,2020). *Et-Terkîbât fî Tabhi'l-Hulviyyât* (Dessert Cooking Recipes), manuscript presenting the desserts cooked in the city known as Yenişehir Feneri during Ottoman Empire period, and today located in Greece and known as Larissa, written in 1828 was transliterated by Günay Kut in 1986 (Samancı, 2020). *Melceü't-Tabbâhîn* (Cooks' Shelter) was written in 1844 by Mehmet Kâmil, in an attempt to revive old recipes forgotten and misapplied by the chefs of that period in İstanbul. The cookbook with 273 recipes became a reference for the other cookbooks published within the century (Samancı, 2020). Moreover, in 1864, it was also translated into English by Tûrabi Efendi in London, with the title *A Manual of Turkish Cookery*. Another Ottoman cookbook belonging to the 19th century, is *Ali Eşref Dede'nin Yemek Risalesi* (Ali Eşref Dede's Cookbook) written in 1856-1857 by Ali Eşref Dede who was sheikh of a sufi lodge in Edirne. It would not be wrong to say that the manuscript which was written in Arabic letters and later on transliterated into the Latin alphabet by Feyzi Halıcı in 1992, is a significant resource for the scholars studying mevlevi cuisine.

Yeni Yemek Kitabı (New Cookbook) which was written in 1880, presents the recipes cooked in Istanbulite elite cuisines. Even the identity of the author is still not

known, in the preface, the author states that the purpose of writing the book was to show the changes occurred in Istanbul cuisine between the years 1850-1880 (Samancı, 2020). Later on, the cookbook was republished by Muammer Mihri in 1924, and then transliterated into contemporary Turkish by Özge Samancı in 2017. *Ev Kadını* (Housewife) which was written in 1883 by Ayşe Fahriye aiming to inform housewives of kitchen and cellar organizations, food serving styles, and cooking techniques, consists of 887 recipes. The cookbook was transliterated by Turgut Kut in 2018 (Kut, 2018). The recipes within the cookbooks have similar characteristics with *Melceü't-Tabbâhîn* (Samancı, 2020).

Aşçıbaşı (The Chef) written in 1900, shed lights on not only İstanbul cuisine but also Anatolian cuisine of the period, as the author Mahmud Nedim Bin Tosun was a soldier and he added the recipes that he encountered during his military service. The cookbook written in order to provide necessary information on cooking for the soldier, was transliterated in contemporary Turkish by Priscilla Mary Işın in 1998 (Işın, 1998).

Mükemmel ve Mufasssal Aş Ustası (The Perfect and Detailed Cooking Expert) was written by Ulviye Nuriye Mevlan Civelek who was a woman educated at the palace, in 1918. The first section of the book gives information about the relationship between food products and body temperaments, and classifies them according to their digestion degrees. The work showing the continuity of the close relationship of food and medicine in the early 20th century, was transliterated into Latin alphabet by Zuhal Kültüral and Aylin Koç in 2019 (Koç & Kültüral, 2019). *Aşçı Mektebi* (Cooking School) written in 1920 by Ahmet Şevket after consulting top chefs of the time in İstanbul, presents many recipes from French cuisine (Samancı, 2020). Mehmet Reşad's *Fenn-i Tabâhat* (The Science of Cooking) is more like an encyclopedic work giving information on

ingredients, food presentation and kitchen utensils. The book, published in four volumes between the years 1921 and 1923, later on republished as a whole in 1924 (Işın, 2018). Priscilla Mary Işın transcribed the book in 2018. *Evde Aşçı Kadın Yahut Mükemmel Yemek Kitabı* (The Home Woman Chef or The Perfect Cookbook) written by Aşçıbaşı Tosun in 1921 and then republished in 1927, has not been transliterated yet.

Although, in this section it is aimed to shedding light on the transliterated cookbooks within the framework of Turkology studies, such a section dedicated to Ottoman cookbooks requires an insight into cookbooks written in other vernacular languages in Ottoman İstanbul. Regarding the multi ethnic structure of the Ottoman Empire, it is not surprising to see that there are cookbooks published in Armenian or in Turkish but in an Armenian alphabet. Cookbooks written in Ottoman Turkish with the Armenian alphabet are *Yeni Yemek Kitabı ve Hamur İşleri (Şimdiki Usuller ve Meşhur Aşçıların Kullandıkları Tertipler Üzerine)* (New Cookbook and Pastries (On Current Methods and the Recipes Used by Famous Cooks)) written in 1871, *Müfta-ül Tabbahin* (The Key of Chefs) written in 1876, *Yeni Yemek Kitabı: Alaturka ve Alafranga* (New Cookbook: Turkish and European Style) written in 1907 by Ohan Aşçıyan who was a chef and publisher. *Nor Khoharar* (New Cook) written by Boğos Piranyan who was a cook who served at Merzifon American College from 1896 to 1915, was first published in 1914 in Merzifon. The cookbook originally released in Armenian alphabet, was translated into Turkish by Takuhi Tovmasyan under the title *Aşçının Kitabı* (The Book of The Chef) in Istanbul, in 2008 (Tovmasyan, 2008).

2. SPICES IN HISTORY

In the first instant, the fact that spices played an important role in the course of world history will seem startling to those who are not familiar with food history. Indeed, as the most desired items of ancient and medieval Europe, spices, mostly black pepper, were the keystones of intercontinental trade (Dalby, 2004; Freedman, 2020; Schivelbusch, 2012). In the Middle Ages, the desire for spices in Europe became so great that this resulted in the search for a sea route to India where the source of spices, and the discovery of the New World during this search (Flandrin, 1999a; Dalby, 2004; Schivelbusch, 2012). Aside from the results of European colonization of the Americas on world history, its consequences in food history are very explicit to those who are familiar with the subject.

In order to give a clear insight to the role of the spices in food history, it is important to define the spices and understand their part in world history. Spices, which also includes perfumes, medicinal extracts and colorants rather than food condiments, are nonperishable aromatics produced from bark, fruit, resins and roots by various methods. Different from herbs, spices were not able to be found domestically in Europe with few exceptions like coriander, cumin, saffron, and sold at high prices in small quantities (Freedman, 2020). It would not be wrong to say that imperishability and quantity-price ratio figured in the definition of spices, as a result of their intercontinental journey from where spices were produced to where they were consumed.

Spices, for which demand was at its peak in medieval Europe, were being delivered to Egypt and Syria by Arab traders from the Malacca Islands and India, later on brought to Europe by Venetian merchants by ships. In the face of increasing spice demand in Europe, this sort of a supply route became inadequate at some point, moreover, the

dominance of the Mamluks in Egypt and the Turks in Anatolia gave rise to increased customs duties in trade meanwhile. Due to all these factors, the price of black pepper rose greatly in the 15th century, but despite this increase, the desire for black pepper did not decrease (Schivelbusch, 2012). This situation led European authorities to seek a new direct sea route to India, and overcome the Venetian and Arab dominance in the spice trade. With this motivation Vasco da Gama, found a new sea route to India and handed on the spice trade to the Portuguese. Meanwhile, Christopher Columbus discovered the New World and caused an important turning point in world history. (Dalby, 2004; Schivelbusch, 2012). So, what were the underlying reasons for the desire for spices that have had such a significant impact on world history? One would consider the reason behind this passion for spices from two different perspectives. The first is the significant role of spices in ancient and medieval medicine, the second is the socio-cultural codes underlying spice consumption in the period.

2.1 Spice as Medicine

Until the emergence of modern medicine towards the late 18th century, the Humoral Theory has had a great impact on medical practices. Humoral medical understanding traces back to a fifth-century BC Hippocratic treatise called *The Nature of Man*, which is attributed to Polybus, the successor and son-in-law of Hippocrates. According to this medical understanding, the human body consists of four types of humors which are blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. While healthiness signifies having these humors in balance, morbidity is regarded as a result of an imbalance between them. In the framework of the humoral theory, human nature and these four humors are categorized similarly to four seasons. Blood and spring are categorized as hot and wet; yellow bile and summer as hot and dry; black bile and autumn as cold and dry; phlegm

and winter as cold and wet. Each humor dominates the human body during the season with which it has similar characteristics. Human nature, the four seasons of the year, the four elements of the universe, dietary effects of foods are also categorized in accordance with their hotness, wetness, dryness and coldness, according to Graeco-Roman medical understandings derived from the framework of this theory. Moreover, age and even gender were also considered as significant factors on the predominance of these four humors in the human body and on determining the characteristics of body type by physicians who adopted this medical understanding. Therefore, in order to maintain the humoral balance, physicians must take all of these factors into consideration. It would not be wrong to say that historians of medicine are of the same opinion that the basis of such medical understanding lies in the aim of maintaining well-being rather than treating diseases (Jouanna 2004/2012; 2008/2012; Mazzini, 1999).

In a medical perspective according to which maintaining good health comes to the fore, medical treatments would shape in a much more comprehensive framework. More comprehensively than their current significations, in ancient world the words *diaita* (diet) and *regimen* (regime) actually cover a lifestyle that includes dwellings, bathings and sexual relationships, along with the food related practices such as qualities of food, the ways the foods are consumed and number of daily meals. Graeco-Roman physicians prescribed such personalized ways of living not only to sick patients, to those who wanted to maintain their health as well. Such a treatment is based on protecting health which was believed to be a state of balance of four humors in the body, with customized nutrition, rather than curing diseases with medicine (Dalby, 2004; Jouanna 2004/2012; 2008/2012; Mazzini, 1999).

As aforementioned, like four humors, dietary effects of foods are categorized as hot, wet, dry and cold. And to prevent an imbalance of four humors within the body, one should consume foods which have opposite characteristics to those of the dominant humor. Physicians should also take into account the characteristics of the seasons when prescribing a *regimen*. Apart from the balancing feature attributed to dietary effects of foodstuff, spices are considered as having more powerful effects, therefore, they were highly desirable items for daily consumption as well as being used in medicine in Graeco-Roman medicine (Jouanna 2004/2012; 2008/2012; Mazzini, 1999). However, while explaining the desire for spices in ancient and medieval Europe, it would be inadequate to explain the driving forces underlying this desire only in their significant role attributed by Graeco-Roman physicians, and one should understand the indications of spice consumption within the socio-cultural context of Graeco-Roman societies.

2.2 Spices as Luxury Items

Until the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama discovered a direct sea route to India by passing around Africa in the 15th century, spices were transported to Syria and Egypt by Arab merchants and from there to Europe by Venetian merchants (Dalby, 2004; Freedman, 2020; Schivelbusch, 2012). Such a supply chain having a long distance and multiple stages from the sources to the consumers, caused false representation of the facts about spice sources in the perception of Medieval Europeans. These exotic and distant places where spices came from were mystical and magical for ancient and medieval Europeans. Like today's adventure stories in children's storybooks, many surreal stories about India, which was famous as the place where spices were abundant, telling the surreal difficulties faced by merchants on the way to access spices were widely circulated (Freedman, 2020; Schivelbusch, 2012). Not only the difficulty of the journey, but also

the ravishing smells of spices played an important role in building this surrealistic perception of India. In the medieval depictions of heaven, spice smells were often referred to and heaven was even depicted in the East. Due to their high prices and mysticism, spice consumption became a status symbol in Medieval Europe. Served in gold or silver multi-compartment spice plates during the courses, spices were also used to flavor wines. Moreover, not only used in cooking or medicine, they were considered as luxury gifts for elites and as luxury items for the collectors (Schivelbusch, 2012). As a result, the desire for spices in ancient and medieval Europe is related not only to the therapeutic effects of spices but also to the significance of spice consumption as a status symbol. On the other hand, there is a sketchy thought linking the excessive desire for spice of ancient and medieval Europeans with the food preservation and suppression of rotten food flavors. Regarding the fact that salt only has always been enough for preserving foodstuff and that elites were the ones to be able to consume spices, and they would have not consumed rotten things, these sort of an opinion sound factual to food historians (Flandrin, 1999a; Dalby, 2004; Freedman, 2020; Schivelbusch, 2012).

2.3 Spices in Food History

Spices, which are thought to have sharper and stronger effects than foodstuffs within the framework of the medical understanding of the period, were objects of desire due to their therapeutic effects in both ancient and medieval Europe. In his *History of Spices*, Paul Freedman examines the periodic changes occurring in the spice consumption in Europe and North America, with a gastronomical perspective. In order to propound the differences between the taste preferences of both Ancient and Middle Ages through their favored spices, Freedman uses ancient Greek manuscripts containing food-related topics, *Apicius de re coquinaria* attributed 1st century Roman gastronome Apicius, and medieval

cookbooks as references. Although the use of spices was very favored in both periods, the variety of spices used in the recipes shows a difference. During the periods of Ancient Greece and Republican Rome, pepper and silphium were the most desired spices. The wild shrub silphium grew in today's Libya, extended around the 500th century due to its popularity, its extensive use and the cultivation of the region. According to Roman sources, the taste of silphium was similar to an Indian spice named asafoetida which has a sharp, sour and strong taste. In addition, the pepper and silphium, strong herbs like rue, thyme and myrtle were used as condiments during the time period. During the Roman Empire, while pepper remained its popularity it is also seen the usages of ginger, coriander and cumin as well (Freedman, 2020).

During the Middle Ages, demand for spices reached its peak in Europe, and as the amount and diversity of spice consumption became a symbol of status. Spices such as Indian long pepper or African malagueta (grains of paradise), and galangal which are not even known today, were in demand in the time period. Ginger was also one of the most supplied spices along with sugar, cinnamon and pepper. According to Freedman's findings, in the most popular medieval cookbook *Le Viandier*, it is stated that cooks should have nutmeg, cassia, cloves, cinnamon, black pepper, saffron, mastic, grains of paradise, ginger and long pepper while cooking. Cubeb, cardamom and zedoary were the other spices used in the recipes of the cookbook (Freedman, 2020).

The desire for the spices of the medieval Europeans changed the course of history as stated. Colonization of the Americas introduced new spices such as allspice and chili pepper varieties to the Old World. Chili pepper was widely adopted in India, Indochina, and Africa rather than in Europe. After the 17th century, desire for spices decreased due to the French Culinary Revolution, a culinary aspect where highlighting the natural

flavors of dishes takes the center stage. The taste preferences of the medieval times were disdained as arabic and childish due the use of sugar in meat by modern perspective. Sugar and sweet spices such as cinnamon, cloves and nutmeg which were used in meat, fowl and fish recipes during the medieval period are now used mostly in desserts in modern cuisine. Popular spices of medieval cuisine such as zedoary, long pepper and galangal disappeared in the modern recipes. It is worth mentioning that the domination of French cuisine on the modern European cuisine was not that sudden, and use of spices continued in other parts of Europe while decreasing gradually. Another reason for the decrease of the desire for spices occurred in 19th and 20th century Europe might be the introduction of new items such as coffee and tea from Asia and Africa, and chocolate and tobacco from the Americas (Freedman, 2020). It is an undeniable fact that these new, popular products had an impact on the spice's fall from grace.

3. OTTOMAN CUISINE IN THE 15TH CENTURY

3.1 Ottoman Palace Cuisine

For the historians studying Ottoman Cuisine, the 15th century is the period when the Ottoman palace cuisine was at its peak in terms of organization. Even the table manners in the Ottoman Palace were regulated by laws. According to the laws, the Ottoman Sultan could sit at the same table only with his family members. Moreover, seating arrangements of the members of the council were also determined according to their ranks. People of the Ottoman Palace ate only two meals a day, which were kept quite short and modest, and everyone ate from a single plate in the middle. Despite the shortness and modestness of the meals, it is worth noting that the meals served on the Ottoman tables were really balanced. Islamic medicine, which is dominated by the humoral theory which is based on the principles of Greco-Roman medicine, advocates a balanced diet to be healthy. In the Ottoman Palace kitchen, the knowledge on the recipes recommended by the principles of Islamic medicine was important for the cooks, and there was also a chef specialized in diet meals (Bilgin, 2008).

It can be said that all kinds of plant and animal food products produced within the borders of the Ottoman Empire were being consumed in the palace. Meat, rice, butter and wheat were the food products which were most consumed in the 15th century palace cuisine. On the Ottoman palace tables, the trilogy of meat dishes, soup and rice were very favored. According to the findings of food historian Arif Bilgin, while the people of Ottoman palace were very fond of mutton, in the records veal was used only in making *pastırma* and *sucuk*, which are two different types of dried meat. Mutton was often consumed as stews and kebabs, but also added to soups and vegetable dishes. Chicken was also consumed widely in the Ottoman palace, although not as much as mutton. It

would be more accurate to say that mostly the Ottoman Palace elites were able to eat fowls such as pigeons, geese and ducks. Chicken and duck were preferred to consume as split roasted. Fondness for offal in the Ottoman Palace, can be considered as the heritage of the Central Asian Turks' foodway. Although the fish consumption of the palace is limited, seafood such as caviar, oysters and shrimp were frequently encountered in the palace kitchen registers. However, the possibility of the fact that fish could be freshly purchased from fishermen and that the buying of the fishes were not included in the registers must be underlined. Although meat dishes were more common, vegetable dishes were also consumed in the Ottoman Palace. Clarified butter was the most commonly used type of fat within the recipes, and the juices of various fruits, vinegar and honey were used in stews as condiments (Bilgin, 2008).

Desserts, pickles, drinks and medicines were produced in the section of the palace kitchen called the *helvahâne*. Among the desserts, *baklava* and *kadayıf* were the two most loved pastry desserts, however, they were either prepared for the upper class of the palace or served to everyone on special occasions. Another favored desert *zerde* prepared with rice, sugar and starch, was more accessible for everyone in the palace. Many varieties of *halva*, which has a cultural significance for Ottoman food culture, were prepared in *helvahâne*. Any pudding-like recipe containing rice flour, sugar and milk, such as *sütlaç*, *tavukgöğsü* and *kazandibi*, was generally called *muhallebi*. The names *pelte*, *palüze* and *muhallebi* are also mentioned in the records. Jams were made from almost every food item in the palace kitchen, including eggplant, walnuts, watermelon, melon and zucchini. Types of *rub* and *murabbâ* which are marmalades with a ticker texture were also prepared from various fruits. Afterwards, these *rubs* and *murabbâs* were dried in the sun and *pestils* with a gummy-like consistency were obtained. Many pickle varieties were also consumed

in the Ottoman palace. While *boza*, varieties of *şerbet*, *hoşaf*s and coffee were the beverages consumed by the palace people, alcoholic beverage consumption is not recorded. As aforementioned, there was a strong relationship between food and medicine in Islamic medicine, therefore, it would not be surprising that medicines were produced also in *helvahâne*. *Macuns* in syrup and pill form, prepared to strengthen the body, were produced here with various spices (Bilgin, 2008).

In addition to Arif Bilgin's doctoral thesis, another important study about the 15th century Ottoman cuisine belongs to Stefanos Yerasimos, the ottoman historian. In his book *Sultan Sofraları: 15. ve 16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Saray Mutfacı* (Sultan's Tables: Ottoman Palace Cuisine in the 15th and 16th Centuries), he examines the rich and diverse foodways of the 15th and 16th century Ottoman Empire and focuses on the dishes cooked for the sultans in the Ottoman Palace, as well as the dishes which were served during the banquets organized for the circumcision of Ottoman princes, and the meals served to the public in *imarets* which were Ottoman public kitchens established by the elite to feed the people in need. The book also provides the social, cultural and historical context of the dishes (Yerasimos, 2002).

In the introduction Yerasimos emphasizes the important sources such as kitchen accounting books presenting the food items purchased for the palace kitchens; *narh* books listing all kinds of ingredients sold in the market; *ihtisab* laws that give the prices of the materials sold in cities such as Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne, *tereke* books showing the assets of deceased tradesmen, *imaret* records which shows the food served to the poor, and documents that shed light on the foods served at circumcision celebrations, also underlines the lack of recipes of these dishes above mentioned sources. Yerasimos also mentions the importance of the 15th century cookery manuscript which was transliterated

in t Turkish from Arabic script by Shirvani (*Muhammad bin Mahmûd Shirvanî*) which is also the source of this thesis. One of the most important findings of Yerasimos is that the dishes mentioned in the imperial kitchen account registers were also mentioned in Shirvani's manuscript. The detailed information about the book will be given in the following parts yet it would not be an exaggeration to say that the fact that the recipes in the cookery manuscript, which provides the most detailed information about the foodways of the period, were actually cooked in the palace, increases the value of the sources for the researchers as well as this thesis. According to the findings of Yerasimos, some of the recipes both translated or added by Shirvani, are also mentioned in the medical manuscript describing foods categorized as suitable to four seasons, in a 16th century document listing the daily meals of the palace, and in the registration of a circumcision dated of 1539. Yerasimos also cooks these recipes and adapts them to today (Yerasimos, 2002).

Based on Yerasimos's work, it would not be wrong to say that the trilogy of rice-sugar-fat dominated Ottoman cuisine, as Bilgin also emphasized. It is worth underlining the love of sugar in the 15th century Ottoman cuisine as there also exists dissenting information from the 14th century that the Turks hated sugar. Yerasimos mentions that the Arab traveler Ibn Battuta wrote that they considered sweet food shameful and hated sugary things, after his visit to the Turkish and Mongol tribes in the 1330s. On the other hand, when it comes to the 15h century, the fondness for recipes sweetened with honey or sugar, is evident based on both Shirvani's recipes and Ottoman Palace sources of the period (Yerasimos, 2002). Regarding the fat sort of ingredients, tallow, tail fat and butter were the most commonly used varieties. Olive oil appears very rarely in the records and was most likely used for lamps (Yerasimos, 2002). According to Yerasimos, the

widespread consumption of pilaf, which is basically a rice dish cooked with clarified butter, in both the Ottomans and Iran, dates back to the 15th and 16th centuries. While bread was the main food source of the people, rice appealed more to the elite (Yerasimos, 2022).

Some of the most important sources analyzed by Yerasimos are the personal kitchen expenses of the Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror. For example; among the food supplied to the sultan's kitchen in August 1471, nearly 14.5 kilos of caviar were bought during 4 days. In addition, seafoods such as cod, fish roe and dried fish were also included in the purchasing lists. In December 1473 and January 1474, shrimps and oysters, along with various fish, were also present in the orders placed for the sultan. These purchases of seafood would disappear in the following centuries in the Ottoman palace. (Yerasimos, 2022).

One of the sources that sheds detailed light on the eating habits of Mehmed the Second, is a document that dates back from June 11 to July 9, 1469. The names of the dishes served to the sultan two times in a day, in the morning and at the sunset, are listed. According to Yerasimos, the meals served at the sunset indicate a special sort of a regime for the sultan as the food served had a similar order (Yerasimos, 2022). This would not sound so surprising, considering that Islamic medicine was based on the humoral theory emphasizing the close relationship between food and medicine. The dishes served in the mornings are much more diverse and plentiful than the dishes served at the sunsets as they are simpler and more same. A porridge prepared with eggs, *manti*, bulgur with chestnut (*kestaneli bulgur pilavi*), *muhallebi* prepared with seven pairs of chicken breasts, *mutancana*, a lamb stew prepared with onions and dried fruits, fish prepared with onion and garlic, *kabuni* pilaf prepared with chickpeas and onions, *burani*, a lamb stew cooked

with yoghurt and chard, *lalengede*, chicken *kalye*, roasted chicken with eggs and onions, *börek* prepared with chicken and eggs, *tabe-biryan* which is a kind of kebab eaten with flatbread, yoghurt and onions, *salma* and *çeçeleme* made with cheese, milk and guard, *landuy* or *zerenduli*, which were cooked with sheep's feet and turnips, fried eggplant with egg and yoghurt, *mastave* with chard and yoghurt, *eriştes* prepared with milk, *zülbiye* and *memuniyye* are the listed dishes which Mehmed the Second ate in the mornings. As aforementioned, the menu of the dinners which consisted of a meat-based dish, soup, yogurt, fruit and fresh herbs, was simpler and more limited in terms of variety. During the first fifteen days, a lamb dish prepared with turnips and eggs, and a yellow plump-based soup were served to the sultan. On the other hand, during the next fourteen days, a sort of chicken kebab with onions, and gourd-based soup in which verjuice or yellow plum juice is added were served to the sultan. There were pickled cucumbers, pickled lemons, *boza*, cherries, lettuce, tarragon, onion, garlic, cress or cucumber among the foods served to the sultan. In September 1469, as the sultan was hunting in Thrace, the menu changed and dishes such as goose kebab, sheep trotters, beef tripe, and onions with eggs appeared on the menu (Yerasimos, 2022).

When it comes to alcoholic consumption in the 15th century Ottoman cuisine, although alcohol is forbidden according to Islamic rules, praises of wine attract attention in the poems written by Fatih Sultan Mehmet under the pseudonym Avni. However, there is no purchase of any alcoholic beverages in the records of the palace kitchen. On the other hand, the purchase of *boza*, which contained a certain amount of alcohol, by Muslims was also allowed according to laws and the products used in its preparation were supplied to the palace kitchen (Yerasimos, 2022).

Among the spices, which are the main topic of this thesis, in the accounting records showing an eight month of purchase; it is common to consume 95 kg of saffron, 36 kg of mastic, 46 kg of black pepper, as well as small amounts of ginger, cinnamon, cloves and musk (Yerasimos, 2022).

3.2 Shirvani and *Kitâbü't-Tabîh*

It would not be an exaggeration to say that researchers studying Ottoman cuisine are out of luck when it comes to examinations on Classical Age Ottoman cuisine, considering the fact that the resources belonging to the period are very limited. Derived from this limitation, the 15th century cookery manuscript written by Shirvani (*Muhammad bin Mahmûd Shirvanî*) and generally known today as the Ottoman Turkish translation of *Kitâbü't-Tabîh* (Cookbook), has a great significance for researchers, as it is the first known cookbook of the Ottoman period (Samancı, 2020b). Yet, despite this significant importance for the Ottoman cuisine studies, the manuscript is still a matter of debate among philologists due to its title and content. Therefore, before analyzing the recipes within the cookery manuscript, it would be better to gain an insight about Shirvani's work, its history and what it really signifies.

To give a brief information about the history of the book, Shirvani's manuscript was firstly discovered by Günay Kut in Süleymaniye Library (Samancı, 2022), and firstly mentioned as the Ottoman Turkish translation of *Kitâbü't-Tabîh* which is an Arabic cookery manuscript written in 1226 by Baghdadi (*Muhammad bin al-Hasan bin Muhammad bin al-Karîm el-Kâtib al-Baghdadî*) (Argunşah & Çakır, 2005), in Kut's *13. Yüzyıla Ait Bir Yemek Kitabı* (A 13th Century Cookbook). As the cover and the first page of the manuscript are still missing, the original name used by Shirvani is still unknown (Argunşah & Çakır, 2005). Therefore, the discussions about the title of the cookery

manuscript are holding on. Taking into account these discussions, the title choice of Mustafa Argunşah and Müjgan Çakır for their contemporary Turkish translation of Shirvani's cookery manuscript would not seem so random. Their work was published in 2005 under the title of *15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mutfağı* (15th Century Ottoman Cuisine), which is a title arisen from the deep discussions about Shirvani's manuscript.

At the very beginning of their transliteration, Argunşah and Çakır give meticulous information about the cookery manuscript and put forward their own ideas regarding critical debates about the Shirvani's manuscript. After a close examination between Baghdadi's original work in Arabic and Shirvani's Ottoman Turkish version, translators intentionally avoid an evaluation of the cookbook as solely a translation, and claim that Shirvani's manuscript is a copyrighted work edited by the author himself (Argunşah & Çakır, 2005).

According to the examinations of Argunşah and Çakır, Shirvani gives place to almost all of the recipes given in Baghdadi's work within his own manuscript and with the almost same order. Indeed, this was the main reason why Shirvani's manuscript has been considered as a translation by Günay Kut and many other researchers. Notwithstanding, as Shirvani made many contributions during the translation, Argunşah and Çakır argue against this general consideration. One of their most influential arguments is the extra paragraphs explaining the benefits of each recipe added by Shirvani who was an Ottoman physician of the period (Argunşah & Çakır, 2005). Another modification that Shirvani made during the translation is on the categorization of the recipes. While the Arabic manuscript of Bagdhahi is divided into ten sections, Shirvani presents overall recipes in eleven sections by dividing the first section into two. In the 11th section, Shirvani starts to add his own recipes randomly, without specifying any

information, from where the recipes within the Baghdadi's version is ended. Overall, there are seven recipes in the *helva* section, and eighty-five recipes which includes five drugs and one theriac in the 11th section, which have been added by Shirvani. The last pages of the manuscript are also missing; therefore, the total number of additional recipes is also still not known. Nevertheless, owing to the existing additions of Shirvani, translators prefer abstaining from considering the cookery manuscript as a translation and they consider it as a copyrighted work (Argunşah & Çakır, 2005).

The debate of whether Shirvani's manuscript is a translation or a copyrighted edition is directly related to another very important discussion in terms of studies on Ottoman Cuisine. Would it be possible to say that Shirvani's work really reflects Ottoman Cuisine of the period? Argunşah and Çakır do believe so. The fact that Shirvani has written down the common Turkish names of the recipes next to their Arabic names, shows that the recipes were being cooked and known by the Turks within that period (Argunşah & Çakır, 2005). Moreover, according to Özge Samancı's analysis, the recipes in *Kitabü't-Tabih* are included in the palace kitchen records and banquet lists from the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries (Samancı, 2000b). At this point, leaving aside the debates over how the book should be evaluated, Shirvani's manuscript is highly valued by researchers due to the fact that it is the only resource giving and explaining the recipes of 15th century Ottoman elite cuisine. Within the framework of my study, I use the contemporary Turkish translation called *15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mutfağı* by Argunşah and Çakır as the main resource, yet I would prefer to call it *Kitâbü't-Tabih* for fluency of the work as the cookbook is commonly known and mentioned with this title.

4. ANALYSIS OF SPICES USED WITHIN THE RECIPES IN *KITÂBÜ'T-TABÎH*

While examining the cookery manuscript, I realized that spices are mentioned for the first time in the preface written by Shirvani. In the preface in which Shirvani sheds light on the secrets of cooking, the Ottoman physician advises that spices should always be added to soups, *kalyes* which a cooking technique prepared with sautéed diced meats, vegetables or/and fruits juices boiled until absorbed, and *köftes*. However, they should be used in smaller amounts in sour soups, and larger amounts in sweet ones. It is also advised to use good types of coriander, cumin, and caraway within the dishes. Moreover, cinnamon must be pungent and thick; mastic gum and black pepper should be large-grained. All the spices must be fresh (Argunşah & Çakır, 2005).

In *Kitâbü't-Tabîh*, many spices are mentioned to be used also within the recipes. Within the framework of this study, the recipes were examined one by one by following the sections determined by Shirvani himself, and the spices used in the recipes were determined in order to understand the flavor profile of the period.

During the spice examination process, while dried herbs mentioned in the recipes are considered as spices, fresh herbs are excluded from the list. On the other hand, in the cases where Shirvani does not specifically classify herbs as fresh or dried, the herbs have been considered as spices.

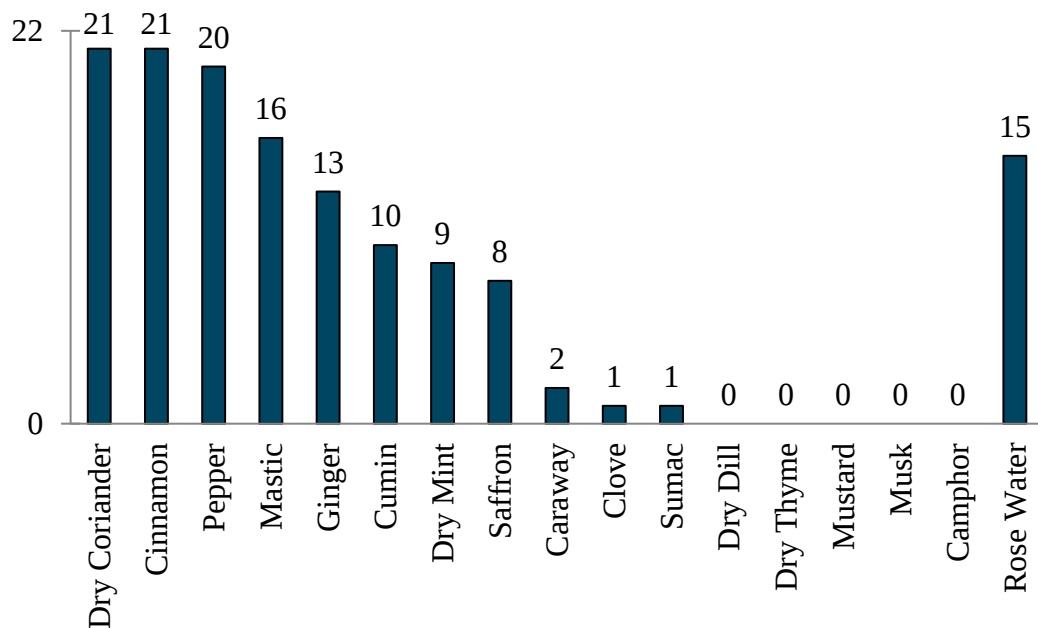
4.1 Chapter One, Describes the Recipes and Benefits of Sour Dishes²⁴

As aforementioned, the first and the second chapters of Shirvani's cookbook, are presented in one as the first chapter of Baghdadi's work. Shirvani dedicates this section to twenty-two dishes that have a sour flavor with the addition of fruit juices as

²⁴ Birinci Bölüm, *Ekşi Yemeklerin Tarifini ve Faydalarını Anlatır* (p. 55)

pomegranate, apple, unripe grape, grape, bitter orange, lemon, quince, sumac, and/or vinegar. Most dishes take their names from the fruit of which juice is added. Generally, within the recipes in this section, the meat is first boiled in water, then the foam that accumulates on the water is skimmed and removed, and the ingredients are added. The dish becomes sour with fruit juice and/or vinegar with the addition of a little sugar and sweet almond milk to balance the tartness. Saffron is added to color the dish. Before serving the dish, generally rose water is sprinkled on it.

Figure 4.1 *The Use of Spices in Sweet and Sour Stews*



According to Figure 4.1 showing the use of spices in the first chapter of Shirvani's work, dry coriander, cinnamon, pepper, mastic, ginger and rose water are the commonly used spices within the sour dishes. This information derived from the table, points out a very important difference between the 15th century Ottoman cuisine and today's Turkish cuisine. Because dried coriander is not the first spice that comes to mind in daily Turkish

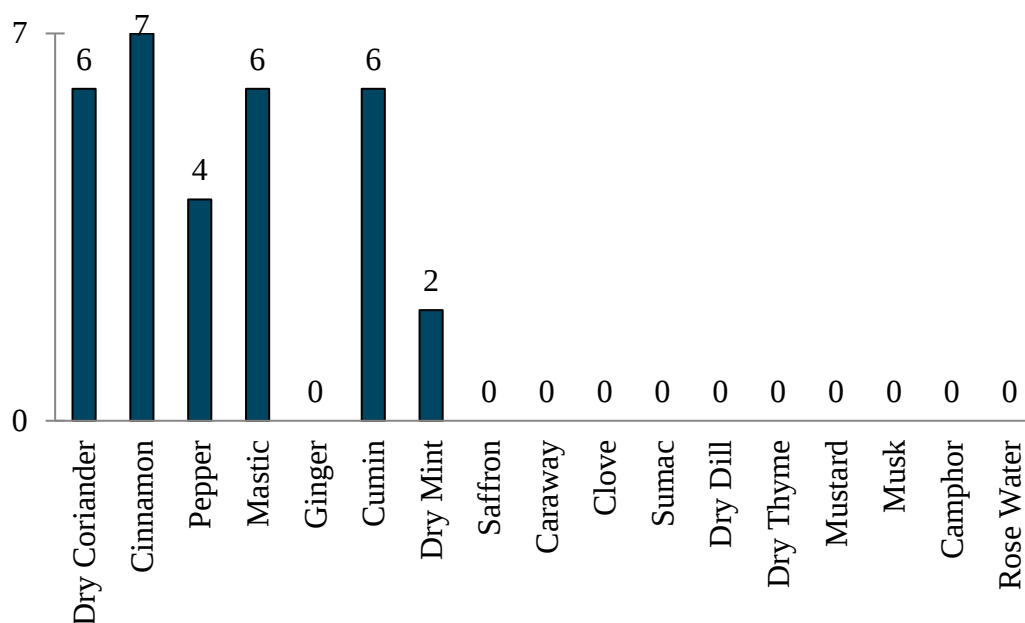
dishes, and ginger is almost never used. Cinnamon, mastic gum and rose water are used in mostly the desserts, not within the dishes in which meat is used. Regarding the other chapters of the manuscript, the amount of recipes in which ginger, saffron and rose water attracts attention, as it shows that their use indicates that they are compatible with sour dishes according to the taste perception of the period.

4.2 Chapter Two, Describes the Dishes Cooked with Dairy Products and Flour²⁵

The recipes within the second chapter of Shirvani's manuscript are in the first chapter of Baghdadi's version. Shirvani separates these seven recipes as the sour dishes prepared with dairy products such as yogurt and *keşk* made from drained yogurt, instead of fruit juices. Dishes are cooked in the same way as the recipes in the first chapter. First the meat is boiled in water, the foam that accumulates on the water is skimmed and removed, and then the ingredients are added, and finally the dish is binded with yogurt or *keşk*.

²⁵ İkinci Bölüm, Süt Ürünlerinden ve Un Cinsinden Pişen Yiyecekleri Anlatır (p.66)

Figure 4.2 *The Use of Spices in Stews Soured with Yogurt or Keşk*



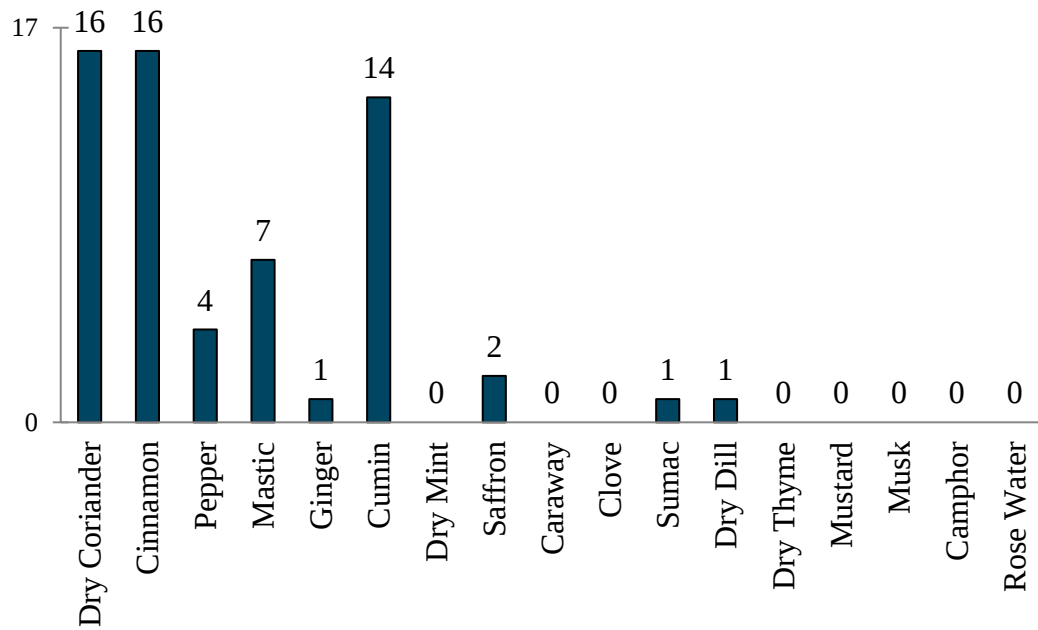
Regarding the Figure 4.2 showing the use of spices in the second chapter of Shirvani's version; it is clear that dry coriander, cinnamon, pepper and mastic are the most preferred ones within the sour dishes as they are also used in almost every recipe within the dishes prepared with yogurt and *keşk*. On the other hand, ginger and rose water are not used within the recipes of the second chapter, although they are among the most preferred ones within the recipes soured with fruit juices. Would it be because they are not compatible with yogurt and *keşk*? From today's culinary perspective it is very surprising to see the use of meat, yogurt and cinnamon at the same time in cooking. Unlike the first chapter, it would not be wrong to say that the rate of recipes using cumin has also increased within the second chapter. Even though cumin is also used in dishes soured with fruit juice, one can say that it is indispensable for dishes soured with yogurt and *keşk*.

4.3 Chapter Three, Describes the Recipes of Various Soups, Pilafs, and Flour Dishes²⁶

Although the title of this section clearly states that the recipes of soups, pilafs and flour dishes are explained within the section, it is worth explaining the recipes in general. Differently from the first two chapters, the recipes of the third chapter start by dicing the meat and stir frying it with tail fat. Dishes are thickened with pulses and grains such as chickpeas, lentils, broad beans and wheat. And of course, many more ingredients and spices are added. It is a close possibility that one would not consider some of the recipes in this chapter as neither soup nor as pilaf from today's point of view. They may have been seen as close to pilaf as they are more viscous than the recipes in the first two chapters and as they consisted of grains or pulses. And due to their consistency, they might have been considered close to soups. The term flour dishes in the title also requires an explanation, as none of the recipes are made with flour. The reason for adding "flour dishes" to the title might be that *erişte*, some sort of Turkish pasta prepared with flour, is used in one of the recipes. Herewith, it is difficult to understand the categorization of the recipes with today's perception of soups, pilafs and flour dishes.

²⁶ Üçüncü Bölüm, Çeşitli Çorbaların, Pilavların ve Un Yemeklerinin Tarifini Anlatır (p.69)

Figure 4.3 *The Use of Spices in Soups, Pilafs and Flour Dishes*



When we come to the spices used in these thick dishes prepared with meat and legumes, grains or *erişte*, Figure 4.3 shows that dry coriander and cinnamon have a significant role for the preparation of these recipes within the third chapter. It has been observed that cumin is often used in recipes of the second chapter, which are soured with yogurt and kashk; it also applies to the recipes in the third chapter, which are prepared with grains, pulses and *erişte*. Ginger and rose water are almost never used in the third chapter, likewise as in the second chapter. Pepper and mastic, which are used in almost every recipe in the first two chapters, cannot be considered as indispensable for the recipes in the third chapter.

4.4 Chapter Four, Describes the Recipes and Benefits of *Kalyes* and *Naşifes*, and Similar Dishes²⁷

In general, *kalye*, which is a food cooking technique with many different variations, is prepared by dicing the meat and sautéing it with tail fat, after that by adding vegetables or/and fruits to the pot, and by adding some water and boiling the dish until it is absorbed. *Naşife* dishes included in the title, can be considered as stir fried meat dishes.

Kalye dishes described within this chapter, are prepared with sautéed meats and/or *köftes*, vegetables and/or fruits. Within the recipes given in the cookery manuscript, the use of eggs is also very common with the various ways. The most common one is that egg yolks are added directly into the dishes. In some recipes, meatballs or julienne cut meats are dipped in egg yolk and stir fried within the dishes, or hard-boiled eggs are sliced, stir fried in sesame oil and added into the dish.

Although it is stated at the beginning of the chapter that the recipes are divided into three subsections, a fourth section is added at the end of the chapter in which things needed to be done in cases where the recipes here are desired to be cooked with chicken are indicated.

4.4.1 The First Section Describes the Recipes of Sour *Kalye* and *Naşife*²⁸

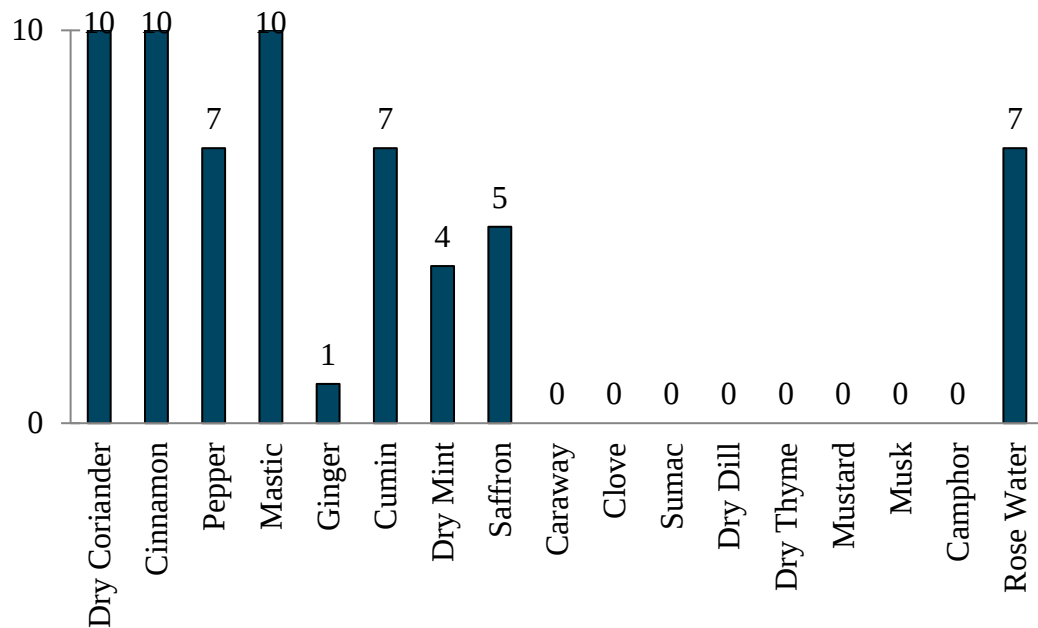
It would not be wrong to say that the dishes described within the first section of chapter four are similar to the recipes described in chapter one regarding the flavor profiles, as they have a sour flavor with sumac, quince, lemon, dark orange, unripe grape, pomegranate juices and/or vinegar, and served with rose water sprinkled on them. One

²⁷ Dördüncü Bölüm, *Kalyeler ve Naşifeler ile Bunlara Benzer Yemeklerin Yapılışını ve Faydalarını Anlatır* (p.76)

²⁸ Birinci Fasıl, *ekşi kalyelerin ve naşifelerin tarifini anlatır* (p.76)

can think that the difference between the recipes stems from the cooking techniques and the resulting texture. While the recipes in the first chapter are stews, the ones in this section are sautéed and then boiled until the water is absorbed.

Figure 4.4 *The Use of Spices in Sweet and Sour Sautés*

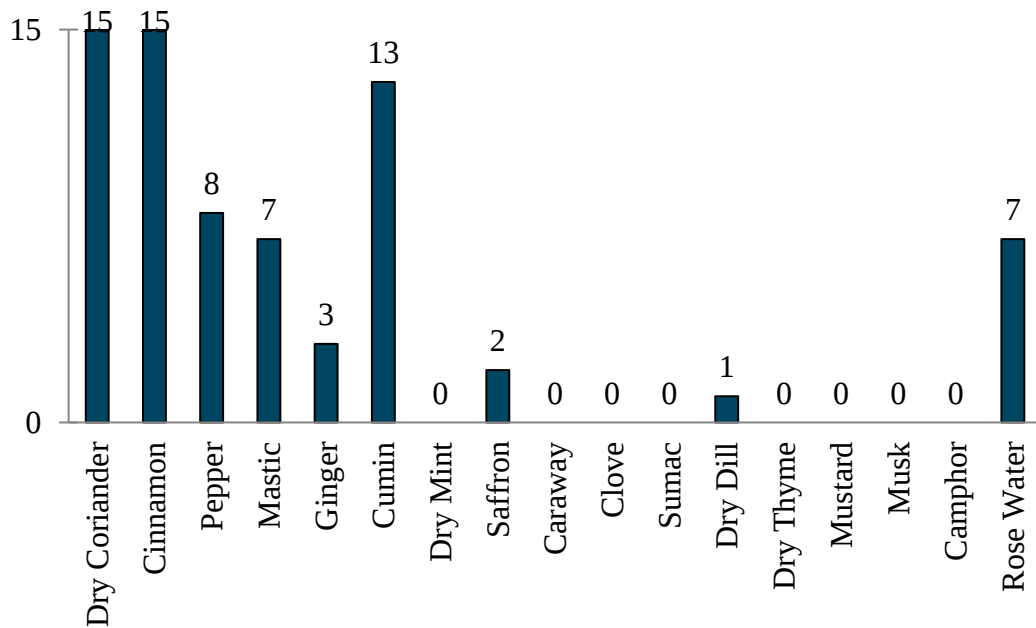


All of the recipes within this section require dry coriander, cinnamon and mastic. Pepper and cumin are also included in 70% of the recipes. Saffron and mint are also mentioned in the recipes. However, the low use of ginger would be worth noting as it was highly used in the first chapter on the similar sort of sour dishes.

4.4.2 The Second Section Describes the Recipes of Kalye, Borani and Roasting Type of Dishes into Which Sour and Sweet Things Are Not Added²⁹

As it is very clear from the title itself, the difference of this section is that sour and sweet things are not added into the dishes. In the borani recipe, eggplant puree is mixed with garlic yogurt and meatballs are placed on it.

Figure 4.5 The Use of Spices in Sautés into Which Sour and Sweet Things Are Not Added



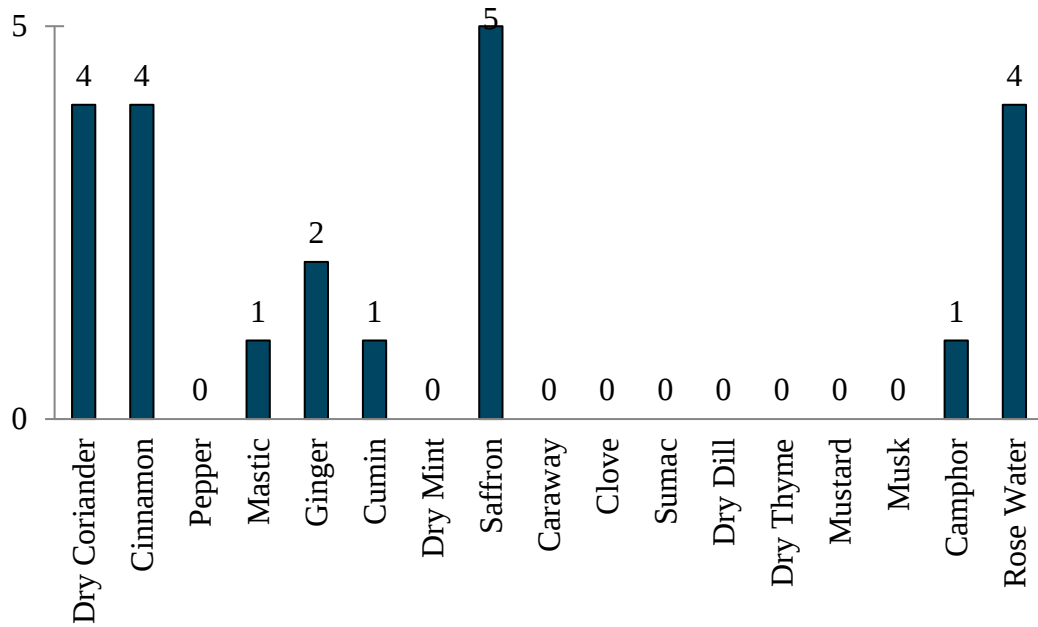
Dry coriander and cinnamon are required in all of the recipes. Cumin is used in almost every recipe. Mastic and pepper are widely included. Ginger, saffron and dry dill are also among the spices mentioned within the recipes.

²⁹ İkinci Fasıl, içine ekşi ve tatlı konulmayan kalyelerin, boranıların ve kavurma türü yemeklerin tarifini anlatır (p.81)

4.4.3 The Third Section Describes the Recipes of Kalye and Roasting Type Dishes into Which Sweet Things Are Added³⁰

In the recipes of the third subsection, white sugar, white honey, honey, date or jujube are added to the dishes to sweeten it. The most distinguishing feature of the recipes here is the amount of sweet substances added. The amount of sugar stated as "a little sugar is added" in the recipes in previous chapters is stated in more precise amounts here.

Figure 4.6 The Use of Spices in Sweet Sautés



The small number of recipes included here does not allow making discriminatory comments on the spice consumption in different sorts of flavor types. However, saffron is used in all of the recipes for coloring. Dry coriander and cinnamon are used in almost each recipe. Ginger, mastic and cumin are among the spices mentioned in the recipes. On the other hand, it is important information that camphor is included in one of the recipes

³⁰ Üçüncü Fasil, içine tatlı şeyler konan kalyelerin ve kavurma türü yemeklerin tarifini anlatır (p. 87)

for the first time from the beginning of the cookbook. Camphor, which is a white spice with a strong aroma produced from the wood of the camphor tree and not commonly used today in dishes, appeared in some of the recipes in Shirvani's cookbook. The fact that it is mentioned in "very" sweet sort of *halva* and *habise* recipes, gives us information about its consumption. Another fact about this chapter is the lack of spices in the *Fıstık Kalyesi* recipe which is prepared with boiled chicken breast, instead of meat, pistachio and white sugar.

4.4.4 The Fourth Section Describes, in the Cases When the Mentioned Dishes Are Wanted to Be Cooked with Chicken, How to Cook Them, When to Add the chicken and with What They Should Be Cooked³¹

This chapter actually includes not only the dishes in the fourth chapter but also the previous recipes. In this section, it is advised that dried coriander should be added to every dish prepared with chicken. In this case, it is interesting that coriander was not included in the *Fıstık Kalyesi* recipe cooked with chicken breast in the previous section. It is clear that the use of sugar or meat is not discriminatory in the distinction made between desserts and main dishes. Would it be possible to make a distinction based on the types of spices used?

4.5 Chapter Five, Describes the Recipes of *Herise* and Similar Dishes Cooked in Tandoori³²

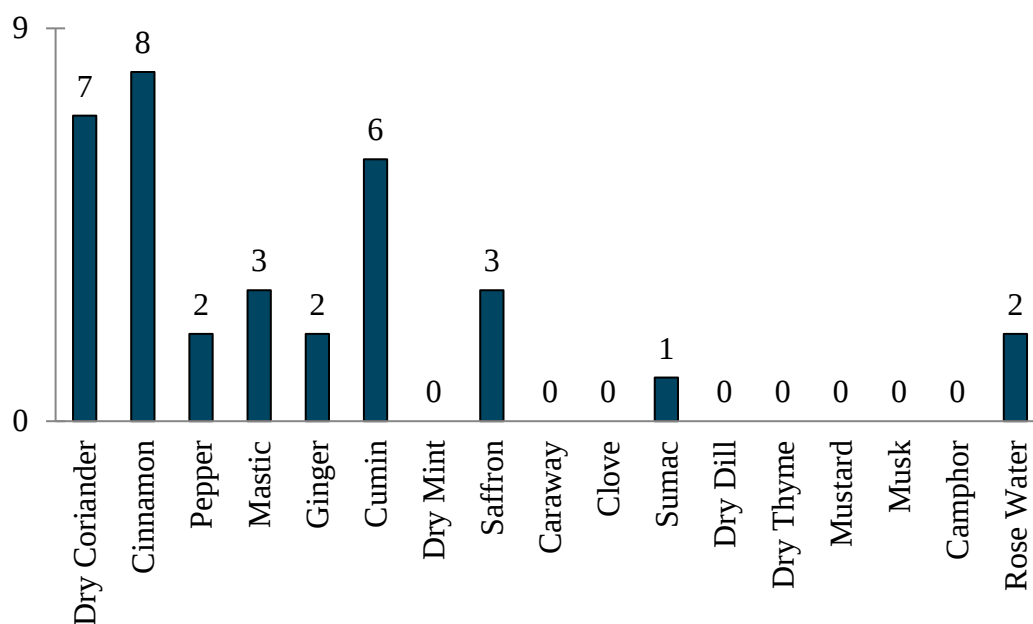
Herise is a very slow-cooked porridge-like dish made of meat and wheat, which is still cooked in today's Turkish cuisine. It is also called *keşkek*. In the manuscript there

³¹ Dördüncü Fasıl, bahsi geçen yemekler tavukla pişirilmek istendiğinde veya içine tavuk konmak istendiğinde nasıl pişirileceğini, çömleğe ne zaman konacağını ve neyle pişirileceğini anlatır (p.90)

³² Beşinci Bölüm, Heriselerin ve Buna Benzer Tandırca Pişen Yemeklerin Tarifini Anlatır (p.91)

is also another version cooked with chicken and rice. Tandoori is a kind of small furnace made by digging a hole in the ground. The reason for the categorization of the recipes in this chapter, might be that they all must be slow cooked for a very long time.

Figure 4.7 *The Use of Spices in Dishes Cooked in Tandoori*

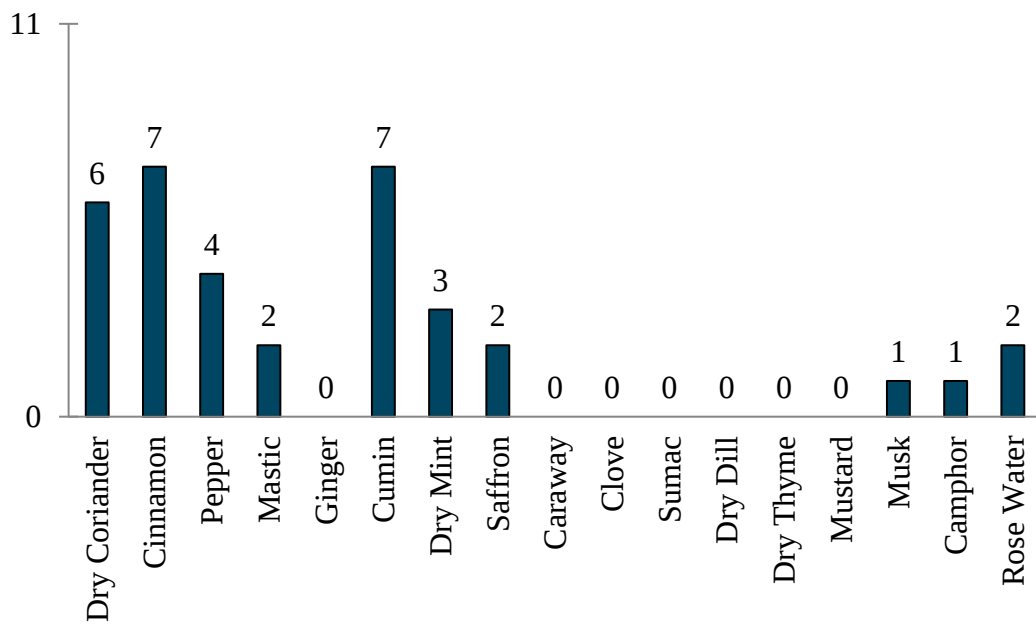


As it is shown in Figure 4.7, cinnamon, dry coriander and cumin are spices that are most frequently used.

4.6 Chapter Six, Describes the Recipes of *Mutaccans*, *Bevarid*, *Maklubes*, *Senbuses* and Similar Dishes³³

The recipes within chapter six share a similarity as they are cooked in sesame oil and have a dry consistency. In the recipe of *mutaccan*, boiled meat is parched in sesame oil and then the spices added into the dish. There is also another version prepared with boiled eggs instead of meat.

Figure 4.8 *The Use of Spices in Mutaccans, Bevarid, Maklubes, Senbuses and Similar Dishes*



Bevarid is a general Arabic term used for dishes that are better to be eaten cold. For example, at the end of the *Bezmaverde* recipe, which is a stuffed simit bread recipe

³³ Altıncı Bölüm, *Mutaccanlar, Bevarid, Maklubeler, Senbuseler ve Bunlara Benzer Yemeklerin Tarifini Anlatır* (p.94).

with roasted meat and vinegar filling, it is stated that “It would be better to eat the dish after it has cooled than to eat when it is hot.”

In the recipe of *maklube*, minced meat is cooked in a pot, then sumac and lemon juice, spices and crushed walnuts, egg yolks are added and later on the mixture is balled up and parched in sesame oil. *Senbuse* is a pastry which is similar to samosa, a triangular pastry shell filled with various mixtures, still cooked today. As in the recipe of *maklube*, minced meat is cooked in a pot, then sumac and lemon juice, spices and crushed walnuts are added; this mixture is put on a very thin flat bread called *yufka* and yufka is folded as a triangle shape exactly like *samosa*. And it is fried in sesame oil. Differently from earlier chapters, use of spices within the recipes of the sixth chapter is decreasing. It would not be wrong to say that dry coriander is used in almost every recipe within the first five chapters, yet it is losing ground to cinnamon and cumin.

4.7 Chapter Seven, Describes the Recipes and Benefits of Fishes³⁴

Chapter 7 is important as it shows the minority of fish-based dishes in contrast to meat-based dishes. Chapter 7 is divided into three subsections as stated below:

4.7.1 The First Section Describes the Recipes of Fresh Fishes³⁵

As it is clear from the title itself, this section describes the recipes of the dishes prepared with fresh fishes. Generally, the fishes are colored with saffron grinded in rose water.

³⁴ *Yedinci Bölüm, Balıkların Tarifini ve Faydalarını Anlatır (p.98)*

³⁵ *Birinci Fasıl, taze balıkların tarifini anlatır (p.98)*

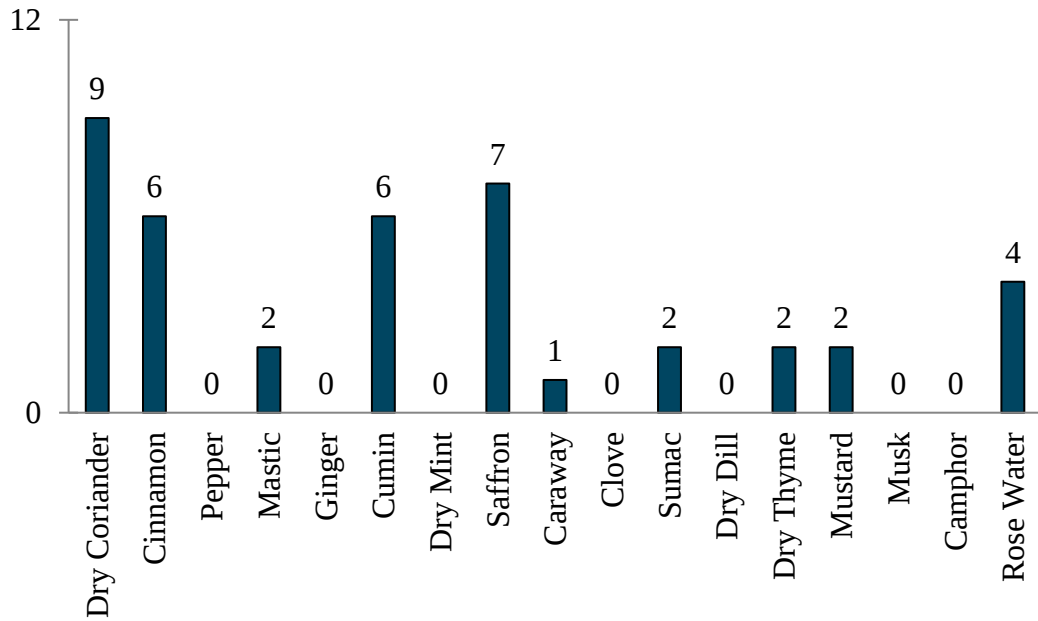
4.7.2 The Second Section Describes the Recipes of Dried Fishes³⁶

The recipes within Section 4.7.2 are not giving the tips for drying the fishes, they are describing the recipes of dishes prepared with dried fishes. In the recipes, dried fish is parched in sesame oil and mixed with other products such as yogurt, mustard, vinegar or tahini.

4.7.3 The Third Section Describes the Making of *Tarih* Fishes³⁷

In Section 4.7.3, it is told the recipes of some sort of a little fish named *tarih*.

Figure 4.9 The Use of Spices in Fishes



The use of spices within fish-based recipes in 15th century Turkish cuisine, is again very different from today. Dry coriander, saffron, cinnamon, cumin and rose water are the most popular spices used with fishes.

³⁶ İkinci Fasıl, kuru balıkların tarifini anlatır (p.100)

³⁷ Üçüncü Fasıl, tarih balıklarının yapılışını anlatır (p.101)

4.8 Chapter Eight, Describes Making and Fragranced Various Pickles³⁸

Although the title of the Chapter 8 only includes pickles, it would not be wrong to say that the recipes within the chapter can be categorized as pickles and appetizers. Chapter 8 is divided into three subsections as stated below:

4.8.1 The First Section Describes Pickles Made with Vinegar³⁹

Section 4.8.1 explains the making of pickles. Coloring the dishes with saffron is also applied to the recipes of pickles.

4.8.2 The Second Section Describes Pickles with Yogurt⁴⁰

The recipes within this section can be considered as mezes with yogurt from today's perspective. Generally, within recipes, boiled vegetables are mixed with garlic yogurt.

4.8.3 The Third Section Describes Aromatised Food⁴¹

The third section includes five recipes like salt aromatized with various spices; mustard sauce prepared with vinegar, crushed almonds and spices; aromatized olives; *Kâmiḥ Riḥal* which is a fermented guard and yogurt mixture prepared in June and waited under the sun until August; and a recipe of green broad beans soaked in vinegar with spices and sesame oil. In the below figure (Figure 4.10), the use of spices in the recipes of these three sections of the eight chapter are shown. As each of these fifteen recipes of the eight chapter show a common picture both in terms of neither ingredients nor the cooking technique, it would be misleading to draw a conclusion from the figures.

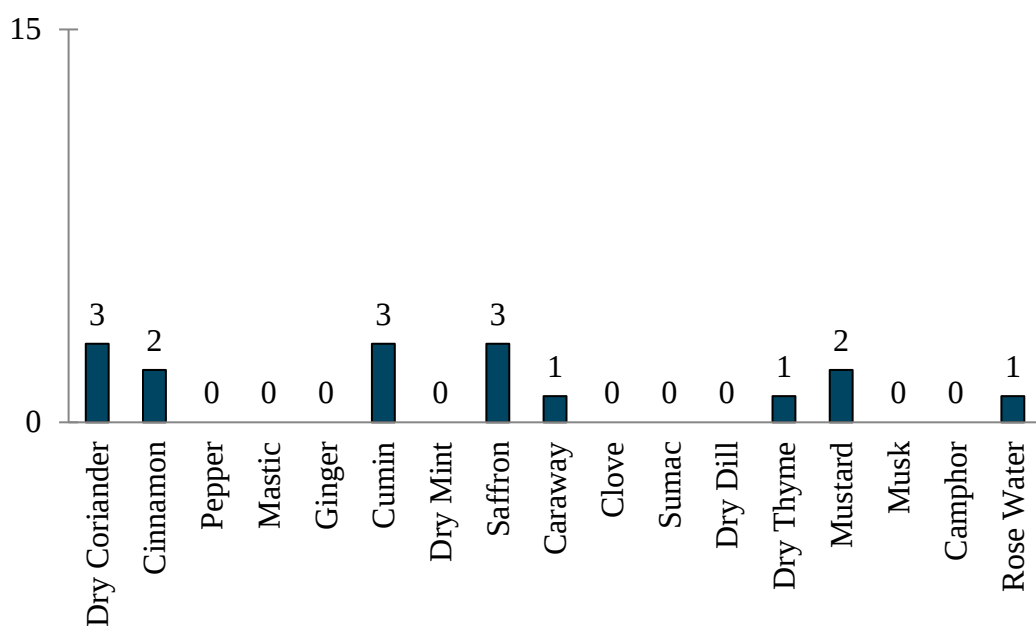
³⁸ *Sekizinci Bölüm, Çeşitli Turşuların Yapımını ve Kokulandırılmasını Anlatır (p.102)*

³⁹ *Birinci Fasıl, sirkeyle yapılan turşuları anlatır (p.102)*

⁴⁰ *İkinci Fasıl, yoğurtlu turşuları anlatır (p.103)*

⁴¹ *Üçüncü Fasıl, kokulandırılmış yiyecekleri anlatır (p.105)*

Figure 4.10 *The Use of Spices in Pickles, Yogurt Mezes and Aromatized Foodstuffs*



4.9 Chapter Nine, Describes the Recipes and Benefits of *Cuzabs*, *Habises* and Similar Dishes⁴²

Beginning from Chapter 9, the recipes of desserts such as *cuzabs* and *habises* begin and the variety of spices used decreases.

4.9.1 *The First Section Describes the Recipes of Cuzabs*⁴³

It would be difficult to make a clear definition of *cuzabs* which is a type of dessert with many variations, therefore it will be easier to explain the term by giving examples of the recipes. For example, in the recipe for *Ekmek Cuzabı* (Bread Cuzab) of Shirvani's translation, it is required to soak the inside of the bread in milk or water, and then cook it in a pan after putting crusted almonds and sugar crumbs on the bottom and the top. In

⁴² Dokuzuncu Bölüm, *Cuzablar, Habiseler ve Bunlara Benzer Yiyeceklerin Tariflerini ve Faydalarını Anlatır* (p.107)

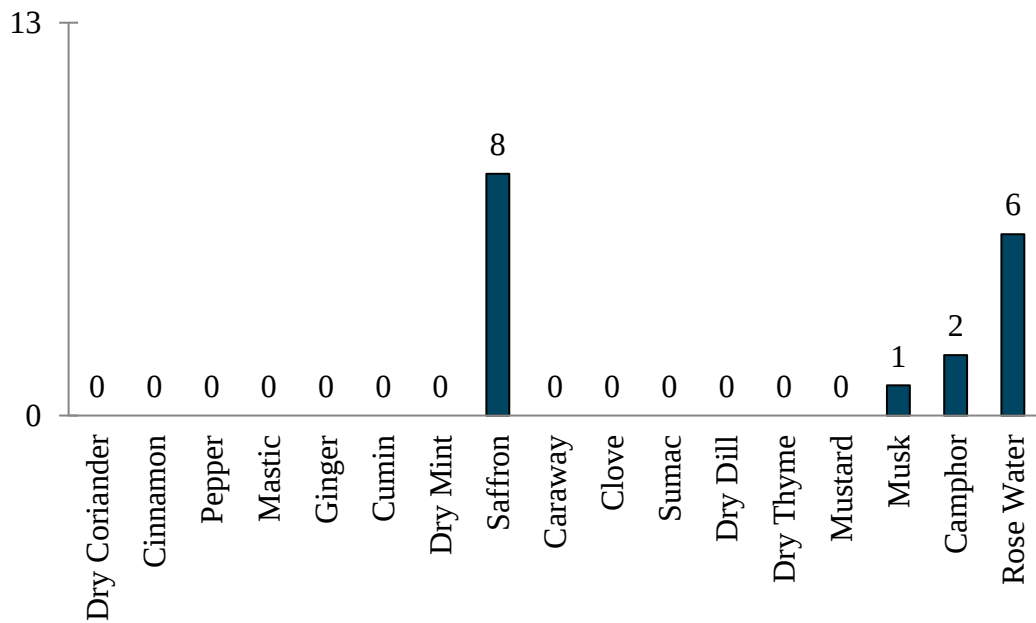
⁴³ Birinci Fası, *cuzabların tarifini anlatır* (p.107)

other versions, paste-like mixtures prepared with ingredients like date puree, almonds, saffron and rosewater are put between two sheets of *yufka* which is very thin flat bread, and then cooked in tandoori.

4.9.2 The Second Section Describes the Recipes of *Habises*⁴⁴

Habise recipe translated by Shirvani in the cookbook, is prepared by roasting the inside of *simit* bread in sesame oil and then adding sugar into the mixture. However there exist other sorts of *habise* recipes within the section itself. For example, in other versions guard or carrot puree is roasted with flour in sesame oil and sherbet is added into the mixture. The general feature of *habises* is that they are the type of desserts which are prepared by ingredients roasted in sesame oil, and can be eaten with a spoon.

Figure 4.11 *The Use of Spices in Desserts*



⁴⁴ İkinci Fasıl, *habiselerin yapılışını anlatır* (p.110)

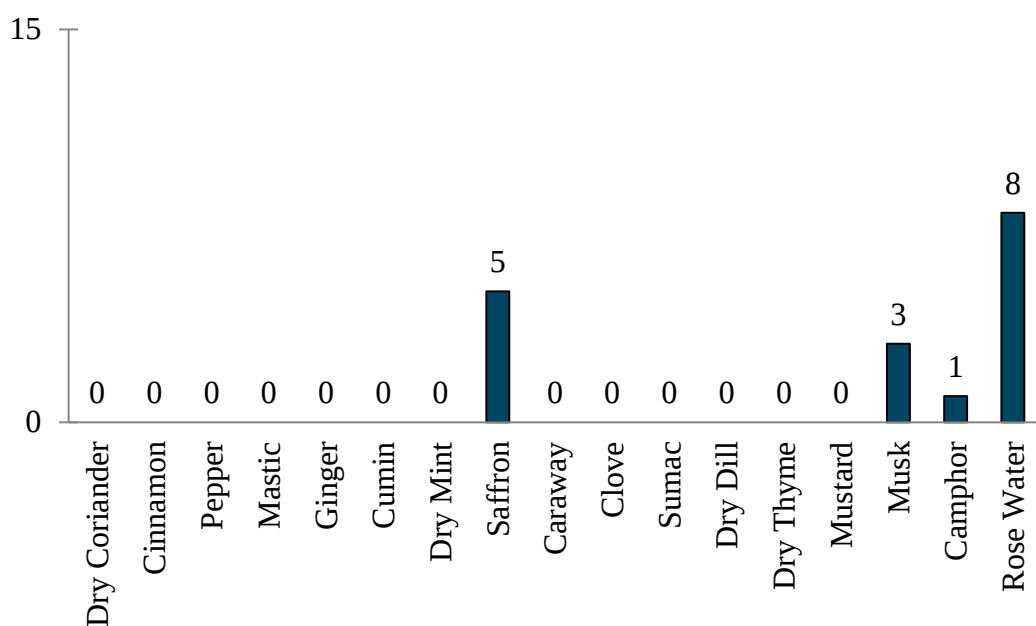
Whether it is a type of *cuzab* or *habise*, as the recipes can be categorized as the desserts with today's perspective, the figures can be valued together. Camphor which is a white spice with a strong aroma produced from the wood of the camphor tree; musk which is a spice obtained from a gland of the male musk deer; and saffron are the used spices in the recipes.

4.10 Chapter Ten, Describes the Recipes and Benefits of Various *Helvas*⁴⁵

The sort of *helva*, prepared with ingredients such as sesame seeds, tahini, various nuts, sugar, flour and some sort of oil or fat, are explained in the tenth chapter. Generally, paste-like mixtures of *sherbets*, flavor and oil or fat are roasted for a long time and then wait until the mixture cools and thickens. A similar picture to Chapter 9 emerges in Chapter 10 as it gives dessert recipes; saffron, rose water, camphor and musk are the spices used within *helvas*.

⁴⁵ *Onuncu Bölüm, Çeşitli Helvaların Tarifini ve Faydalarını Anlatır (p.112)*

Figure 4.12 *The Use of Spices in Helvas*



4.11 Chapter Eleven, Describes the Recipes of *Huşknans*⁴⁶, *Kadayıfs*⁴⁷ and Similar Flour-Added Dishes⁴⁸

In the original Arabic version of *Kitâbü't-Tabîh*, within Chapter 11, Baghdadi gives seventeen recipes of pastries which can be considered as the continuation of chapter 9 and 10. However, in Shirvani's version, as aforementioned, Shirvani adds randomly 85 recipes without any categorization, from where 17 recipes of Baghdadi end. As the last pages of the cookery manuscript are missing, the exact number of additional recipes is still unknown. Yet regarding the fact that food related sources of the period are very limited, the significance of these 85 recipes for Ottoman cuisine studies is explicit.

⁴⁶ A sort of a cookie prepared with sesame oil, flour, crushed almonds, sugar and rose water aromatised with musk.

⁴⁷ Very thin fried noodles which can be used in dessert recipes.

⁴⁸ On Birinci Bölüm, *Huşknanlar, Kadayıflar ve Bunlara Benzer İçine Un Katılan Yiyeceklerin Tarifini Anlatır* (p.117)

It has been already mentioned that these recipes have not been categorized by Shirvani himself. However, in order to make an appropriate valuation of these 85 additional recipes and to make a comparison with the recipes which Shirvani translated from Baghdadi, the additional recipes should be categorized in a way that is comparable to the translated recipes. It would not be wrong to say that such categorization of these 85 recipes requires hard work due to many reasons.

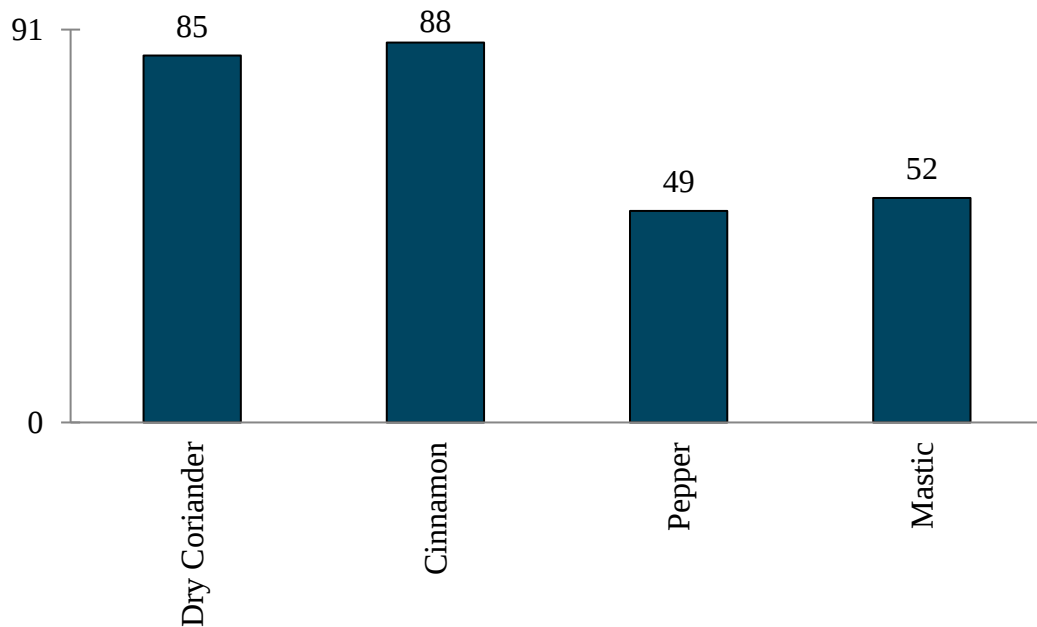
First of all, Shirvani adds some recipes which cannot be included in any chapter within the translation part of the cookery manuscript. Among additional 85 recipes, there exist six medicine and three beverage recipes such as *Bal Şarabı* (Honey Wine), *Pirinç Bozası* (Rica Boza) and *Arpa Bozası* (Barley Boza)⁴⁹, yet in the translated part of the cookery manuscript any drug or beverage recipe is not given. There also exist recipes in which the main ingredient is the egg. Besides, I also had some trouble categorizing the rest of recipes as the techniques and taste profile are different from both Baghdadi's recipes and today's perspective. Even though there is no categorization, the contents of the recipes and the use of spices will be evaluated one by one in the conclusion chapter.

⁴⁹ Boza is a traditional acidic and sweet beverage prepared with fermented grains like wheat, rice, barley etc.

5. SPICES USED IN THE 15TH CENTURY OTTOMAN CUISINE

Although it is not possible to know the amounts of the spices that are advised to be used in the recipes of *Kitâbü't-Tabîh*, as the amounts are not stated, one would easily see that the variety of the spices in different types of recipes are quite different from those used in today's Turkish cuisine.

Figure 5.1 *The Use of Spices in Recipes with Meat*



From the first recipe of Chapter 1 to the last recipe of Chapter 6, almost all of the recipes require the use of meat, no matter which cooking technique is told. Therefore, it would not be wrong to classify the first ninety-one recipes of the cookery manuscript as the meat-based recipes. Regarding the use of spices within recipes, there is a picture which is very different from today's Turkish cuisine. Cinnamon, which is now associated mostly with desserts in today's cuisines, is used within 96% of the meat-based dishes. Followed by dry coriander which is not used in almost any Turkish recipe today, appears

in %93 of 91 recipes. Although the common use of black pepper and cumin does not seem so surprising with today's perspective, the frequent use of mastic in meat-based dishes still does due to the fact that mastic is generally considered as compatible with desserts in today's Turkish cuisine.

In contrast with today's perspective, many meat-based dishes which have a sour and sweet flavor with fruit juices, honey and vinegar are also common among the first 91 meat-based dishes translated by Shirvani. Within almost every recipe of the sweet and soured meat stews dry coriander, cinnamon, pepper, mastic, ginger, cumin, dry mint and saffron are advised to be used. In some recipes, the purpose of the saffron use is stated in order to give a color to the dish. Similarly, in the recipes of sweet and sour sautés (*kalyes*), dry coriander, cinnamon, mastic, pepper, cumin, dry mint and saffron are used, but not ginger. Might the use of ginger be related to the texture of the dishes? Although it is not possible to give an answer to this question, another idea derived from the data is that ginger was not a spice used with yogurt and *keşk*. Unlike meat-based stews prepared with fruit juices, we cannot use ginger and saffron in the ones prepared with yogurt or *keşk*. Did the fact that saffron and ginger are not used with dairy products such as yogurt and *keşk* derived from a flavor or medical concern?

Another important information that one can understand from the data is that among the recipes added by Shirvani at the end of the book during the translation there are also meat-based recipes sweetened with fruit juices, sugar or honey. And it shows that these recipes are also cooked in Ottoman cuisine, and not just recipes translated from an Arabic cookery manuscript. However, while dried coriander is not used within the recipes at all, pepper, mastic, cinnamon and saffron are only mentioned occasionally. It is noteworthy that there is almost no use of spices in all of the recipes added by Shirvani.

When it comes to the desserts, there are many recipes, both translated from the original Arabic version and added by Shirvani. Spices are generally not used in these recipes. Today, cinnamon, which is an indispensable ingredient in dessert recipes in today's Turkish cuisine, is not used in any dessert recipe. Desserts are sometimes colored with saffron and aromatized with rose water. There are also few recipes in which camphor and musk are added.

As mentioned before, it is not possible to be sure whether all of these recipes of the cookery manuscript were cooked in Ottoman cuisine. However, we know that many of the recipes in *Kitabü't Tabih* were cooked in the palace, both from Barkan's work and from the dishes served at the circumcision celebrations held for Mehmet the Conqueror's princes Beyazıd and Mustafa in 1458 (Bilgin, 2016). Yet even if the sources show that the recipes were really cooked, the ingredients used within the recipes might have differed. There are almost no records of how the dishes were cooked in the Ottoman palace kitchen. Therefore, Ömer Lütfi Barkan's work on the kitchen account registers of the Ottoman palace of the years 1489-90, has a great significance for the food historians as it sheds light on the food items used in the kitchen. According to these records, pepper, white pepper, long pepper, ginger, cinnamon, poppy, musk, amber, saffron, mastic, sumac, mint, cumin, sesame and mustard, along with the some other which can only be used pharmaceutically, are the spices used in the palace cuisine. It is not surprising that cinnamon, mastic, cumin and pepper are the most commonly used spices in recipes. However, according to Arif Bilgin's study, the number of spice varieties extended more than 200 during the 16th century. Therefore, even though there is a parallel trend between medieval Arab-Persian cuisine and the 15th century Ottoman cuisine, regarding the modest consumption of spice in the Ottoman palace during the 15th century, it can be

concluded that Ottoman taste was not eager to use spices too much as medieval Arab cuisine.



6. THE USE OF SPICES IN 15TH CENTURY EUROPEAN CUISINE

As aforementioned in detail in the second chapter which is about the history of spices, the spice consumption of European people reached its peak during the late medieval ages. In fact, 75% of the recipes of the cookbooks written from the 13th century to the 15th century, call for spices (Freedman, 2008). It is worth mentioning that the European taste for spices was not something new, and traces back to long before the Middle Ages. Although the variety of the used spices was not as wide as it was in the medieval times, there was also a demand for spices in Europe during the Roman Empire. Within the % 80 of the recipes of the cookbook attributed to 1st century gastronome Apicius, black pepper is required, yet left its place to new sorts of spices, mainly ginger, during the late Middle Ages (Lauriou, 1999; Freedman 2008). Influenced by the medical beliefs in the humoral theory which traces back to Greco-Roman medical practices, food ingredients were associated with health benefits and were used to maintain balance and well-being. Spices were highly prized not only for their tastes but also for their more effective physiological properties.

When it comes to the late Middle Ages, the role of spices gained so many layers. Although regional differences of the local taste preferences and ingredients cannot be ignored while talking about medieval European cuisines, there were very important shared characteristics such as vanity and passion for spices. Feasting held significant social and cultural importance in medieval Europe, especially within the nobility and upper classes. Opulent feasts displayed extravagant food arrangements, detailed table settings, and entertainment, demonstrating the host's affluence and social standing. The dishes served to the table had to be surprising with their appearance and colors, as well as their taste and smell. And the European love for spices was indeed an international

trend. The European nobility and upper classes utilized spices to enrich the tastes of dishes and as well as to showcase their wealth and refinement. They were highly valued as their culinary consumption was seen as a sign of affluence, opulence, and social standing (Freedman, 2008). Spices were used in various dishes such as meats, stews, sauces, pastries, and beverages to enhance the flavor and intricacy of recipes. They had a significant influence on European cuisine, resulting in the creation of innovative culinary methods and flavor pairings. Most especially the sauces served as the accompaniment of boiled or roasted meat, or fish were the most common ways of the medieval European use of spices. Sauces prepared with various spice combinations allowed medieval European chefs to create that surprising effect they sought in terms of both taste and color. For example, the recipes of *Gyve*, a fish sauce mentioned in a 15th-century English cookbook, requires a good amount of cinnamon, mace, cloves, ginger, pepper, saffron, sandalwood and raisins. However, our current perception of sauce should not mislead us. According to medieval cuisine researchers, these sauces had a thinner texture, and roasted bread crumbs were the main thickening agent. For the acidity, mostly grape vinegar, apple cider vinegar or verjuice were used for acidity. In Mediterranean countries, wine, lemon juice or bitter orange juice were preferred (Lauriou, 1999; Freedman, 2008).

In addition to the international desire for spices, the use of acidic ingredients is also one of the distinctive features of medieval cooking. In the French cookbook *Le Viandier*, which was originally published in 13th century France and whose many new versions were published multiple times until the 17th century, 70% of the recipes require acidic ingredients. Moreover, within 50% of these recipes requiring acidity, these acidic ingredients were combined with spices. Especially cider vinegar and wine were combined with ginger (Lauriou, 1999).

Generally, it is known that the culinary taste of medieval Europe was pungent, sweet and sour. However, European foodways exhibit significant diversity due to elements like cultural traditions, religious practices, climate, location, geographical features etc. For example, unlike France, the culinary taste of medieval Italy and England do not have such an interest in such acidic ingredients. Medieval Italian and British people mostly like sweet ingredients such as sugar, honey, raisins and dates. On the other hand, these sweet products rarely appear in medieval French recipes. In the 14th century, sugar which was considered as a spice back then, made a humble entrance in the French culinary world, and then became an essential ingredient in the 15th century for the French chefs. While the sugar use became widespread in England and the Mediterranean rim, the variety of sweet and sour recipes increased in French cuisine. Towards the end of the 15th century, two-thirds of recipes in Italy and Portugal contained sugar. There was an Iberian tradition of spreading sugar and cinnamon mixture to each dish. And Italian and British people used sugar to soften the spices. In conclusion sugar became a widely used ingredient in 15th century European cuisine (Laurioux, 1999).

According to researchers this trend of sweet and sour spicy recipes in Medieval European cuisine was influenced by medieval Arab cuisine. As a result of the Crusades, medieval Arab culinary influences, including the use of spices, rice, citrus fruits, and sugar, began to appear in European cuisine during the late Middle Ages as a symbol of a more delicate lifestyle. European cuisine saw substantial modifications as a result of the exchange of goods and culinary concepts between Europe and the Arab world facilitated via trade routes. For example, the 13th-century cookbook *Liber de Coquina* written in Latin in the Italian region and many other 14th-century Italian cookbooks contain recipes inspired by Arabic names. *Romania*, prepared with chicken and pomegranate; *Somacchia*

with sumac and almonds; and *Lomonia* with lemon juice (Rosenberger, 1999). It is worth mentioning that many Medieval Arab recipes take their names from the used ingredients. And because of that it would not be surprising to see that *Rumman* means pomegranate, *laymun* means lemon in Arabic, and *Somacchia* comes from the sumac. Moreover, one can find recipes with the names *Rummaniyye*, *Sumakiyye* and *Limoniyye* in the 13th century cooking manuscript written in arab by Baghdadi and its 15th century Ottoman translation by Shirvani. *Momania*, which comes from the Arabic recipe of *Memuniye*, was also a popular dish in medieval Europe. There are also researchers who disagree with this Arab influence on medieval European cuisine. For example, Paul Freedman who studied medieval European spice consumption in his book *Out of The East: Spices and The Medieval Imagination*, underlines that this Medieval European excessive use of spices cannot be directly linked to the medieval Arab influence. Already mentioned in detail in the second chapter, the ancient Romans had already a fondness for black pepper and silphium. And, according to Freedman, although the types of used spices changed between the period of Roman Empire and Late Medieval Ages, there had always been an interest in spices. Moreover, he also adds that the name of the very famous medieval dish *Mawmeny* or *Mamonia* comes etymologically from the Arabic recipe *ma'muniyya*, these recipes have very different tastes, textures and colors (Freedman, 2008). Nevertheless, we can agree with Freedman on the fact that European love of spices did not result solely from the influence of the Arab world and the spices were already used and desired for medical practices. Moreover, they were seen as gifts due to the fact they were rare items supplied from faraway places. On the other hand, although one cannot claim that the influence of medieval Arab cuisine increased the use of spice in medieval Europe, one cannot deny the Arab influence on European foodways of the period. Medieval Arab

culinary practices had definitely an impact on the prominence of sweet, sour and spicy dishes in Medieval European cuisines, and it is not a coincidence that there are so many recipes with arabic originated names.

Although it is underlined a general spice trend in the medieval European cuisines, it is worth noting that the local taste preferences didn't vanish under the trend. For example, while the British people prefer cubeb, long pepper was widely used by French people. While ginger was favored by both British and French cuisine, Italians loved saffron more. In general, black pepper, cinnamon, ginger and saffron were the most used spices. Nutmeg, cloves, and mace were more expensive and more prestigious, but they were not as common as the first 4 spices. Grains of paradise or malagueta pepper, galangal, long pepper, zedoary, which are no longer known today, were also among spices used in medieval European recipes (Freedman, 2008). Spices were also frequently used in the recipes of sweetened and spiced wines named *hypocras*, which were served both before and after meals and were recommended as medicine in medical books of the period.

Apart from the medieval European desire for spices, and sweet-sour dishes, the need for surprising effects of the dishes stimulated culinary creativity and exploration among European chefs and cooks. Numerous new recipes and cooking techniques arose, showcasing the combination of extravagant food ingredients. The use of wild animals in festive menus was another element symbolizing ostentation in medieval European cuisine, as well as the spices. Games such as doves, cranes, herons, pheasant, hare's, deer, partridges, small birds, stags, bears; fishes such as conger, moray eels, porpoises and dolphins were eaten or displayed on the medieval European tables (Freedman, 2008).

While talking about 15th century European cuisine in general, one can say that the love for spices regardless of the variety, use of wild animals as indicators of wealth on the banquet tables, and sweetened dishes with the widespread use of sugar are the common features. However, apart from these, it is not possible to talk about a single common cuisine due to the fact that 15th-century European cuisine was significantly impacted by seasonality, climatic characteristics, religious practices, traditions and national preferences. For example, coastal areas had access to seafood and fish, whilst inland regions depended more on meats and grains.

Towards the end of the 15th century, the consumption of butter was allowed in some regions during Lent, a period of fasting that prohibits the consumption of animal foods and dairy products other than seafood, while in others it was completely prohibited. Not only climate or religion, but also social codes are divisive. For example, Southern Italian elites preferred to consume butter while more olive oil was produced in the regions due the fact that preserving butter in hot weather was a challenging task, and that they believed that achieving this set them apart socially in the region. In conclusion, when talking about general trends, regional differences should not be forgotten.

7. CONCLUSION

European desire for spices, which reached its peak in the late medieval period, had significant effects on the course of world history. Yet, one cannot directly link this desire with the influence of medieval Arab culture on the European cuisines of the period. Spices had always been long valued in the Mediterranean world since the Roman era, and this desire for spices traces back to different roots. According to the theory of humor, which forms the basis of the Greco-Roman understanding of medicine, there is a very close relationship between food and medicine. According to this medical understanding, in order to be healthy, the four humors within the human body which are blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm must be in balance. In the framework of humoral medicine, these humors and food items are categorized as hot, cold, dry and wet. The food products consumed should have the exact opposite characteristics of those of dominant humor in order to decrease it and balance the humors. Spices, which are believed to have stronger effects than food products, were of great importance due to their therapeutic effects. During the Middle Ages, their symbolic importance was added to the medicinal importance of spices, and the excessive use of various spices became a trend as a method for elites to differentiate themselves. In Medieval Europe, the desire for spices increased so much that supply systems could not meet this demand. This situation pushed the authorities to search for more suitable supply systems, and this search ended with the discovery of the New World, Americas. As everyone knows, this discovery caused major changes in both the world and gastronomy history. Therefore, it would be unaccountable to directly link Medieval Europe's desire for spices with the effects of the Crusades on the western lifestyle. For some historians, the Crusaders' encounter with Arab culture during their voyages resulted in the fact that medieval Europeans acquired a more delicate

manner of life. Moreover, it is a fact that new ingredients such as dates, rose water, rice, exotic spices and bitter orange etc. were accepted by the Europeans. Yet although Arab influence on western Europe can be seen in foodways, it would be a sketchy to say that medieval European desire for spices was a result of Arab influence.

One of the main questions in this research is to discover the parallel trend concerning the use of spices in both late medieval European and Ottoman cuisine in the 15th century, and one cannot deny one thing which was in common: Medieval Arab culinary influence on both parts. Moreover, the fact that researchers studying 15th century Ottoman cuisine have limited sources of information and one of the most important sources from this period, Shirvani's cookery manuscripts, is an Ottoman Turkish translation of a 13th-century Arabic manuscript, strengthen this comparison over the Arabic foodways. Whether Shirvani's work can be really considered as a reflection of Ottoman cuisine or not is among the debates on the source, yet there are some important sources showing that some of the translated recipes from the Arabic origin were cooked and favored in the palace at that time. Therefore, it would be wrong to deny the importance of this work for Ottoman food history.

When we look at the general use of spices in translated recipes by Shirvani, which is the main source of this study; cinnamon appears as the most commonly used spice in meat-based recipes which can be categorized as a main dish regardless of the flavor profile. Cinnamon is required in 97% of 91 recipes, followed by dry coriander with a percentage of 94% and cumin with %70. Mastic and pepper are also used in more than half of the total meat based main dishes. Saffron, both used in meat-based recipes and desserts for coloring, has a significant use among the translated recipes. In addition to saffron, camphor and musk are the spices that appear in the dessert recipes such as *cuzabs*,

habises and *helvas*.

While comparing late medieval European culinary trends and the recipes of Shirvani's work, the first thing that stands out is the presence of sweet and sour foods in both European and Ottoman cuisines. In addition to the excessive use of various spices, another common feature of European foodway was the favor of sweet, sour and pungent recipes. As aforementioned, most of the recipes within *Le Viandier*, include acidic ingredients like cider vinegar and wine, combined with spices especially ginger (Laurieux, 1999). The translation of Shirvani also begins with sweet and sour recipes in which ginger is often used in addition to cinnamon pepper, mastic, cumin and saffron. On the other hand, it is not surprising that wine and cider are not acidic substances required in the recipes due to the Islamic prohibition of alcohol. Therefore, juices of various fruits and vinegar are used for acidity in Shirvani's translated recipes, and so in Arabic recipes. Honey, fruit juices, dried fruits and sugar are used as sweetening agents both in European cuisine of the period and in Shirvani's recipes. Another fact that shows the influence of Arabic cuisine on both the Ottoman cuisine of the period and the European cuisines is that sweet and sour recipes called *Rummaniye*, *Sumakiye*, *Lemoniye* of Shirvani's translated work can be found in late Medieval cookbooks under the names of *Romania*, *Somacchia*, *Lomania* (Rosenberger, 1999). It is a fact that sweet and sour flavors passed from Medieval Arab cuisine to both Ottoman and European cuisine of the period, however, when we turn to spices, the subject of this thesis, we encounter a different picture. Although the fondness for spices was a general trend towards the end of the Middle Ages, local preferences did not disappear under this trend. As aforementioned, the most preferred species vary by local preferences of the period. However, in general terms, black pepper, cinnamon, ginger and saffron were the most used spices in Late

Medieval Europe. More expensive and therefore more prestigious spices like nutmeg, cloves and mace were also in use. Grains of paradise or malagueta pepper, galangal, long pepper, zedoary, which are no longer known today, were also used by Europeans. On the other hand, the spices most used in the recipes in Shirvani's translation are dry coriander, cinamon, black pepper, mastic, cumin and saffron which are also included in records dated 1489-90 of Ottoman palace kitchen. Considering the possibility that dry coriander can be considered as a herb, it is unlikely that researchers studying spice consumption of medieval European cuisine didn't include dry coriander into the scope of their works. Black pepper and cinnamon were highly preferred by both Shirvani's translated recipes and Europeans. However, widespread use of mastic and cumin in Shirvani's work distinguishes the use of spices from European preferences of the period. Moreover, the use of nutmeg, cloves, mace, grains of paradise or malagueta pepper, galangal, long pepper, zedoary in European foodways is not found in Shirvani's translated recipes. In addition to the differences between spice preferences of Shirvani's translated recipes and of Medieval Europe, the sauces and mulled wine in which spices were used most in European cuisines are not included in Shirvani's work. The absence of mulled wine in the recipes was related to Islamic rules, and of sauces was linked to a difference between culinary preferences.

Another important characteristic of Shirvani's work is the recipes added by Shirvani. In these recipes, which were not translated from the original Arabic version, the variety of spices used is quite low compared to the translated recipes, in fact almost no spices are mentioned. The recipes named *Zırbaç Aşı* and *Tuffahiye*, which can be found among the translated and added recipes, are different in terms of content. It would not be wrong to say that the excessive use of medieval Europeans is not mirrored in the Ottoman

world. However, might the fact that added recipes of Shirvani don't include almost any spice, show us another important information? Can one say that spices were not as favored by the 15th century Ottomans as by Europe and the Arab world? Can one talk about the "especially excessive use of spice" as a status symbol in 15th century Ottoman cuisine? While examining the 15th century Ottoman cuisine, we do not have any sources mentioning the excessive consumption of spices. According to Arif Bilgin, who examined the sources of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries in detail, the 15th century Ottoman Cuisine was quite simpler in terms of spice use compared to the following centuries. Therefore, it would be hard to say that we see the reflections of the excessive use of spices in medieval cuisine in the 15th century Ottoman palace cuisine. Although one cannot talk about the excessive consumption of spices, there are sources of later centuries that show that they are used as a dividing element between social classes. In *The 1720 Imperial Circumcision Celebrations in Istanbul*, Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan also provides information about the spices used in festive dishes. While more expensive and prestigious spices such as cinnamon, cloves, cumin, cardamom, mastic and musk were served to the elites; pepper was served to each class (İşkorkutan, 2017). It is not surprising that different spices are used in dishes served to people of different status. It was even a practice to give different meals to people at the same table depending on their class. Moreover, the picture we learned from İşkorkutan's work does not indicate that Ottoman elites used spices excessively in daily life to distinguish themselves from the lower class. When we go back to talking about 15th century Ottoman cuisine, we do not have any data to see the reflections of Europe's love of spices at the time.

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APPENDICES



APPENDIX A. CHAPTERS AND SECTIONS OF OTTOMAN TURKISH

TRANSLATION OF SHIRVANI

Giriş

1. Birinci Bölüm, Ekşi Yemeklerin Tarifini ve Faydalarını Anlatır
2. İkinci Bölüm, Süt Ürünlerinden ve Un Cinsinden Pişen Yiyecekleri Anlatır
3. Üçüncü Bölüm, Çeşitli Çorbaların, Pilavların ve Un Yemeklerinin Tarifini Anlatır
4. Dördüncü Bölüm, Kalyeler ve Naşifeler ile Bunlara Benzer Yemeklerin Yapılışını ve Faydalarını Anlatır
 - 4.1. Birinci Fasl, Ekşi Kalyelerin ve Naşifelerin Tarifini Anlatır
 - 4.2. İkinci Fasl, İçine Ekşi ve Tatlı Konulmayan Kalyelerin, Boranların ve Kavurma Türü Yemeklerin Tarifini Anlatır
 - 4.3. Üçüncü Fasl, İçine Tatlı Konan Kalyelerin Ve Kavurma Türü Yemeklerin Tarifini Anlatır
 - 4.4. Dördüncü Fasl, Bahsi Geçen Yemekler Tavukla Pişirilmek İstendiğinde veya İçine Tavuk Konmak İstendiğinde Nasıl Pişirileceğini, Çömleğe Ne Zaman Konacağını ve Neyle Pişeceğini Anlatır
5. Beşinci Bölüm, Heriselerin ve Buna Benzer Tandırda Pişen Yemeklerin Tarifini Anlatır
6. Altıncı Bölüm, Mutaccanlar, Bevarid, Maklubeler, Senbuseler ve Bunlara Benzer Yemeklerin Tarifini Anlatır
7. Yedinci Bölüm, Balıkların Tarifini ve Faydalarını Anlatır
 - 7.1. Birinci Fasl, Taze Balıkların Tarifini Anlatır
 - 7.2. İkinci Fasl, Kuru Balıkların Tarifini Anlatır
 - 7.3. Üçüncü Fasl, Tarîh Balıklarının Yapılışını Anlatır

8. Sekizinci Bölüm, Çeşitli Turşuların Yapımını ve Kokulandırılmasını Anlatır

8.1. Birinci Fasl, Sirkeyle Yapılan Turşuları Anlatır

8.2. İkinci Fasl, Yoğurtlu Turşuları Anlatır

8.3. Üçüncü Fasl, Kokulandırılmış Yiyecekleri Anlatır

9. Dokuzuncu Bölüm, Cuzablar, Habiseler, ve Bunlara Benzer Yiyeceklerin Tariflerini ve Faydalarını Anlatır

9.1. Birinci Fasl, Cuzabların Tarifini Anlatır

9.2. İkinci Fasl, Habiselerin Yapılışını Anlatır

10. Onuncu Bölüm, Çeşitli Helvaların Tarifini ve Faydalarını Anlatır

11. On Birinci Bölüm, Huşknanlar, Kadayıflar, ve Bunlara Benzer İçine Un Katılan Yiyeceklerin Tarifini Anlatır

APPENDIX B. GLOSSARY OF SPICES

NAMES OF THE SPICES IN OTTOMAN TURKISH	NAMES OF SPICES IN TURKISH	NAMES OF THE SPICES IN ENGLISH	NAMES OF THE SPICES IN LATIN	DESCRIPTIONS
Anber	Amber	Ambergris	<i>Ambra grisea</i>	A waxy solid substance produced which can be found in ocean coasts, as it is produced in the digestive system of sperm whales.
Anisun	Anason	Aniseed	<i>Pimpinella anisum</i>	A flowering plant in the family Apiaceae native to the eastern Mediterranean region and Southwest Asia.
Asfur	Aspir, Yabani Safran	Safflower	<i>Carthamus tinctorius</i>	A plant from the Asteraceae family, is generally known also as the fake saffron.
Besbâse	Besbase, Muskat Zarı	Mace	<i>Myristica fragrans</i>	A spice produced from the aril of nutmeg seeds.
Cevz-i Hindi	Muskat, Küçük Hindistan Cevizi	Nutmeg	<i>Myristica fragrans</i>	The seeds of an evergreen tree called <i>Myristica fragrans</i> , indigenous to Maluku Islands of Indonesia.
Dâr-ı Fülful, Uzun Büber	Uzun Biber	Long Pepper	<i>Piper longum</i>	Dried fruit of a flowering vine in the family Piperaceae, used as a spice.
Darçın	Tarçın	Cinnamon	<i>Cinnamomum</i>	A sweet and warm aromatic spice derived from the inner bark of trees from the genus <i>Cinnamomum</i> .
Fülful, Büber	Karabiber	Black Pepper	<i>Piper nigrum</i>	Dried berries of the <i>Piper nigrum</i> which is a flowering vine in the family Piperaceae.
Hardal	Hardal	Mustard	<i>Sinapis alba</i>	Seeds of an annual plant of the family Brassicaceae.

Kafur	Kafur	Camphor	<i>Camphora officinarum</i>	A white crystalline substance derived from camphor tree woods, with a strong aroma.
Karanf�l	Karanfil	Clove	<i>Syzygium aromaticum</i>	Small dried brown flower buds of a tropical evergreen tree of the family Myrtaceae.
Kimnun, Kemm�n	Kimyon	Cumin	<i>Cuminum cyminum</i>	Dried seed of the herb cuminum cyminum, a member of the parsley family.
Kiravaya	Keraviye, Karaman Kimyonu	Caraway	<i>Carum carvi</i>	A plant belonging to the Apiaceae family which also includes parsley and celery. Its dark brown seeds which are used in various cuisines as spice have a flavor with hints of citrus and anise.
Kuru Kişnic	Kuru Kişniş	Dry Coriander	<i>Coriandrum sativum</i>	Dried seeds of a plant from the family Apiaceae.
Kuru Na'na	Kuru Nane	Dry Mint	<i>Mentha</i>	Dried leaves of a garden plant species called mentha.
Kuru Turak Otu	Kuru Dere Otu	Dry Dill	<i>Anethum graveolens</i>	Dried leaves of an annual herb in the celery family Apiaceae.
Mastaki	Sakız, Damla Sakızı	Mastic	<i>Pistacia lentiscus</i>	A resin obtained from the mastic tree, pistacia lentiscus which can be found in the Mediterranean region. Generally used in gums, foods and beverages, mastic has an earthy and sweet aroma .
M�şk	Misk	Musk	<i>Moschus moschiferus</i>	A natural substance derived from the musk gland of the male musk deer, moschus

				moschiferus. It has a strong, earthy, woody aroma.
Nemek	Tuz	Salt	<i>Sal</i>	Composed of sodium chloride (NaCl), salt can be produced from sea water or salt mines.
Sumak	Sumak	Sumac	<i>Rhus coriaria</i>	Fruits of a flowering plant called Rhus coriaria, generally used dried.
Sükker, Şeker	Şeker	Sugar	<i>Saccharum officinarum</i>	Sweetening condiment produced from sugarcane, a tropical grass scientifically called Saccharum officinarum.
Za'feran	Safran	Saffron	<i>Crocus sativus</i>	Known for its vibrant yellow color, it is a spice derived from the flower's stigma of Crocus sativus.
Zencebil	Zencefil	Ginger	<i>Zingiber officinale</i>	The root of a flowering plant called Zingiber officinale, used as a spice or medicine.

APPENDIX C. GLOSSARY OF CONDIMENTS

NAMES OF THE CONDIMENTS IN OTTOMAN TURKISH	NAMES OF THE CONDIMENTS IN TURKISH	NAMES OF THE CONDIMENTS IN ENGLISH	DESCRIPTIONS
Âb-ı Gûre	Koruk Suyu	Verjuice	A commonly used sour juice in medieval Arab and European cuisines, made from unripe grapes.
Gülâb	Gülsuyu	Rose Water	Fragrant water used in cooking, produced from steeping rose petals in water.
Hall, Sirke	Sirke	Vinegar	An acidic sour liquid produced by fermentation of diverse ingredients.

APPENDIX D. EXAMPLES OF RECIPES

Argunşah, M., & Çakır, M. (Trans). (2005). *15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mutfağı Muhammed bin Mahmûd Şirvanî*. Istanbul: Gökkuşbe.

“Limoniye

Faydaları: Kolay sindirilir, iştahı açar, midedeki safrayı ve balgam kokusunu giderir, mahmurlara, vücuttaki balgamın ve safranin sebep olduđu sıtmaya, hummaya, başı ağrıyanlara, başı dönenlere, gözü kararanlara, midesi ağrıyanlara, sıcak ve vebalı yerlerde bulunanlara özellikle kırmızı oğlak eti veya tavuk, piliç, keklik, güvercin yavrusu veya turaç kuşunun etiyle yapıldığında son derece faydalı yiyecektir.

Tarifi: Et ve kuyruk adete uygun şekilde doğranır. Biraz tuz eklenerek çömleğe bırakılır, yeterince sıcak su konur ve kaynatılır, kaynadıkça köpüğü alınır. Daha sonra soğan ve pırasa tuzlu suda yıkanır, çömleğe bırakılır, biraz havuç da koyalar. Eğer varsa kabuğu soyulmuş patlıcan da dört parçaya ayrıldıktan sonra tuzlu suda bekletilir. Bundan sonra tavuk eti alınır, doğranır. Çömlekteki havucun üzerine konur. Üzerine biraz dövölmüş kuru kişniş, mastika, biber, tarçın, zencefil ve yaş nane eklenir. Et ve tavuk tamamen pişinceye kadar kaynatılır. Piştikten sonra gerektiği kadar limon suyu katılır. Daha sonra biraz badem dövölür, su ile ezilir ve malzemenin üzerine bırakılır. Bütün bu işlemler yapıldıktan sonra biraz gül suyu serpilir ve nane ekilir, çevresi silinir, kıvama gelinceye kadar kor üstüne konur. İndirilir, yenir. Eğer yemeğin biraz tatlı olması istenirse nane ve patlıcan konulduktan sonra azıcık ak şeker eklenebilir.”⁵⁰

⁵⁰ p. 63

“Maklube

Faydaları: Yiyecekleri sindirir, iştahı açar, safrayı midede çabuk sindirilir, cinsel gücü artırır. Mahmurlara, sevdası üstün gelenlere ve kalp sıkışmasına son derece uygundur. Sıcak mizaçlıların cinsel gücünü artırır.

Tarifi: Dilimlenmiş siyah et satırla iyice doğrandıktan sonra taş havanda dövülerek ezilir ve çömleğe bırakılır. Taze sumak ayrı bir çömlekte suyla kaynatılır. Ovularak süzülür ve diğer çömlekteki etin üzerine eklenir. Üzerine daha önce sumak kaynatılan sudan etin batacağı kadar dökülür. Et pişinceye ve suyunu çekinceye kadar kaynatılır, çömlekten çıkarılarak ayrı bir kaba alınır. Üzerine biraz limon suyu serpilir. Süzülünceye kadar bekletilir. Biraz dövülmüş kuru kişniş, kimyon, biber, tarçın ve kuru nane ekilir. Ceviz içi iyice dövülerek malzemeye eklenir. Üzerlerine birkaç yumurta sarısı kılır ve iyice karıştırılır. Çörek gibi yuvarlak kurslar yapılır. Tavada susam yağında her iki yüzü de kızaracak şekilde kavrulur ve indirilir, yenir.”⁵¹

⁵¹ p. 95