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Introduction

In 1440, a great celebration occurred on the roads from Navarre to Valladolid in preparation for a royal wedding. The Princess of Portugal, Dona Blanca, traveled with her mother and their royal entourage to the courts of the king of Castile to marry his son. When they arrived in the small town of Briviesca, the count of Halo hosted a massive feast in the ladies' honor. A hundred knights greeted them outside the city to entertain them, jousting while the "guilds all came out with their banners and theatrical skits...with great dances, great enjoyment and happiness."¹ The artisans of the city, the "Jews with their Torah," and the "Moors with the Qur'an," all greeted the procession and accompanied them to the palace, while music played through the streets.² The feast included such a wealth of "poultry, meats, fish, delicacies, and fruits that it was a marvelous thing to see."³ Everyone was "fed abundantly" and the feast continued for four days.⁴ Such feasts presented an opportunity for the nobility to display their affluence and gain favor with royalty.

Feasts, and therefore food, demonstrated the prosperity of a region, and commensality, the practice of dining together, allowed those in power to display their generosity to other members of the community. The count of Halo exhibited his ability not only to feed the peasants, artisans, Jews, and Muslims of the town, along with the nobles, but also to continue the celebration for days on end. These occasions presented the perfect opportunities to convey, through foodways, the ethos of a society that valued expressions of social boundaries between

¹ "Preparations for a Royal Wedding," in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable and Damian Zurro, trans. Teofilo Ruiz, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 449.

² "Preparations for a Royal Wedding," 450.

³ "Preparations for a Royal Wedding," 450.

⁴ "Preparations for a Royal Wedding," 450.

groups of people. They allowed people to consume certain foods based on their position, and to sit in specified areas according to their status. Feasts upheld the Christian ideas of charity and celebrating God's creation, while reinforcing boundaries between the upper and lower classes and Christians, Jews, and Muslims.

Iberia presents an interesting case study of long-lasting interactions between the three major religious communities active throughout the medieval world. From the eighth to the fifteenth century, Iberia was home to the people of each of these three distinct religions. Christian, Jewish, and Muslim communities negotiated and communicated their positions within the broader Islamic Andalusí and Christian Latin societies in the south and the north of Spain. Over the centuries, their food choices and habits echoed their interactions. As a result of prolonged proximity to each other, the people of Spain adapted to certain customs and habits of the other prominent religious communities and ethnic groups, shown in their architectural styles, literary traditions, language, and food.⁵ Modern authors attempt to establish both the boundaries these groups created and their mutual impact on one another's societies. Historians have not yet devoted much research to the study of the way in which these three communities expressed their identities through what they ate and how they segregated themselves through their foodstuffs and consumption practices. Focusing on foodways is important to understanding the larger debate among historians concerned with medieval tolerance, or *convivencia*, and the outbreaks of violence in later centuries during the so-called *Reconquista*.

Spanish food is almost impossible to classify with a general and homogenous style or set of preferences of tastes. Much like the rest of medieval western Europe, cultures varied within

⁵ Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 3.

the geographic borders of now recognized countries, and Spain itself did not resemble its current form until the late fifteenth century. The variety present in Spanish food is as much a result of distinct topographical and geographical areas as it is of the migration and imposition of cultures on one another throughout the region. Greeks and Phoenicians began cultivating olives and grapes on the peninsula, producing the wine and olive oil that became two main staples of Spanish food.⁶ The two greatest cultural impacts on Spanish cuisine by the late medieval period came from the Roman and Arabic periods of control. Moreover, the symbolic importance of these items, the methods used to prepare them, and the means of consumption all varied between these groups.

The spread and adoption of food-related traditions and perceptions of how and what people of other faiths ate changed through the centuries, as relationships between religious communities degenerated. Each faith had its own customs relating to food, especially as their food pertained to the demarcation of religious identity. In the early centuries of contact, Muslims, Jews, and Christians transcended religious boundaries in their adoption of the foodways of other religious communities. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the people of Iberia had witnessed massive loss of life during the plague, and tensions between communities rose. In later centuries, markers of religious identity became increasingly important as attitudes toward peoples of other faiths transformed. Outward expressions of religious identity, like food habits, allowed the dominant religions to target people of other faiths. The complex and nuanced relationships between the religious communities of medieval Iberia can be further clarified through the study of their foodways.

⁶ Rafael Chabran, "Medieval Spain," *Regional Cuisines of Medieval Europe*, ed. Melitta Weiss Adamson (New York: Routledge), 126.

During the expansion of the Umayyad Caliphate in the early eighth century, Muslim armies continued conquering parts of North Africa until they eventually reached Iberia and began to overtake territory in the peninsula. In 711, the Arab and Berber military forces, led by Tariq ibn Ziyad, overthrew the Visigothic king Roderick (r. 710-712) and rapidly captured all but the northernmost areas of the peninsula.⁷ Shortly after, in 756, the Umayyad caliphate lost power in the east to the Abbasids and established the Emirate of Córdoba in al-Andalus, Muslim Spain, with its namesake city as the capital.⁸ Córdoba became one of the most significant cultural centers of the Islamic world although the Abbasid caliphate never controlled it.

When Abd al-Rahman I created the Umayyad Emirate of Córdoba in 756, While the Muslims occupiers controlled the territory, regional seats of power often remained in the hands of the native majority, the Mozarabs.⁹ These were Christians who lived under Islamic control along with Jewish communities and adapted new elements of the Arab culture into their own habits and cultural practices. The regional kings remained primarily “Ibero-Roman” until the tenth and eleventh century when Muslim kings began to exert more control over the region.¹⁰ In 929, Abd al-Rahman III declared the emirate the independent Caliphate of Córdoba. He solidified his control and stabilized the region amid social unrest, elevating the position of the region to the political equivalent of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad. Unfortunately, lasting tensions between the Arab and Berber Muslims challenged the political stability of the region

⁷ Brian A. Catlos *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050 - 1300*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1.

⁸ Simon Barton, *A History of Spain*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 33.

⁹ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 25.

¹⁰ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 25.

and eventually resulted in a fractured al-Andalus and system of small principalities, *Taifas*, after 1031.¹¹

Christians retained control in the northern kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Navarre, Aragon, and Catalonia with borders along the *Thaghr*, or the furthest march of the Islamic realm.¹² Between the tenth and twelfth centuries, al-Andalus connected Islam to Christendom through trade. Merchants of every faith brought goods through the peninsula to Europe, where the desire for exotic commodities and spices grew. Al-Andalus continued to grow in wealth and prestige and produced several renowned physicians and intellectuals whose writings are still consulted today.¹³ By the early eleventh century, the Umayyad caliphate was crumbling into small principalities because of internal strife between opposing factions of Arabs and Berbers. These small polities were known as *Taifa* kingdoms. The Christian kingdoms of the north grew in power and united briefly under Sancho III Garces of Navarre in 1035.¹⁴ The new hegemonic Christian state, though short-lived, managed to conquer territory from the weakened Muslim-held regions of the peninsula to capture Toledo in 1085. This movement began a centuries-long struggle over territory in Iberia, characterized by modern scholars as the *Reconquista*.

Despite the push for more territory under a united Christian front, their alliance quickly disassembled, after the Andalusi Muslims, known by the Christians as Moors, called for aid from the Berber kingdoms in the Maghreb, North Africa. The response came from the Almoravids, a pious and fundamentalist tribe of Berbers. When they moved into the peninsula, the Almoravids

¹¹ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 64, and 77.

¹² Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 24.

¹³ Moses Maimonides, "Introduction: Moses Maimonides' Two Treatises on the Regimen of Health: *Fi Tadbir Al-Sihhah* and *Maqalah Fi Bayan Ba'd Al-A'rad Wa-Al-Jawab 'Anha*." Ed. by Ariel Bar-Sela, Hebbel E. Hoff, and Elias Faris. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 54, no. 4 (1964): 3.

¹⁴ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 72.

took control from the fragmented *Taifa* rulers, and governed al-Andalus from 1040-1147.¹⁵ Their aid not only brought help against the Christians but imposed a harsher rule of law on the Andalusians, some of whom were Christians and Jews.¹⁶ Prior to the imposition of the Almoravid regime on al-Andalus, both the Christian- and the Muslim-dominated regions of the peninsula had fractured into small kingdoms. These polities further divided the people who vied for supremacy amongst coreligionists as much as against confessional rivals.”¹⁷ Fragmented rule marked the eleventh and twelfth centuries of Iberian history as an incredibly complex amalgamation of shifting alliances and control between Christian and Muslim leadership. The shifting frontier between the Christian and Muslim worlds necessitated a greater degree of *convivencia* or “living together” as Christians, Muslims, and Jews moved around the region with greater frequency.¹⁸ Cultural exchanges between the three religions took place through increased trade and the need for political alliances.

In the twelfth century, the Almohades took over al-Andalus from the Almoravids, instituting even more strict interpretations of Islam as they exiled Jews and sometimes Christians from their regions. The Christian and Jewish communities who lived under the Umayyad Caliphate as protected citizens known as *dhimmi*, were now subject to a fundamentalist Muslim regime. The previous protections granted to them, which allowed them to live under Islamic laws and keep their religion, were retracted.¹⁹ Prior to this sect taking over the peninsula, Jews served in both Muslim and Christian courts and acted as intermediaries between the two religions.²⁰ By 1212, the Almohades lost the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in the Sierra Morena against the

¹⁵ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 36.

¹⁶ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 36.

¹⁷ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 71.

¹⁸ David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 9.

¹⁹ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 82.

²⁰ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 82.

combined forces of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal. In 1236, Ferdinand III permanently united Castile and Leon, and his forces soon took Seville, where by the mid-thirteenth century his son and heir would be revered as the “King of the Three Religions.”²¹ The Almohades were driven out completely by the 1270s, marking the end of a significant military threat to Christian power on the peninsula.

The result of these Christian conquests was the increased contact of the Old Christians in the northern kingdoms with greater numbers of Jews and Muslims than had been possible under their jurisdiction at any period prior.²² Governing and living together with these new populations necessitated new codes of law in the form of *fueros* and eventually larger codes like the *Siete Partidas*. The religious communities in Iberia remained largely autonomous and self-governed under Christian authority. Muslims and Jews lived independently in their own communities known as *aljamas*, in which they followed their own civil and legal codes.²³ Both Muslims and Jews served in Christian courts and the three religions maintained their symbiotic relationships which served their communities.

In 1333, the people in Iberia experienced what they would later call “the first bad year,” after a famine devastated the peninsula.²⁴ Following food shortages were outbreaks of plague in 1348, and with food scarcity came outbursts of aggression. According to David Nirenberg, “for minorities, the fourteenth century was among the most violent.”²⁵ Violence against Jewish communities became especially prevalent during this epoch and they were targeted not as poisoners of the innocent Christians, but blamed as the harbingers of chaos and their sin brought

²¹ Wiebke Deimann, *Christen, Juden und Muslime Im Mittelalterlichen Sevilla: Religiöse Minderheiten Unter Muslimischer Und Christlicher Dominanz 12. Bis 14. Jahrhundert*, (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2012), 121.

²² “Libros de repartimiento,” in *Medieval Iberia*, trans. Thomas F. Glick, 298 – 302.

²³ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 125.

²⁴ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 119.

²⁵ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 18.

the wrath of God.²⁶ Violence against their communities occurred all over Europe, and, in 1391, Jewish communities were attacked throughout Spain.²⁷ The blame was placed increasingly on the presence of Jews and Muslims and their failure to accept Christianity. By the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, royal authorities promulgated the edicts of conversion. The minority faiths living under Christian authority in Iberia were forced by royal mandate to abandon their religions as well as all their associated customs and habits and adopt Christianity.²⁸ Outward markers of religious identity, notably visible through foodways, became crucial to the survival of some during the inquisition.

The unique culture of the Jews of Spain developed within the prolonged period of living together that encapsulated the multitude of cultures in Spain. The remnants of their society continue within the Sephardic tradition, which spread across North Africa and eventually the Ottoman Empire after the expulsion.²⁹ The customs of this group originated in ancient Persia and Babylonia, and their descendants remained in the thriving Sasanian Empire.³⁰ Consequently, by the eighth century Jews lived alongside Muslims and some Christians under Umayyad and Abbasid rule and their food customs developed alongside Islamic cuisine. Their status as *dhimmi*s, protected citizens, maintained the autonomy of their communities. Their social stratification and elements of high society often reflected those of Muslims. In the courts of the Abbasids in Baghdad and Umayyads in Córdoba, Jews could become “courtiers and merchants, physicians, mathematicians and philosophers, poets and musicians.”³¹ Abu an-Nasser, a Jewish musician at court, introduced Ziryab, the man who revolutionized Andalusí customs and society,

²⁶ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 227.

²⁷ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 227-9.

²⁸ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 246.

²⁹ Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food*, 212.

³⁰ Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food*, 214.

³¹ Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food*, 215.

to the Court of Córdoba.³² Jews were also instrumental in trade between Islamic regions and Christian kingdoms. Their communities emigrated to al-Andalus alongside Muslims and in the eleventh century became the center of the Jewish diaspora enjoying a period today known today as the “Jewish Golden Age.”³³

In order to understand the way in which peoples of different faiths incorporated food into their cultural identity, it is necessary to understand the relationships between religious communities more broadly. Disputes among scholars and their attempts to characterize these relationships defined the field, and the country, throughout the twentieth century. The most well-known of these are the polemical works of Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz and Américo Castro. Sánchez-Albornoz proposed that Spanish history and identity are based on the Christian-Visigothic culture, which persisted through the centuries of Muslim occupation and domination, culminating in the modern Catholic-Spanish religious identity.³⁴ Castro argued against this notion and created the idea of *convivencia*, “living together.” He proposed that in the Middle Ages Christian, Islamic, and Judaic cultural elements assembled to form what would eventually become modern Spanish identity.³⁵ He used this premise as an explanation for the cultural variants of modern Spain from other western European nations. More recent scholars have framed their own arguments on the interactions of these three communities according to their debate, though they have since abandoned this “preoccupation with Spanish identity.”³⁶ Brian

³² Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food*, 217.

³³ Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food*, 218

³⁴ Jennifer L. Green, “The Jews of Medieval Spain in Modern Spanish Historiography: Spain, Its Jewish Past, and Modern Spanish Identity,” *International Social Science Review* 73, no. 1-2 (January 01, 1998): 15.

³⁵ Green, “The Jews of Medieval Spain in Modern Spanish Historiography,” 16.

³⁶ Green, “The Jews of Medieval Spain in Modern Spanish Historiography,” 16.

Catlos characterizes Sanchez-Albornoz's works as modern "Spanish cultural self-expressionism rather than medieval historical reality."³⁷

Thomas Glick presents an interesting case with his work, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, which focuses on the idea of *convivencia* and the nature of Christian and Muslim interactions with each another, largely using an archaeological source-base. He acts as a historian, sociologist, geographer, and psychologist.³⁸ Glick concentrates on the differences between cultural diffusion – when one culture adopts certain characteristics of another – and acculturation – larger cultural shifts serving to integrate into the dominant society.³⁹ Glick employs a broad interdisciplinary look into Islamic and Christian societies, where he devotes an entire section to the influences of Islamic agrarian practices on the Christians of later centuries as they conquered Muslim territory and briefly discusses their diets. However, he does not spend the majority of his argument discussing these elements of interaction and instead bases his conclusions on archaeological rather than textual sources. His recognition of food's importance in this field in 1979 indicates the emergence of food history and its relevance to the study of religious tolerance and interaction.

David Nirenberg challenges the idea of *convivencia* as exclusively positive.⁴⁰ He stipulates that Christians, Muslims, and Jews maintained their symbiotic societies through periods of coexistence and intermittent periods of violence. Nirenberg approaches the status of minorities by investigating instances of violence in the fourteenth century in northern Spain and southern France. His primary point is the "refutation of this widespread notion that we can best

³⁷ Catlos *The Victors and the Vanquished*, 6.

³⁸ James F. Powers, "Review of Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages: Comparative Perspectives on Social and Cultural Formation." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, (Winter, 1982): 558.

³⁹ Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 5-6.

⁴⁰ Catlos *The Victors and the Vanquished*, 8.

understand intolerance by stressing the fundamental continuity between collective systems of thought across historical time.”⁴¹ Nirenberg incorporates sociological theory in his studies. His awareness of the scholarship proceeding him influenced his attempts to rebuke common beliefs and assumptions. The focus of his study remains within the purview of Jewish-Christian interaction, because of the presence of Jews and their influence in cities in the Crown of Aragon.⁴² His focus on cultural and the political and social barriers these religious groups created are especially revealing when applied more broadly to the study of food.

Brian Catlos adds to this analysis with his book, *Victors and Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050-1300*, incorporating sociological methods to inform his interpretation on the construction of these social groups. Catlos’ goal is to broaden the study and allow more scholarship to build on his own work and expand methodological approaches.⁴³ Catlos’ book and analysis closely follow Nirenberg’s; however, rather than focusing on the Jewish experience, he studies the situation of the Muslims in the Crown of Aragon. He credits Nirenberg as the first “to resist the tendency to present Islamic society strictly in terms of an ‘other.’”⁴⁴ The focus of this book is the response of Muslims to conquest by the Christians and the abatement of their authority in Spain. He questions the effect this subjugation had on Muslim society and ethnogenesis. Like Nirenberg, he occasionally incorporates the study of the foodways of these three faiths to discuss the nuances of their interactions within the broader scope of “language, social and family structures, culture, government, and economy.”⁴⁵ He refutes the idea that in the study of religious communities in Iberia that their religious boundaries

⁴¹ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 6.

⁴² Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 27.

⁴³ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 10.

⁴⁴ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 8.

⁴⁵ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 11.

and therefore religious identity are the only important aspects of an individual's identity, suggesting that this type of analysis severely limits the study of the people of medieval Spain.⁴⁶

Thomas Glick, David Nirenberg, and Brian Catlos all focus briefly on the way in which people used food as a medium to communicate identity, but none of them fully addresses the subject. Olivia Remie Constable's 2012 article "Food and Meaning" is an example of the incorporation of food scholarship into the larger historical discussion surrounding medieval religions in Spain. Her work on trade between the east and west, from Cairo to Spain provides her with ample sources to draw upon in her study. Constable's argument centers on the changing attitudes of the Christians toward the "other" during the later medieval period, as the Inquisition spread and altered the ways in which religions viewed themselves and each other and used food to reinforce these views. By the fourteenth century, Christians ruled over all of Spain with the exception of Granada. After a century of plague and famine, they began to remove the non-Christian elements of society.⁴⁷ This process eventually resulted in the forced conversion of Muslims and Jews. According to Constable, "many new Christians [recent converts from Islam, Morescos, or Judaism, conversos] continued to pursue cultural practices—diet, food habits, clothing, music, daily rituals,"—which the old Christians viewed as a rejection of their faith.⁴⁸ Constable reveals the way in which food was used to identify people from other groups and evaluate their morality accordingly. In a culture where these three faiths were prominent, Christian rulers created a system that allowed foodways to be used against the members of other religions.

⁴⁶ Catlos, *Victors and the Vanquished*, 10.

⁴⁷ Olivia Remie Constable, "Food and Meaning: Christian Understandings of Muslim Food and Food Ways in Spain, 1250-1550," *Viator* 44, no. 3 (2013): 229-230.

⁴⁸ Constable, "Food and Meaning," 231.

Food was important to the construction of religious identity. The variety of sources she draws upon allow Bridget Ann Henisch, in 1976, to shape the foundation of the modern understanding of food in the Middle Ages. Most of the primary sources Henisch studies, like cookbooks, come from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. Other sources tend to come from the high and late medieval periods as well: sermons, accounts of the lives of saints, estate accounts, monasteries, and other church documents. More recent publications by other pioneers of the field have largely forgone the former study of quantitative data, attempting to calculate the exact amount of food consumed by a community for an analysis of sources more relevant to the culture. Despite the attention paid to fasting, the Church doctrine of the period presented two differing ideas: the sanctification of eating and feasting, at odds with the desire to detach from the world and grow impervious to life's attachments.⁴⁹ Medieval Christians confronted the notion that the physical comforts and desires of the world presented an evil, while also rejoicing at the creation of the world by a loving deity.⁵⁰ Henisch provides an analysis of how the population dealt with these opposing ideas from a number of perspectives: those of cooks, lords, managers of estates, members of the clergy, and monastic orders. As one of the earliest attempts at analyzing medieval food, Henisch's broad understanding of the source bases available to her, and her thoughtful interpretation, provided historians with a useful, comprehensive introduction to the debate.

Massimo Montanari uses food scholarship as a means to illuminate and ultimately reject the idea of a 'Dark Age,'— a single uniform period during which change was minimal for nearly a thousand years. Montanari challenges the idea that medieval food was something

⁴⁹ Bridget Ann Henisch, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 2.

⁵⁰ Henisch, *Fast and Feast*, 3.

entirely foreign and unappetizing to modern tastes and consisted primarily of spoiled meats that required an array of exotic spices to mask their flavor. He points out that the presumed ideas and values of ancient Roman Christian origins of food added validity to certain habits and customs, and that “tradition is a guarantee of quality.”⁵¹ Montanari therefore implies that cultures can justify their practices through concepts of tradition in the hopes of gaining legitimacy. According to Montanari, “bringing together the material and symbolic dimensions of food” suggests a connected interplay between the two elements in order “to emphasize the dynamic of historical change and understand the difference beyond continuity.”⁵² He builds on the scholarship of the last decade that focuses on types of production, cooking practices and gastronomic preparation, attitudes toward consumption, table manners, rules and rituals related to food, and culture.⁵³

Historians like Henisch and Montanari promote recognition of the importance of food in historical research. They analyze primary documents formerly overlooked and judged as less historically significant to understanding the cultural motivations behind consumption. Thanks to their work, modern understanding of the effect of culture on food, the value in understanding perceptions of food, and the origin of certain food-related practices now supports a more comprehensive and less foreign view of the medieval world. In the last fifteen years, a number of overviews concerning medieval food have been published. Scholars tend to agree that the church strongly influenced the daily lives and the food intake of Christians and that Roman Christian tradition influenced the table tremendously, especially in regions along the Mediterranean like Spain.

⁵¹ Massimo Montanari, *Medieval Tastes: Food, Cooking, and the Table* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 2.

⁵² Montanari, *Medieval Tastes* 6.

⁵³ Montanari, *Medieval Tastes*, 6.

Spanish historical scholarship throughout the twentieth century was contentious. Scholars attempted to understand modern identity by finding cohesion with the past. Later authors like Glick, Catlos, and Nirenberg, remapped the study of Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Spain. They no longer sought to understand modern identity, but used sociological tools to understand each religion within their own context, both historical and societal. While each briefly touched on the importance of food to culture in their studies, Constable was the first to analyze the significance of this relationship between religion and food and frame it within the specific society of interest. Hensch's work is foundational to the study of medieval European food, and Montanari systematically charts the importance of each category of food. Both illuminate the contribution of food history to understanding a culture and by extension how people interacted with the world and communities surrounding them. Understanding how Christians, Muslims, and Jews viewed food is integral to understanding how they organized their societies and viewed their own social boundaries. Foodways, therefore, not only helped determine their boundaries, but reinforced them through literary and legal means, and sometimes even violence. Food was used in different ways in this relationship and can help mark the changing attitudes of people of a particular faith to others.

Chapter 1: Convivencia and Living Together

Situated on the east coast of Spain, Valencia, like many modern Spanish capitals, represents the multiplicity of cultures that inhabited the region for centuries. The interactions of the different religious and ethnic groups are reflected in the city's architecture, language, and food. Paella, a popular Valencian dish also prevalent in the rest of Spain, emerged from the enduring legacy of both Roman and Arabic influences on the culture and cuisine of the region.⁵⁴ Paella has many modern iterations and is eaten all over the Spanish-speaking world. Its main ingredients are rice, chicken, and rabbit, mixed with exotic spices like paprika and saffron, all cooked together in a large paella pan with green and white beans.⁵⁵ The name itself relates etymologically to Roman vessels, *patera*, *patina*, or *patella*, which in turn developed into old Castilian, *patella*, simply a pan, or *paella*, used to fry foods. The traditional method of eating around the large pan is reminiscent of the manner in which Andalusí food was consumed.⁵⁶ Many other modern Spanish recipes, like garlic soup and the Sabbath meatball recipe for stew, called Adafina, reflect the unification of these traditions and the different people and cultures who lived together in Iberia for centuries. They are both relics of the region's complex history since the era of the Roman Republic, and the religious and ethnic populations that co-existed and influenced one another's cultures and societies. Their relationships have been a source of interest for modern scholars studying a period normally dismissed as intrinsically violent.

Spain as it exists today, a mostly unified country, is by no means the same as it was in the eighth or even fourteenth century. People identified with their regions and principalities, rather

⁵⁴ Alan Davidson, "Paella," *Oxford Companion to Food*, 556-7.

⁵⁵ Davidson, "Paella," 557.

⁵⁶ Davidson, "Paella," 557.

than aligning themselves with a centralized power.⁵⁷ This renders the study of the history of Iberia solely focused on political maneuverings incomplete. While the long-term imposition of the customs and ideas of the Islamic polities in al-Andalus, and the Latin-Christian kingdoms, did eventually change the culture of the regions they conquered, this change did not come about instantaneously. The dominant religion of the governing body, whether Christianity or Islam, would not have immediately changed the ways in which people ate food, dressed, or spoke. This change in habits occurred over centuries of living side-by-side and often without intention. In medieval Iberia, people transcended their religious identities and crossed social boundaries frequently. Although the people in Iberia understood that certain foods and customs were linked to people of certain faiths, these ideas and customs were not prohibitive. People interacted and exchanged ideas despite their religious differences, and their habits and practices concerning food reflect this intermingling.

Foodways developed regionally and culturally and could be indicative of local custom or religious practices. The study of foodways can represent the different aspects of interaction between people and communities to develop a more nuanced view of these relationships. Food manuals composed in medieval Spain reveal sustained interaction that transcended religious identity and forever changed the culture of Spain. When the Islamic caliphate gained control of most of Iberia and created a frontier between Christian and Muslim controlled areas, the Arab and Berber migrants imported their customs into the pre-existing society and, in turn, adapted their own customs to suit a new, hybrid society. The result was a “melting-pot,” where the Jewish and Christian communities melded aspects of their cultures with the politically-dominant

⁵⁷ Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*. Vol. 1 (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1992), 115.

Arab and Berber populations. The result is visible in buildings like the Great Mosques in Seville and Córdoba, and in the dress and language of people in the south.⁵⁸

In the mid thirteenth-century, after the Christians conquered the majority of the peninsula, the Christian rulers had to govern a mixed population of Jews, Christians, and Muslims whose cultures had become entwined after centuries of living together. In regions with large populations of all three religions, like Seville and Toledo, the relationship between these three communities is even more visible. The culture of these areas was not the product of only one “Spanish” culture, but a mix of different influences from people of different religious groups and regions. The culture of al-Andalus was not the sole product of Islamic customs; it incorporated the ideas and habits of the Jews and Christians who had resided there for centuries. This was also true of Spain following the Christian conquest. After the Christians controlled the peninsula once again, it did not revert to the pre-Islamic society it had been in the age of the Visigoths; rather the culture of the peninsula and the customs of Iberians had been influenced and changed by the people who lived there.

The legacy of Arabic customs is evident in agricultural techniques in Iberia. The method of three-crop rotation and new irrigation practices spread north to the Carolingians in the tenth century and increased the yield of the crops to support a growing population.⁵⁹ Control and influence over agricultural production meant that Arab farmers could also begin production of common foodstuffs from their native diets and incorporate their foodways more generally into the diets of people who lived in al-Andalus. Ibn al-‘Awwām al-Ishbīlī, ‘the Sevillian’ wrote *Kitāb al-filāḥa*, “*The Book of Agriculture*,” around 1070-1075, for the last remnants of the

⁵⁸ Dodds, *The Arts of Intimacy*, 3.

⁵⁹ Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, X.

Umayyad Caliphate in Córdoba.⁶⁰ He wrote it during a period in which the caliphate still thrived in “cultural and economic prosperity.”⁶¹ In this treatise, Ibn al-‘Awwām provided specific instructions for the cultivation of olives, flax, cotton, and dates.⁶² In *Dīwān al-filāḥa*, Ibn Baṣṣāl, provided another treatise on agriculture written in the late eleventh century sixteen chapters which was translated into Castilian in the thirteenth-century.⁶³ In it, he detailed the cultivation of certain vegetables and the method used in Egypt to graft trees as well as the appropriate use of soil, manure, and water.⁶⁴ His work and the work of Ibn al-‘Awwām al-Ishbīlī are incredibly comprehensive and valuable guides to the agricultural economy of al-Andalus.

The Andalusī agricultural methods were eventually incorporated into Christian society as the Kingdom of Castile and the Crown of Aragon expanded into regions under Muslim control. Scholars like Thomas Glick consider Andalusī civilization as instrumental to the development of sustainable agricultural practices in Europe capable of feeding a growing population.⁶⁵ According to Glick, after the conquest by the Christians, many of these techniques remained in use.⁶⁶ The *Libros de repartimiento* were documents that encouraged the immigration of Christians to conquered territory and ordered the maintenance of the agricultural fields by the Christian and Jewish migrants as a condition of receiving the land. These redistributive orders from Christian kings after the conquest of a region required Christians and Jews who moved to these regions to continue to oversee the fields and the land they were given.⁶⁷ These orders

⁶⁰ Abū 'l-Khayr ash-Shajjā al-Ishbīlī, “Kitāb al-Filāḥa: Islamic Agriculture.” *The Filaha Texts Project*, trans. A.H. Fitzwilliam-Hall, http://www.filaha.org/khayr_final_translation_revised.html, Accessed April 20, 2018.

⁶¹ al-Ishbīlī, “Kitāb al-Filāḥa: Islamic Agriculture.”

⁶² al-Ishbīlī, “Kitāb al-Filāḥa: Islamic Agriculture.”

⁶³ Carabaza Bravo and García Sánchez, "Ibn Baṣṣāl: Dīwān al-filāḥa," *The Filaha Texts Project*, Accessed April 20, 2018, http://www.filaha.org/author_Ibn_bassal.html,

⁶⁴ Bravo and Sánchez, "Ibn Baṣṣāl: Dīwān al-filāḥa."

⁶⁵ Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, 74.

⁶⁶ Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, 75.

⁶⁷ “Libros de repartimiento,” in *Medieval Iberia* trans, 298-302.

provided taxes for local governments and maintained the inclusion of foods now grown on the peninsula, like oranges, rice, sugar, and saffron, from the periods of Arabic dominance into the diets of locals.

Trade provided another means to incorporate Arab foodstuffs into the diets of the inhabitants of Iberia and, along with Italy, move valuable spices and vegetables into the cuisine of western Europe. *Le Viandier de Taillevent*, one of the most famous cookbooks from fifteenth-century northern France, included Arabic imports like rice, saffron, and oranges into the recipes.⁶⁸ Initially, Jews and Muslims in al-Andalus controlled the majority of the trade that came through the peninsula, but when Valencia and Catalonia became powerful commercial rivals, southern Iberia was relegated to a frontier state and its influence lessened. According to Remie Constable's analysis of the Cairo Geniza, Jews controlled a sizable portion of the trade throughout the Mediterranean because of their community connections in North Africa, Southern Europe, Iberia, and the Levant.⁶⁹ Trade networks in al-Andalus tended to be organized and interconnected on the basis of religion. This did not prevent people of different faiths from trading with one another and forming business partnerships, but Constable suggests that "merchants [...] preferred to group themselves along religious lines."⁷⁰ Nonetheless, this trade facilitated the cooperation of people of different faiths in Andalusian society and the introduction of new foods and new customs to people of Iberia.

An important aspect of medieval cuisine is revealed through dietetics and alimentary manuals. Schools welcomed students of all faiths, and many renowned institutions were in

⁶⁸ Terence Scully. *The Viandier: A Critical Edition with English Translation*. (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2007).

⁶⁹ Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 60-62.

⁷⁰ Constable, *Trade and Traders*, 57.

Spain.⁷¹ The writings of medical practitioners, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim alike, were broadly reproduced in both the Christian and Islamic realms. Most cookbook manuscripts included advice from physicians and concerned the common medical theories of the age. These texts used food to treat ailments and return the body to a balanced state. Jewish physicians served many Christian and Muslim rulers at court until the late fourteenth century, when Ferdinand and Isabella promulgated the Edicts of Expulsion in 1492.⁷² Ancient Greek and Arabic authors wrote the most famous manuals of health, and scholars translated these texts in Spain and Italy. The regions of Iberia where these religious groups lived together communicated and exchanged knowledge and adopted the customs and practices of the communities that surrounded them.

Galen's second century *Book of Familiar Foods* expanded on Hippocrates' much earlier ideas of the four humors—blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm—and their relationship to the natural temperaments of the consumer.⁷³ The field is referred to as dietetic or alimentary science and was influential in shaping how the people of the Middle Ages developed ideas about social class and the natural dispositions of people as well as the way a person should eat food and retain their health. Galen created a list of temperaments: sanguine “combines warmth and moistness and is the essence of the air”; a choleric temperament was “a mixture of warmth and dryness, and realized by fire”; melancholic “mixes coldness and dryness, the qualities of earth”; and a phlegmatic temperament meant one was “cold and moist, as is water.”⁷⁴ A person's health relied on a balanced temperament, which was produced by a balance of fluids, or humors, in the

⁷¹ Hood, "The Thirteenth-Century Context," 20.

⁷² Olivia Remie Constable, *To Live Like A Moor: Christian Perceptions of Muslim Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*. Ed. Robin Vose. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 109.

⁷³ Ibn Sayyar al-Warrāq, *Annals of the Caliphs Kitchens: Ibn Sayyar Al-Warraq's Tenth-Century Baghdadi Cookbook*. Trans. by Nawal Nasrallah. Vol. 70. Islamic History and Civilization, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 95.

⁷⁴ Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1995), 41.

body. When people were ill, it was assumed that they had an excess of one type of fluid.

Imbalance could be mitigated, and health restored, based on the food a person consumed.

Galen's ideas were massively influential and brought to medieval Europe through contact points with the Arab world in Spain and Italy.⁷⁵ Scholars and physicians facilitated this exchange as they acted in a society with visible influences from Jewish, Muslim, and Christian intellectuals.

Medieval Islamic medical practices were based on the belief in the four humors inspired by Galen. Authors in the Middle Ages took the ideas of Galen and other Greek scholars and expanded upon them further. One of the most influential medieval physicians was a Muslim scholar from Iran, Avicenna, who wrote his *Treatise on the Canon of Medicine* around 1010 – 1015. Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187) translated Avicenna's *Canon* from Arabic to Latin in the twelfth century. Gerard was a Christian translator who worked in the Kingdom of Castile at the Toledo School of Translation.⁷⁶ His work was well received in the Christian kingdoms in Spain as well as in Europe, where Islamic texts had been translated for nearly a century already and had a profound impact on medieval food culture in both the Islamic and Christian worlds.

Avicenna theorized more about food than the implication of an individual's humoral complexion.⁷⁷ His *Canon* was a massive encyclopedia and included information on the proper components of a meal: flesh, wheat, "sweets of an appropriate temperament," and a fragrant wine.⁷⁸ He also indicated which foodstuffs were extraneous. He insisted on moderation in eating, assigned certain foods or "aliments" as solutions to balance a person's constitutions and cure

⁷⁵ Albala, *The Food History Reader*, 256.

⁷⁶ P. Glorieux, "Gerard of Cremona," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. (Detroit: Gale, 2003).
http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/K3407704542/BIC?u=lycoming_acad&sid=BIC&xid=f40169db.

⁷⁷ Irven M. Resnick, "Introduction to Medieval Physiognomy," in *Marks of Distinctions: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages*, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 19.

⁷⁸ Avicenna, "Canon," in *The Food History Reader: Primary Sources*, trans. Ken Albala (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 256.

them of ailments.⁷⁹ According to Avicenna, fruits caused a watery humor in everyone, except those who did laborious work.⁸⁰ These theories on health, as Montanari shows, were used in later centuries to divide people into their respective classes, and enforced hierarchies and class boundaries, even within religious groups. Elites were particularly interested in this form of science.⁸¹

The influence of Galen and Avicenna is apparent in the tenth and thirteenth century *Baghdad Cookery Books* and in Arnold de Villanova's *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* (The Salernitan Rule of Health 1307). Arnold de Villanova was a Catalan scholar who studied in Italy and worked and wrote in both his homeland and abroad. His work incorporated the teaching of Greek, Islamic, and Jewish medical theory, and was referred to as "Galen-Arabicized."⁸² This text, in particular, was authored in poetic prose which meant it was easier to remember and absorb the information it contained, and therefore in high demand.⁸³ The *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* was extremely popular and reprinted in the vernacular language of the Crown of Aragon, and in Hebrew.⁸⁴ It was one of the most widely circulated and copied texts concerning health in the Middle Ages. The accessible language and entertaining style, as well as the subject, made the work widely coveted. The text represents the exchange of thought in Crown of Aragon and the accessibility of the works of authors of other religious factions. The *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* is probably a better representation of the legacy of Arabic thought on the scholars

⁷⁹ Avicenna, "Canon," 257-258.

⁸⁰ Avicenna, "Canon," 263.

⁸¹ Montanari, *Medieval Tastes*, 26.

⁸² Robert I. Burns, "Arnold of Villanova." *Salem Press Biographical Encyclopedia* (2013): *Research Starters*, EBSCOhost. Accessed April 30, 2018.

⁸³ *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum: The Code of Health at the School of Salerno*, trans. John Ordronaux (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1870).

⁸⁴ Burns, "Arnold of Villanova."

of Iberia, rather than an indication of a prosperous and fruitful exchange occurring among Arnold de Villanova and his contemporaries by the fourteenth century.

Research in alimentary arts comprised the majority of the scientific literature from this era, and the introduction of these texts from Muslim to Christian realms through Spain demonstrates the position of the peninsula as a point of contact between these different faiths. Jewish physicians also had a huge influence on the development of alimentary sciences in Iberia. One of the most authoritative voices on the field was Moses Maimonides (d. 1204). He was a Jewish philosopher and physician who fled from Córdoba to the Maghreb and then to Egypt after the rise of the Almohades in 1148 and their subsequent persecution of the Jews.⁸⁵ His medical treatises are credited by modern historians with having bridged the divide between the eastern and western traditions.⁸⁶ In his *Regimen of Health* (c. 1193-1198), which he addressed to the son of Saladin, he declared himself the “Israelite of Córdoba,” and offered general health information related to diet, and solutions to particular illnesses of the Sultan. His initial focus in this text was establishing the appropriate conduct around mealtimes for the maintenance of health. Maimonides also stressed moderation in consumption for its health benefits.⁸⁷ Information in his text did not attempt only to communicate with one religious group but instead was meant for members of every community. According to Ken Albala, Maimonides’ work was “exemplary of the last phase of fruitful interchange among all three monotheistic faiths in Spain.”⁸⁸ Medical knowledge appears to have flowed with ease between societies, and the widespread presence of

⁸⁵ Maimonides, “Introduction: Moses Maimonides' Two Treatises on the Regimen of Health,” 1-2.

⁸⁵ Maimonides, “Introduction: Moses Maimonides' Two Treatises on the Regimen of Health,” 4.

⁸⁶ Maimonides, “Introduction: Moses Maimonides' Two Treatises on the Regimen of Health,” 4.

⁸⁷ Maimonides, “Two Treatises on the Regimen of Health,” 17.

⁸⁸ Albala, “Regimen of Health,” *The Food History Reader*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 266.

these ideas is indicative of contact and a degree of respect which allowed an exchange of learning.

Maimonides' treatises illustrated this influence, but Islamic authors like the compiler of the thirteenth century *Baghdad Cookery Book* also used these theories of health in crafting and recommending their recipes. Further information from another tenth-century cookery book, Ibn Sanyar al-Warrāq's Tenth-Century *Baghdad Cookery Book*, explained all the tools of cooking and the methods used. The author listed each "humoral power" of food and the properties each flavor attributed to the consumer: sweet, sour, greasy, astringent, bitter, pungent, or insipid.⁸⁹ In dietetic literature, and the two dominant humors compose a person's identity and personality. The two dominant humors defined an individual's natural tendencies, and temperament. According to Montanari, a sanguine or phlegmatic temperament were often related to an individual's station and reinforced the segregation of social classes.⁹⁰ In the tenth-century *Baghdad Cookery Book*, these humors were not related to status; instead, they merely reflected an individual's health and needs according to the type of illness they had. For example, according to al-Warrāq, sweet dishes had the greatest power to "nourish the body."⁹¹ Al-Warrāq attributed the information on flavors and health to the writings of Galen.⁹² These theories were integral to the medieval understanding of food.

Food was medicine, and the adoption of these food-related medicinal treatments act as markers of this relationship between these communities. Medical treatises and cooking manuals from Iberia serve as evidence of association and the people who exchanged ideas. The

⁸⁹ al-Warrāq, *Tenth-Century Baghdadi Cookbook*, 100-101.

⁹⁰ Montanari, *Medieval Tastes*, 50.

⁹¹ al-Warrāq, *Tenth-Century Baghdadi Cookbook*, 94-95.

⁹² al-Warrāq, *Tenth-Century Baghdadi Cookbook*, 94-95.

information on these writings came from Muslim translations of Galen's *Book of Familiar Foods*, and Avicenna's *Canon* from Iran.⁹³ Both Christians and Jews adopted the theories of humors, the qualities of people, and the way in which food balanced health by countering and promoting the body's humors. Often traces of influence lie in the subtext of these treatises, as is the case in the fourteenth-century manual the *Book of Sent Sovi*, a Christian Catalan cookbook, which appeared to borrow significantly from Arabic traditions. Sometimes these instances of cross-cultural exchange were stated explicitly, as in the *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook* from the thirteenth century. Jews often served as the conduit of communication for these ideas, navigating between both societies.⁹⁴ As wealthy artisans and courtiers in both Muslim and Christian courts, they acted as intermediaries between the two more-powerful religious and ethnic communities. Jews held positions as physicians, financial and court administrators, and advisors, helping negotiate between Christian and Muslim kingdoms in the south as translators and ambassadors.⁹⁵ Jewish authors like Maimonides, therefore had considerable influence over dietetic knowledge in the thirteenth century.

The Arabic influence on the peninsula helps to characterize the cuisine of medieval western Europe. As the European obsession with spices and health grew, so did the influence of Islamic cuisine. The cooking manuals and cuisines of the rest of medieval western Europe reveal the differences in the Christian food on the continent from that in Spain. While there is a certain unity in all the cuisine of Europe—since most kingdoms followed the liturgical calendar of the Catholic Church and therefore followed the same periods of feasting and fasting—the kingdoms of Spain often resembled the Arabic and former Roman traditions more than the Germanic roots

⁹³ Avicenna, "Canon," 94-95.

⁹⁴ Deimann, *Christen, Juden und Muslime Im Mittelalterlichen Sevilla*, 121.

⁹⁵ Deimann, *Christen, Juden und Muslime Im Mittelalterlichen Sevilla*, 121.

of other Christian diets. The influence of the spice trade, which traveled through the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, is clear in the presence of these new foods in Iberian and southern European diets. The cookbooks of the high and late Middle Ages from all over Europe tend to include an assortment of spices, though to a lesser degree than seen in the Arabic manuals from al-Andalus and Baghdad.

A microcosm of this phenomenon existed in the food of medieval Iberia. Most meals from al-Andalus had significantly more ingredients and spices than those found in the Catalanian and Castilians manuals from the Christians regions of control. An obvious reason for this was who controlled the trade route into the far eastern regions like China and India. Medieval Iberian food manuals illustrate these different preferences in these two distinct regions. These manuals suggest that distinctions in the food of Iberia was not necessarily a product of religious identity although certain foods and styles of dining were still associated with certain religious communities, rather differences came from regional styles and contact with neighboring traditions. Cookbooks in Iberia demonstrate that the food people ate transversed religious identity and people would incorporate food into their diets despite its association with external religious communities.

A handful of cooking manuals exist from medieval Spain, and those that remain come primarily from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Cookbooks were "prescriptive in nature" meaning that they reflect an ideal cuisine rather than the actual day to day fare.¹ Often the recipes were not invented by the author of the manual but reflect the style and desired cuisine of those who solicit their composition.¹ Cookbooks, therefore, offer markers of status for the elite. Many

of the culinary traditions and foods brought to Iberia traveled alongside the Muslims merchants and migrants as they also carried with them their customs and culture.

As a principality on the fringes of Islamic society, the emirate of Córdoba could at times be cut off from the intellectual capitals of the Abbasids and the Fatimids in the east. However, new forms of high society were still exchanged via popular artisans and performers who traveled between courts. Ziryab was the most famous of these figures, primarily as a musician and founder of the first music school in al-Andalus. He is also credited with reforming other aspects of Córdoba's court culture, such as changing the dining styles, hygiene habits, dress, and manners at the tables in the courts of the emir of al-Andalus.⁹⁶ The result of the overlay of customs and cultures during the early period of Islamic control was a new form of dining. Even during periods of strife between regimes, al-Andalus remained in contact with Cairo and Baghdad as merchants traded and people continued to travel back and forth between Córdoba and Baghdad.⁹⁷ The introduction of new foodstuffs into the peninsula also helped Andalusian society, and eventually Christians kingdoms and Jewish communities, incorporate Islamic foodstuffs and recipes into their cuisine.

The popularity of high dining and a fascination with the benefits of food on health also transferred from Baghdad. The writings of al-Warraq in the *Katib al-Tabikh* indicated that many caliphs and lords desired to learn about and carefully study food. Additionally, expensive spices traded from India and Sri Lanka, like saffron and cinnamon, were desired as symbols of wealth and as foodstuffs that could improve one's health. For *Barida*, a dish named for a province in

⁹⁶ Paul H. Freedman, *Food: The Taste of History*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 14.

⁹⁷ Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, 1.

Persia, al-Warraḡ offered seventeen recipes from various cookbooks and lords.⁹⁸ This was a cold sour dish made with chicken and served cold with grape or pomegranates juice for those in need of a “delicious hurried dish.”⁹⁹ The dish included almonds, sugar, vinegar, saffron, thyme, black pepper, white asafetida, rue, cassia, muri cilantro, mint, and cheese “to render the healthiest dish you will ever ladle.”¹⁰⁰ This dish not only offered the reader a healthful meal, but one that would indicate the wealth of the diner in its incorporation of spices from across the Islamic world. Since it was a cold dish it offered a means to balance the humors of someone with an imbalanced complexion. In all seventeen different versions of *Barida*, the cold element and the health benefit of numerous herbs and spices remains. The dish is reflective of common tastes in Islamic cookbooks. The recipe combined sweet and sour flavors, using ingredients like sugar and vinegar with meat. In a recipe for *Al-Sikbad*, literally vinegar stew, al-Baghdadi recommended that the cook should combine cubed meats and peeled vegetables with date molasses and vinegar wine.¹⁰¹ After this step the cook should add coriander and “the necessary amount of saffron” to top the meal.¹⁰² These are important staples in the development of a particular taste in the high-class cuisine of the medieval Islamic world.

The introduction of new foodstuffs and new ways of cooking was not only transferred from Arabs in the east to Arabs in the west; Christian cookbooks from the north mirror this incorporation of spices and emphasis on health. The inhabitants of al-Andalus, with their similar customs, agricultural practices, and access to trade routes, developed a similar cuisine. Although there would have been differences between the upper and lower classes. Both Ibn Razin’s

⁹⁸ al-Warrāḡ, *Tenth-Century Baghdadi Cookbook*, 167-168.

⁹⁹ al-Warrāḡ, *Tenth-Century Baghdadi Cookbook*, 168.

¹⁰⁰ al-Warrāḡ, *Tenth-Century Baghdadi Cookbook*, 170.

¹⁰¹ Al-Baghdadi, *A Baghdad Cookery Book: The Book of Dishes*, Trans. Charles Perry (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2005), 30.

¹⁰² Al-Baghdadi, *A Baghdad Cookery Book*, 32.

Delicacies of the Table and the *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook* were written under the Almohad regime but seemingly reflect the synthesized cuisine that had developed there during Caliphate. Both the *Anonymous Cookbook* and Ibn Razin's text name foodstuffs and characteristics of the general Islamic haute cuisine from the courts of Baghdad and recipes of Jews and Christians. These manuscripts construct a clearer picture of the interaction of al-Andalus with the Islamic world broadly, as well as interactions with the Jews and Christians in Iberia. The traditions were reflective of the culture they lived in as well as some ancient traditions, Sephardic communities and their style of dining. As in the *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, there were many connections to other Christian regions and Spanish Christian kingdoms, which were all still influenced by the Muslim world.

The fare developing in Andalusian society was markedly different from the food represented in the books of cookery from Baghdad. Ibn Razin's cookbook, the *Delicacies of the Table and the Finest of Foods and Dishes*,¹⁰³ was written after 1243, when Ferdinand III of Castile took Murcia. After this loss, Muslim power in the region never recovered.¹⁰³ Razin was a member of elite Andalusian society and retreated with his family to North Africa after the Christian conquest of Murcia. From his book, it is apparent that "meat and fine wheat" were the two main staples of this society.¹⁰⁴ Many of the recipes are for sweet bread, or pastries often fried with butter and served with honey, dates, cinnamon, and sugar. Yet there are no recipes for bread of any kind in either manual from Baghdad.¹⁰⁵ The savory dishes in this manual are generally less

¹⁰³ Carolyn A. Nadeau, "Contributions of Medieval Food Manuals to Spain's Culinary Heritage," *Cincinnati Romance Review*. 33 (Winter 2012), 61.

¹⁰⁴ David Waines "The Culinary Culture of al-Andalus." in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. Ed. Jayyusi, Salma Khadra., and Manuela Marin. 725-738, (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1992), 726.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Razin al Tugibi. "Fuḍālat-al-Hiwan Fi Tayyibat al-Ta'am Wa-l-Alwan – The delicacies of the table and the finest of foods and dishes." <http://www.elsgnoms.com/receptes/arabigo.html>. Accessed April 20, 2018.

elaborate than those in the Baghdadi cookbooks, perhaps owing to the audience of a lower rank. The savory recipes feature fewer spices, which is perhaps a product of the location of al-Andalus on the far west of the trade routes, as well as the economic capabilities of the author. They contain more onion and garlic, which are linked to the poorer seasonings of Europe, and fewer vinegar sauces, so are less related to the Arab dishes. Many of these recipes seem to relate in simplicity and content to the fourteenth-century Christian manual *Book of Sent Sovi*. Nevertheless, Razin's work reveals that certain aspects of Islamic cuisine remained common in Andalusian cookery. Many of the flavors and foodstuffs found in Razin's *Delicacies of the Table* that connect the food to Islamic cuisine and the ties of dining with traditions concerned with hospitality, decorum, and piety remained.

The *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook of the Maghreb and al-Andalus* and Ibn Razin's cookbook *The Delicacies of the Table* construct a clearer picture of Andalusian food within its own right but more importantly its relation to the rest of the Islamic world as well and the mutual influence of the Muslims, Jews, and Christians on dining in Iberia. The author of the *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook* appears to have been familiar with various food traditions from the entirety of the Muslim world. Early in his text, he simply stated that people from different regions eat different foods. He provided a number of examples of the different kinds of food people ate and emphasized that "if someone disparages a dish or a food, he need not intend to disparage everyone, since the natures, the strengths, the humors, the aspect, the customs and the tastes are different."¹⁰⁶ The author had an interest in the cuisines from all over the world and noted that people like the Yemenis "cook with dates and they like nothing better," Egyptians

¹⁰⁶ *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, Trans. Charles Perry, Ed. by Candida Martinelli. http://italophiles.com/andalusian_cookbook.pdf, 7.

“cook fresh fish as they cook their meat [as sour dishes],” Iraqis and the desert folk eat *Malla*, “bread cooked in ashes, eaten throughout Europe, too, by the poor.”¹⁰⁷ His cookbook featured recipes said to have come from as far east as Indonesia: such as *Murakkaba Kutâmiyya*, a layered sweet cake credited to the region of Ifriqiya, Algeria but thought to originate from Indonesia.¹⁰⁸ Another recipe that demonstrated the interconnectedness of Islamic cuisine was the common soup, *Zîrbâja*. It was a sweet and sour dish that appeared in almost every medieval Arabic manual and “regulates the humors.”¹⁰⁹ Most of the recipes in this volume instructed the reader on the preparation of the recipe and then listed the health uses and attributes of the dish. The cookbook indicates how connected Andalusian society was the rest of the Arabic world and demonstrates a similar interest in the customs and habits of Jews and Christians.

The *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook* also contains evidence for contact between the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities of Iberia before the fourteenth century. The author noted a recipe borrowed from the Byzantine Christian tradition, and that to “sprinkle ground pepper over the food when it is cut for eating [...] is a practice of the Christians and Berbers.”¹¹⁰ It is quite common for both this text and other Islamic cookbooks to refer to meatless dishes as Lenten dishes, or *Muzawwarat*, “simulated [Christian] dishes” since they are meant to mimic the food eaten during times of the year when consumption was unrestricted.¹¹¹ Two Lenten dishes provided in the *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, were the large fish, *Qabtûn*, and *Fahl*. These were meant to be stuffed and were referred to as “one of the dishes of the Christians, [Byzantines]”¹¹² This manual also mentioned the only contemporary recipes explicitly referred

¹⁰⁷ *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, 6.

¹⁰⁸ *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, 35 and 36.

¹⁰⁹ *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, 30. Author’s note on 31., also al-Baghdadi, and al-Warraq

¹¹⁰ *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, 9.

¹¹¹ al-Warrâq, *Tenth-Century Baghdadi Cookbook*, 73, 232, 340, 389, 520, 526, 537.

¹¹² *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, 63.

to as Jewish in Iberia. There are five of these dishes including a few casseroles, a dish featuring eggplant and lamb, dishes for chicken, and one thought to be the Sabbath dish.¹¹³ The inclusion of these different recipes from different faiths and different regions allude to the openness of the society at this moment. This is especially evident because over the next few centuries the incorporation of the foods of people of other faiths could be dangerous and implicate someone as a Moor or Jew after the Inquisition began. The inclusion of these recipes suggests that at this moment in history there was a willingness to allow the peoples of different faiths to influence one another's customs and tastes relating to food.

Jews in al-Andalus probably had similar diets to those they lived alongside. This is probably similar to their communities in the Christian kingdoms of the north. The Jews of al-Andalus were known as Sephardi and were probably less secluded than their counterparts in Europe. One in a handful of Jewish dishes featured in the *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook* is Adafina. This stew was a common dish related to the Sabbath, cooked on a Friday afternoon, and left to bake by the fire until the next day. Charles Perry translated it as "Stuffed Buried Jewish Dish." The author called for the meat to be cleaned and cut round like meatballs, then seasoned with an assortment of spices and rosewater. Then the pot should be placed next to the fire and the stew covered with a crust and left overnight, presumably so that one need not cook on the Sabbath. This dish remains recognizable as the still popular Jewish dish, Adafina, although it is not named specifically.¹¹⁴ In the *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, the author referred to the dish as Jewish, revealing his knowledge of Jewish foods, but not necessarily the significance of the dish. Its presence, as well as the other Jewish recipes in the text, showed the desire of the

¹¹³ *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, 65-67.

¹¹⁴ Chabran, "Medieval Spain," 137.

patron and commissioner of this cookbook to include dishes from the Jewish and Christian traditions as it did dishes from other regions, without disgust for the people and places from which the dishes came.¹¹⁵ Some Arabic touches were added on at the end of the dish's preparation. Cooks typically added nuts and sugar, "with roast pistachios, almonds, and pine nuts, and sprinkle[d] it with pepper and cinnamon after moistening with sugar" to the top of the dish.¹¹⁶ Sephardi communities continue to make Adafina to this day, and its addition to the *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook* repudiates the idea that Jewish food, especially ceremonial food, was consistently intended to separate Jews from external communities.¹¹⁷

Unfortunately, any food manuals written solely for Jewish communities have disappeared or been destroyed. The information about their cuisine comes from the instructions of rabbis, recipes attributed to Jews in the *Book of Sent Sovi*, and in the *Anonymous Andalusians Cookbook*, and alimentary texts written by Jewish physicians, like Maimonides, who held positions at court and whose writings were reproduced and widely distributed.¹¹⁸ Jewish cuisine in the northern kingdoms, as well as al-Andalus, maintained many of the staple foodstuffs of the dominant Christian culture. However, because of the strict kosher laws they kept, their dining habits and customs relating to food diverged significantly from those of Christians. Jewish food separated them visually from other communities in their Sabbath foods and feasting customs.

Rabbinical writings also reveal what Jews ate in their daily lives. Fish, bread, cheese, eggs, and soup and often added saffron to their dishes as well.¹¹⁹ Rabbi Solomon ben Adret of

¹¹⁵ *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, 6-7.

¹¹⁶ *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, 65.

¹¹⁷ Claudia Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food: An Odyssey from Samarkand to New York*. (New York: Knopf, 2011), Roden

¹¹⁸ Cooper, *Eat and Be Satisfied*, 18.

¹¹⁹ Cooper, *Eat and Be Satisfied*, 127.

Barcelona (1235-1310) wrote a few different guides to Kashrut Laws—*Torat ha-Bayit ha-Aruk* (The Complete Law of the House), *Torat ha-Bayit ha-Qazir* (The Short Law of the House), and *Pisḳe Hallah* (Decisions on Hallah)—as well as other treatises on Jewish rituals and their daily and spiritual lives. Rabbi Solomon also recommended buying foodstuffs and spices at the market with caution since they were often adulterated with flour.¹²⁰ Other foods that featured often in Jewish dining were common daily soups made with fava beans and white beans.¹²¹ The other recipes in the *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook* featured eggplant as the most common and controversial vegetable, and incorporated meat like chicken and lamb as the most used central piece in any given dish. The majority of the population often could not afford meat, so it is likely some of these dishes would be made only for special occasions in most households and on the high holidays.

The remaining documents of the northern food from the Christian kingdoms on the peninsula consist of a few cooking manuals from the height of Catalan economic prosperity. The fourteenth century was heavily affected by plague and death followed by outbreaks of violence.¹²² The relationships between the three religious entities became increasingly tense as rulers emphasized the importance of outward markers of faith and coherence with the dominant religion; in this case, Christianity. This was true both under the Christians and under the Almoravids and Almohades in al-Andalus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The territories that the Christian kingdoms conquered by the thirteenth century now encompassed significant populations of Muslims, Jews, and Mozarabs whose cultures had developed together for hundreds of years. Eventually, Christian rulers granted conquered provinces new charters and

¹²⁰ Cooper, *Eat and Be Satisfied*, 127.

¹²¹ Cooper, *Eat and Be Satisfied*, 128.

¹²² Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 19.

promulgated law codes concerning all aspects of life including the expected behavior toward and interactions with Muslims and Jews. The northern food reflected some elements of exchange between these religious communities, but these inclusions are not typically referred to explicitly. Since these texts were written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the culture they were written in was already attempting to remove Muslim and Jewish customs from Iberian society. Though these movements were not uniform, they still began to happen all over the peninsula, especially after the Black Plague wiped out so many in the mid-fourteenth century. Despite this new movement, the food in these manuals still appears to have been created by people who were aware of and desired the food of the other two religious communities. The recipes in the late Christian cookbooks reveal that even in a period where violence was increasingly prevalent against minority communities, not all associations with those communities were negative and food could, in some ways, still transcend religious identity.

As in the south, the food customs of the north expressed in the manuals would not have been the invention of the person authoring the text, but reflective of long-standing traditions reproduced for posterity and status. The food that developed in the north was a product of the Mediterranean diet, the incorporation of Arab foods and customs, and the influence of the Latin west in southern France and Italy. Christian food in the northern kingdoms of Spain, those that were never under Arab control, developed their cuisine from contact with the Arab world rather than by having Arab customs imposed on them over centuries. The texts from Catalonia demonstrate a desire to showcase wealth and show the incorporation of health theories introduced by Muslim and Jewish scholars. Despite a desire for separation, and steps taken legally and socially to enforce religious boundaries, the food of the Christian north still reflected

the many different peoples in their expanded kingdoms and incorporated Arab foodstuffs and customs as status symbols.

The two most important and widely circulated food manuals from medieval Spain came from Catalonia. The food habits and customs represented in these cookbooks helped shape the cuisine of western Europe. The *Book of Sent Sovi* was written during a period of economic predominance by the Crown of Aragon.¹²³ *Sent Sovi* appears to be a text written primarily for the instruction of the cooks. The writing is instructional and straightforward, unlike the *Baghdad Cookery Books* which could have been read as literature among the higher tiers of society.¹²⁴ In the prologue, the anonymous author stated that this book was written by “a very good man and a very good cook [...] for the squires stationed with great lords and gentlemen.”¹²⁵ Like many other cookbooks, this one neglected to mention step-by-step instructions and the author assumed knowledge on the part of the reader.¹²⁶

The second important manual produced as part of the Iberian cooking legacy is known as the *Llibre del Coch*. The earliest remaining copy comes from the Catalan version published in 1520 and is attributed to Mestre Rupert de Nola, and a Castilian translation was written around forty years later. According to Nola, the book was written for the “management of the households of kings and great lords.”¹²⁷ Coleman Andrews dated the 1520 document to sometime before the 1490s because of the inclusion of “Lenten dietary restrictions that were abandoned in 1491.”¹²⁸ Neither the *Book of Sent Sovi* or the *Llibre del Coch* represented the

¹²³ Rupert de Nola. “Llibre del Coch.” *Florilegium* trans. Brigid ni Chiarain. Accessed April 20, 2018.

<http://www.florilegium.org/?http%3A/www.florilegium.org/files/FOOD-MANUSCRIPTS/Guisados1-art.html>.

¹²⁴ David Waines, “Luxury Foods’ in Medieval Islamic Societies,” *World Archaeology* 34, no. 3, (Feb., 2003): 574.

¹²⁵ *The Book of Sent Sovi: Medieval Recipes from Catalonia*, ed. Joan Santanach, trans. Robin M. Vogelzang, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Tamesis, 2008), 41.

¹²⁶ “Introduction,” *The Book of Sent Sovi*, 13.

¹²⁷ Rupert de Nola *Llibre del Coch*, Prologue

¹²⁸ Coleman Andrews *Catalan Cuisine*, (London: Grub Street, 1988), 134 in Rafael Chabran, “Medieval Spain,” 139.

ideas of a single cook. Instead, they are products of the “dawn of Catalan cuisine” that developed out of the kingdom’s position at the economic heart of the Mediterranean by the fourteenth century.¹²⁹ They also represent the incorporation of Islamic and Jewish foodways in the high cuisine of the region after the Crown of Aragon encompassed more territory populated by these groups.

Generally, the food of northern Spain seems to have had fewer spices than the Andalusian cuisine, but the meals were still elaborate. The recipes reflected a high form of dining that would have indicated the social standing of those who ate it. The wealth of the society that produced the *Book of Sent Sovi* and the *Llibre del Coch* is apparent in the luxurious meals they crafted for their feasts. The very first dish in the *Book of Sent Sovi* described the method used to cook a peacock so that when it reached the table it still resembled its living counterpart. The author recommended that the cook keep the head and feathers protected by wrapping “the head, neck, and tail with bands of linen cloth.”¹³⁰ Maestro Martino of Como also incorporated this technique for “peacocks in all their plumage, which though cooked appear alive, spouting fire from their beaks,” in his popular carving manual from the sixteenth century, the *Arte de Cosina*.¹³¹ This desire for mimicking life is a staple in the cookbooks of the Middle Ages, especially in France, Italy, and England, which shared cooking styles with the Latin Iberians.

Social ideas about food focused more on the presentation of the meal and the elements of health and status associated than with the preferences of the individual consumer. An example of this phenomenon is a member of the Council of Priors in the fourteenth century, who ate “according to the quality of...[his]...person” by eating “pheasant and partridge,” although he

¹²⁹*The Book of Sent Sovi*, 12.

¹³⁰ *The Book of Sent Sovi*, 45.

¹³¹ *Arte de Cosina*, quoted in Nancy Harmon Jenkins “Two Ways of Looking at Maestro Martino,” *Gastronomica*, 7, No. 2 (Spring 2007): 97-103

revealed later in life that he “loathed the flavors of those meats.”¹³² Since meat was a huge marker of status in the Middle Ages, the ability of those of means to employ cooks who could effectively mimic the taste and appearance of permissible foods, like fish and vegetables, could give distinction to those who could afford their skills. These cooks often used fish and spices to manipulate the flavor, and, more importantly, the look of the meat-free dish. Elaborate dishes communicated the wealth of the household during periods of fasting people who could afford not only a cook but a cookbook as well. Food communicated the social position of the consumer as well as associations of religious identity.

The seat a person was given at the table or great feast could also reflect their position as well as what their station permitted them to consume. Ideas concerning food and status also affected how Iberian Christians interacted with members of other faiths. At the banquet of the count of Halo, the text mentions the elaborate feast laid out for the princess and her mother to celebrate her engagement.¹³³ They [the nobles, artisans, Jews, and Moors] accompanied the queen and princess to the palace and there the “queen’s retinue sat in fashion,” the knight’s tent was “covered with an elegant tapestry,” and “the others [artisans, Jews, and Moors] were fed abundantly in other tents.”¹³⁴ The treatment of the Moors and the Jews in this account does not indicate any particular disdain for them or members of their faith, but the text does indicate they would not dine together. The station of the person in attendance dictated their place at the festivities and what they could eat. This account is both a representation of the ways food could be used to include all the people of a region, bringing them all together, and demonstrate to everyone the expected stratification and separation of both religious groups and social classes.

¹³² Montanari, *Medieval Tastes*, 13.

¹³³ “Preparations for a Royal Wedding,” 449. See pg. 1 of this document.

¹³⁴ “Preparations for a Royal Wedding,” 450.

Another way for elite Christians to demonstrate their wealth was to incorporate spices from faraway lands into their foods. After the Catalans took control of the trade through Iberia, the incorporation of imported spices into the diets of the elite increased. However, market demand for these new foodstuffs would not have emerged without the contact and awareness of Arabic and Islamic food, both through trade and living together in towns with Jews and Muslims who shared similar customs. The popularity of spices and other Islamic food customs come from the wealth and prestige of the Islamic courts in Córdoba and other cities in the south of Iberia.¹³⁵ The recipes in *The Book of Sent Sovi* contained a variety of spices featuring common flavors like ginger, pepper, cinnamon, grains of paradise, cloves, sugar, citrus, saffron, and almonds.

The influence of Islamic cuisine was also directly referred to in the *Llibre del Coch*. The author named two separate dishes as Moorish recipes: *Berejenas a la Morisca* or “Moorish eggplants,” and the *Calabazas a la Morisca* or “Moorish gourds.” For a long time, there had been an association of certain Moorish customs with the status that came from the purchase of exotic foods.¹³⁶ The preparation for the eggplants involved cubing them and letting them soak in water, typical for eggplants, and then instructs the cook to “let them be gently fried, very well, with good bacon or with sweet oil, because the Moors do not eat bacon.”¹³⁷ There were other dishes that featured eggplant in the text, so the association with the Moors was not a result of this particular vegetable. The recipe was perhaps an attempt by the author to co-opt the “Moorish” dish and re-envision it as Christian by adding pork, which is Haram, or forbidden, in Islam.¹³⁸ Some scholars believe that certain Moorish recipes incorporated into the cuisines of the northern Christians were actually introduced by the Jews of the Christian kingdoms. Jews were more

¹³⁵ Freedman, *Out of the East*,

¹³⁶ Rupert de Nola, *Llibre del Coch*, 52 and 55

¹³⁷ de Nola, *Llibre del Coch*, 52.

¹³⁸ de Nola, *Llibre del Coch*, Other eggplant recipes. 51, Moorish eggplant 52

likely to serve in Christian courts and hold prominent positions in Christian cities than their Moorish counterparts. Additionally, the Sephardic Jews who lived in areas captured by the Christians would have had many food customs similar to the Moors and Mozarabs with whom they lived side-by-side, and their laws regarding kosher foods were very similar to those of the Muslims. Moorish elements in Christian dining therefore, come from both Jewish and Muslim influence on the food of the peninsula.

Although there are fewer spices in most of the dishes in *Sent Sovi* and the *Llibre del Coch* than in those in the *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, the recipes are no less elaborate or complex. In the *Llibre del Coch*, thirty-four of the two-hundred dishes are topped with “sugar, cinnamon, and crushed almonds.”¹³⁹ Many of these dishes were savory recipes for the main course of the meal not for the dessert. This was a common way to finish a dish in both the *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, *The Delicacies of the Table*, and in al-Baghdadi and al-Warraq’s *Cookery Books*. A type of vinegar called verjuice, made from unripe grapes, was common in both Andalusian and northern Christian foods. It and other vinegar sauces served as the base for most recipes in these cookbooks, rather than the thick, creamy sauces that were popular after the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁰ A complex mixture of spices, cubed meats, and vinegar sauces were common combinations of both Christian and Muslim manuals. *Escabeche*, or “acid food,” was a pickling technique used for preserving vegetables and fish.¹⁴¹ The term originated in the Latin language of the Mozarabs in al-Andalus, and the technique came from the Arabs, but it became a common method of preservation for both Christians and Muslims in Iberia. A similar

¹³⁹ Rupert de Nola, *Llibre del Coch*, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 21, 24.

¹⁴⁰ Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, 142.

¹⁴¹ Chabran, “Medieval Spain,” 133.

technique is still used today, but the incorporation of foodstuffs, customs, and practices related to Arabic traditions give some idea of the lasting impact Islamic traditions had on Iberia.

Spanish cuisine until the early modern age developed in societies not only aware of traditions outside of their religious boundaries, but also, actively embroiled in the cultural exchange taking place in Iberia.¹⁴² The Arabs brought political stability and knowledge from across the empire and encouraged the “rapid advancement in science, medicine, technology, and the arts.”¹⁴³ Muslims, Jews, and Christians integrated aspects of other religious communities into their own foodways. This exchange was a product of living together. It came from a need to coexist, and the people of Iberia exchanged various forms of knowledge through alimentary sciences, agricultural practices, and culinary techniques as well as more obvious methods of exchange in their language and texts. There was always an idea of separate religions and boundaries, but food habits and customs crossed these lines.

¹⁴² Chabran, “Medieval Spain” 137.

¹⁴³ Chabran, “Medieval Spain” 131.

Chapter 2 – Religious and Legal Boundaries

Within the context of a plural and mixed culture, there were still those who desired the separation of the people of different faiths. This desire grew as the Middle Ages came to its arbitrary close, but early expressions of this inclination toward separation came from Eulogius and the other martyrs of Córdoba. In the 850s, forty-eight Christians were martyred in Muslim Córdoba for the crimes of apostatizing and proselytizing.¹⁴⁴ Eulogius, one of the martyrs himself, and Paul Alvarus chronicled this episode.¹⁴⁵ They criticized their Christians contemporaries and the “Christian youths” who knew so much of the Arab’s customs. Alvarus wrote that they were all “ignorant of the beauty of the Church...[for they] do not know their own laws...and... [they] do not speak their own tongue.”¹⁴⁶ The complaints of Eulogius and his martyrs came during a period when they felt their community was threatened as Christians rapidly converted and married outside of their faith.¹⁴⁷ The message made it clear that not only were these conversions reprehensible, but the adoption of Arab and Islamic customs were also indications of straying away from the Christian faith.¹⁴⁸ Styles of poetry, literary forms, and food had fundamental associations with religious identity. The adoption of the customs and languages of the Muslims or “Chaldeans” by some Christians was a great source of ire for more extreme religious factions of their faith. Many of these martyrs came from mixed backgrounds and had Muslim, Jewish, and Christian relatives, but these familial bonds did not prevent them from publicly decrying the influence of the Moors on the culture and identity of the Christians. These markers of distinction were needed to establish boundaries between faiths that had begun to blur

¹⁴⁴ Paul Avarus, “Description of Christian Youth,” in *Medieval Iberia*. Trans. Edward P. Colbert, 61.

¹⁴⁵ Avarus. “Description of Christian Youth,” 62.

¹⁴⁶ Avarus. “Description of Christian Youth,” 62.

¹⁴⁷ Paul Avarus, “Eulogius and the Martyrs of Córdoba.” *Medieval Iberia*. Trans. Carleton M. Sage. 63.

¹⁴⁸ Avarus, “Description of Christian Youth,” 62.

in Andalusian society by the mid-ninth century. The importance of outward markers of faith became important as tensions between religious communities were heightened in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In the late Middle Ages, people began to rely more on their outward expressions of faith and create clearer boundaries of their communities. This movement was especially true in the as the Christian and Muslim powers vied for control and were more often at war. Medieval Iberia, both the northern Christian kingdoms and al-Andalus were both the furthest extensions of the Islamic and Latin Christian worlds, “yet fully not part of either.”¹⁴⁹ The people of Iberia had by necessity created a society where religious boundaries did not prohibit the different faiths from acting together in a public sphere and exchanging ideas, and language, and even marrying outside of their own faith.¹⁵⁰ This integrated culture in Iberia “provided a gateway passage to diplomats, scholars, refugees, soldiers, and merchants,” and allowed ideas to spread easily among religious groups.¹⁵¹

The variations in culinary practices that developed in different regions of Spain arose not only because of religion but also ethnicity and culture. The political culture in al-Andalus and even Christian Spain during the twelfth century along the borders lent itself to what modern scholars have assigned as *convivencia*. Regardless, people of different faiths and ethnic groups interacted and exchanged elements of their cultural identities while still existing within their own spheres. Their food reflected this interaction. Royal decrees and Church doctrines created more structures to separate these communities, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the slowly

¹⁴⁹ Ovília Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1.

¹⁵⁰ Avarus, “Eulogius and the Martyrs of Córdoba,” 63.

¹⁵¹ Constable, *Trade and Traders*, 1.

progressive movements toward creating religious borders between communities culminated in the Inquisition in 1478.

Legal documents articulated the boundaries between religious communities. These new codes had the clear intent of maintaining separation between these three religions, yet, there was a great deal of contact between these three faiths. Andalusí sovereigns allowed Christians and Jews to operate in their society autonomously as *dhimmi* until the fundamentalist tribe, the Almohades, revoked this status in 1147. Laws concerned with other “Peoples of the Book” were accepted in most Muslim controlled territories and helped to maintain existing societal cohesion.¹⁵² As the Christian conquest of the peninsula began, the *Taifa* rulers of al-Andalus requested aid from the Almoravids (1086-1146) and then the Almohades (1146-1248) from North Africa. Both of these regimes had much stricter laws than the Umayyads concerning the Jews and Christians in their regions. They issued laws demanding conversion and exiled the Jews.¹⁵³ Many Christians and Jews fled north during this period to the more tolerant Christian kingdoms. The composition of Spanish food in al-Andalus in the Middle Ages changed with the different ethnic populations that reigned there, the Arabs, and then the Berber tribes – the Almoravids and the Almohades.

As the Christians took over more area, beginning in the mid-eleventh century, they needed new laws to govern the large Muslim and Jewish populations in these new territories. They created laws and charters, known as *fueros*, concerning inter-religious interactions. In the later, more comprehensive law codes, like the *Siete Partidas*, these *fueros* influenced the laws significantly.¹⁵⁴ The *Partidas*, in particular, were concerned with creating a unified system with

¹⁵² al-Turtishi, “The Pact of Umar,” in *Medieval Iberia*, trans. Bernard Lewis, 41

¹⁵³ Abraham ibn ‘Ezra,’ “Poem: Jewish Lament in the Wake of Almohad Persecution,” trans. Ross Brann, 265.

¹⁵⁴ Olivia Remie Constable, and Damia Zurro, eds. *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 293.

which to govern the whole of Castile-Leon, which by 1248 extended southward to Seville.¹⁵⁵

These codes were foundational for societal organization and reflected, and like all law codes, an ideal construction of society rather than reality. The codes set expectations of separation, although the effectiveness of these documents and local government at maintaining these religious boundaries is up for debate since these religious groups would continue to interact and experience *convivencia* in Iberia for another century and a half. Given the evidence of exchange between the food customs of these groups the enforcement or effectiveness of the laws could not have been great, but they created the foundations of the separation and enforcement of community borders.

Earlier law codes from al-Andalus paid service to the idea of separation between religions, but this is not reflected in their food and other elements of culture. After the conquest of Spain in the eighth century, the Muslims implemented a series of restrictions on the behaviors of Jews and Christians under their authority. Some of these restrictions incorporated taxes on food or prohibited the sale of certain goods, like wine.¹⁵⁶ Both Christians and Jews were afforded special privileges, like the retention of their religion. They are referred to as other “Peoples of the Book,” or *dhimmi*. These laws were inspired by the Qur’an and modeled on the “Pact of Umar.”¹⁵⁷ Named after the seventh century caliph, this treaty, written from the perspective of the Christians, articulated the many ways they should acquiesce to Muslim demands of them, including remaining visually separated in their garb and in the teaching of their religion.¹⁵⁸ The Pact stated that in exchange for special taxes levied on the Christians and Jews of Iberia and their

¹⁵⁵ Deimann, *Christen, Juden und Muslime Im Mittelalterlichen Sevilla*, 261.

¹⁵⁶ Abd al Aziz ibn Musa ibn Nusair,, “The Treaty of Tudmir,” Trans. Olivia Remie Constable, 45.

¹⁵⁷ al-Turtishi, “The Pact of Umar,” 43.

¹⁵⁸ al-Turtishi, “The Pact of Umar,” 43

deference to the majority, Jews and Christians could retain their religious freedom.¹⁵⁹ This system of laws organized Andalusian society in a way that would later be reflected in Christian law. The communities did not necessarily remain visually separated and Christians occasionally ate in the Moorish style, rather than at a table, and the Jewish population emigrated with the Arabic population, so their communities maintained many similarities in their expressions of culture.¹⁶⁰

The Pact also established some Islamic religious laws pertaining to the sale of meat at Muslim markets as well as wine by Christians. According to the copy of the ‘Pact of Umar’ copied in al-Andalus in the early twelfth century, Christians were not permitted to sell fermented drinks in markets.¹⁶¹ The pact did not limit the consumption of alcohol within all communities, but it did express a desire that the tenets of Islam be respected and prohibited the sale of alcohol within a public sphere. The text required that all religions follow the commands of Islam, regardless of the symbolic importance of wine in their own religion, as in the Eucharist in Christianity.¹⁶² Despite this early attempt to prevent the symbols of other religions in public area if they contradicted Islamic law, there were some elements of the document that seemed to have required more contact between these religious groups, notably in their foodways. The “Pact of Umar” required all subjects to offer room and board to Muslim travelers for a maximum of three days.¹⁶³ This would necessitate circumstances of commensality and provide opportunities for exchange in the form of dining together. The inclusion of this law demonstrates the importance of hospitality and etiquette in Muslim dining practices, but also would have required communal

¹⁵⁹ al-Turtishi, “The Pact of Umar,” 44.

¹⁶⁰ “Food and Meaning,” 200-201.

¹⁶¹ al-Turtishi, “The Pact of Umar,” 44.

¹⁶² al-Turtishi, “The Pact of Umar,” 42.

¹⁶³ al-Turtishi, “The Pact of Umar,” 43.

eating, between different religious groups. The divisions that these early laws created were not prohibitive of interactions between the communities and some even facilitated more contact, but they offer a contrast to documents like the *Paridas*, which prohibited commensality between religious groups.¹⁶⁴

The fall of Toledo in 1085, recorded in Alfonso X's *Historia de España* marked a significant point in the shift in power reflected in the coming centuries.¹⁶⁵ Toledo was the capital of the Visigothic kingdom and therefore was important symbolically to both the Christians and the Muslims.¹⁶⁶ The fall of these cities necessitated the implementation of new codes of law to dictate the behavior of the regime's new subjects and stabilize the territory. Often these laws would attempt to appeal to other Christians by granting certain privileges to encourage migration. *Fuero de Cuenca* and *Teruel* were influential to latter codes of law in Castile and Aragon, and eventually the *Partidas*, directing the way in which social, political, and economic facets of the kingdom functioned.¹⁶⁷ A charter from Alfonso VI, the same king who captured Toledo, gave privileges to the Mozarabs of Toledo. He promised them the protection of the king and granted the Mozarabs the ability to have land and rise in status, regardless of their position in the former regime, so long as their holdings permit this. They could obtain the abandoned land by paying a fractional amount to the crown to purchase it.¹⁶⁸ This ensured that the inhabitants continued their care for the vineyards. Allowances for the elevation of status is evident in other charters as well and displays the breaking of tradition to allow for greater control by Christian subjects.

¹⁶⁴ Alfonso X "Law VIII" *Siete Partidas*.

¹⁶⁵ Alfonso X "Historia de Espana," in *Medieval Iberia* trans. John Moscatiello, 130.

¹⁶⁶ Alfonso X "Historia de Espana," 131.

¹⁶⁷ "Fuero de Cuenca," in *Medieval Iberia* trans. James F. Powers, 221.

¹⁶⁸ Alfonso IV, "Privileges Given by Alfonso VI to the Mozarabs of Toledo," in *Medieval Iberia* trans. James F. Powers: 137.

As Christians attempted to position Jews and Muslims within their own society, they created new laws to balance the relationship between these groups. These laws were designed to sustain the economic contact of the groups, support the existing economic roles that both Jews and Muslims filled, and separate the religions from converting to Judaism or Islam. Some laws expressly prevented cohabitation and commensality of people of different faiths. Regional codes were designed to stabilize the area and encourage Christians to emigrate to the southern areas of majority Muslim populations.¹⁶⁹ Rulers encouraged the repopulation of conquered regions by their own subjects by offering them protection and a rule of law by which they might benefit, along with economic incentives to better their lives. In the aftermath of conquest, as Castile and Aragon expanded southward, Christian kings instituted new structures. Various redistributive orders or the *Libros de repartimiento* from Murcia, Valencia, Seville, and other cities and states, granted the land seized by the Christians to both Jewish and Christian settlers.¹⁷⁰ These provided land and homes to individuals as well as shops, mills, and fields for cultivation in the hopes of encouraging the growth of cereals and grapes in vineyards.¹⁷¹ These opportunities for migrants incentivized more production and the movement of people, notably people with similar customs and habits as the Latin Christians in the north, to move to the south. These new laws allowed the Latinization of the south of the peninsula which would after a century or two, change the customs of the region for more elements of Christian culture to be widely practiced and set the expectation of behavior.

In the thirteenth century, Alfonso X and his counselors created the *Siete Partidas*. This was a law code in seven parts, which was composed of nearly 3,000 laws on all aspects of life,

¹⁶⁹ “Fuero de Cuenca,” in *Medieval Iberia* trans. James F. Powers, 221.

¹⁷⁰ “Libros de repartimiento,” in *Medieval Iberia* trans. Thomas F. Glick, 298 – 302.

¹⁷¹ “Libros de repartimiento,” 299.

the church, civil law, and trade and maritime law.¹⁷² Alfonso commissioned this code not only for his own kingdom but also as the ideal for future Christian realms that followed, as his political ambitions were larger than Castile-Leon. The seventh *Partida* dictated the ways Jews and Muslims could interact with each other and with Christians and restricted those interactions as much as possible. They illuminated the Christian's greatest concerns for the Jews and Muslims respectively; fear of acculturation and influence, and fear of conversion. Seven of the ten laws concerned with Moors featured punishments for conversion, while the Jewish laws addressed their community in a broader way. Law VIII in the Jewish section is particularly illustrative of the barriers between the Christians and Jews. It prohibited interaction between Jews and Christians on a broader scale, mandating a different dress code, preventing the Christians and Jews from living together or having sexual or marital relations.¹⁷³ The code also explicitly limited Jewish and Christian subjects from dining with one another, while not issuing those same restrictions on Muslims and Christians, stating, "we forbid any Christian man or woman to invite a Jew or a Jewess, or to accept an invitation from them, to eat or drink together, or to drink any wine made by their hands."¹⁷⁴ Interestingly, there were also restrictions on Christians accepting medication and advice from Jews despite there being many Jewish physicians in Castile at this time, a number of prominent Jews even served in Alfonso's court.

These laws were not promulgated until the reign of Alfonso X's great-grandson during the fourteenth century. They demonstrate a growing desire to separate communities, especially when compared to the *Fuero de Cuenca* which was written around the 1190s. This document gave legal advice on the governance of Jews and Muslims and warned against the sale of meat to

¹⁷² Helen L. Clagett, "Las Siete Partidas," *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, 22 no. 4 (Oct. 1965): 342.

¹⁷³ Alfonso X. "Title XXIV: The Jews," 1436-8.

¹⁷⁴ Alfonso X. "Title XXIV: The Jews," 1436.

Moor, but also welcomed them to settle in the region, “whoever may come the live in Cuenca, whatever condition he may be, whether Christian, Moor, or Jew...should come in safety.”¹⁷⁵ In public markets the code gave instruction to local sellers of meat and food, defining food as “being what can be eaten,” that anyone who sells to a Muslim “should be thrown from the cliffs.”¹⁷⁶ The document prevents marriage or sexual relationships between Christians and Moors or Jews, but it also offers equal access to judicial processes within the city.¹⁷⁷ This code demonstrates the early unease of those governing these new populations, and that the relationships between these communities by no means existed in a binary between tolerant and intolerant and people negotiated their customs accordingly.

The law codes show that around the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a heightened desire for separate communities arose, and thus individuals and community leaders began to construct social and cultural borders between religious communities. Despite notions of definite legal separations, foodways already provided a visible medium to communicate identity, during the inquisition this clear distinction would prove dire for Moors and Jews. Notions of identity developed with the religious literature of each faith, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. The dietary restriction on meat and periods of fasting are the most well-known of these expressions of faith, but there were associations with Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Spain that were not apparent in their religious texts. Each religion had a different way of understanding food and incorporating that understanding into aspects of their expressions of religious identity. Associations of certain foods and foodways with a single religion allowed them to be identified by external communities.

¹⁷⁵ Alfonso VIII of Castile *Code of Cuenca*, 31

¹⁷⁶ Alfonso VIII of Castile *Code of Cuenca*, 92

¹⁷⁷ Alfonso VIII of Castile *Code of Cuenca*, 160-164.

Christians, Jews, and Muslims constructed identity through religious food laws. Jewish foodways diverged significantly from Christians. Jewish food and dining habits were structured in a way that visually separated them from other communities. These customs were used against them in later centuries when the laws concerning kosher meat practices allowed Catholic monarchs to target them and they became the targets of ideology and inquisitorial aggression. Muslim consumption practices were also distinct and allowed Christians to parallel Muslims' perceived characteristics like gluttony and their sinful nature with their dining habits and those who adopted their practices. This situation terminated with the Inquisition, through forced-conversion, and expulsion. The different food practices of Jews and Muslims reveal the various degrees that they isolated themselves from Christians and the way they crafted their identities to better function within the larger societal bounds.

A Jewish community resided in Spain from the time of the Visigoths, but the most influential group, the Sephardi Jews, emigrated alongside the Muslims in the eighth and ninth centuries.¹⁷⁸ Two prevailing communities, the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi, lived within the bounds of Christian and Muslim societies throughout the Middle Ages, but neither occupied a position of political. The Ashkenazi resided primarily in central and eastern Europe and segregated themselves more stringently than their Sephardic counterparts.¹⁷⁹ Both groups followed the Kashrut, or kosher, dietary laws, but the Sephardic tradition appeared to have integrated and adopted the traditions of the Arabs, and their food was "shaped by aristocratic elites and the legacy of court traditions."¹⁸⁰ Their food practices, and the adoption and diffusion of their traditions by the dominant religion, either Christian or Muslim display to some extent the

¹⁷⁸ Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food*, 217.

¹⁷⁹ Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food*, 41.

¹⁸⁰ Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food*, 213 and 222.

intermingling of people and cultures. Despite this clear interaction, which would have been a product of trade and commensality, the Sephardi faced targeted aggression from the two dominant groups. This targeting came from the persecution by the Almohads in the twelfth century and the Inquisition in the and fifteenth century.

Throughout history, food was integral to Jewish identity. Jewish laws and customs gave a spiritual significance to food, defining the relationship between the individual and God and manifesting it corporeally. The Kashrut dietary laws both defined Jewish communities and separated them from eating with other groups. According to Mary Douglas, “[the Kashrut laws] ‘encode’ a notion of holiness or purity that is basic to Israelite self-understanding as a holy society separate from others.”¹⁸¹ This happened more on a pragmatic basis out of necessity, since Jewish dining restrictions limited what they could eat. Dietary laws were outlined in the *Torah* and *Talmudic* writings and commented on in later rabbinic literature.¹⁸² Until the late nineteenth century, Jews practiced an almost universal adherence to this strict code, which separated Kosher (accepted) from Terefah (forbidden). This aided their separation from groups who face fewer religious restrictions.¹⁸³ Biblical foods influenced the food of the Sephardi, specifically the idealization of fruits and vegetables of Eden mentioned in Genesis. Other examples of common foodstuffs related to ritual and festival were most notably meats, but also included wine, bread, salt, date honey, olive oil for Hanukkah, Etrog or citron for the Feast of Tabernacle, pomegranates for the New Year, bitter herbs during Passover, lamb, matzah, and various sweetmeats from Arabic customs.¹⁸⁴ Often these rituals aided in the remembrance of a shared past within the community and helped them define themselves. Passover feasts are an example of

¹⁸¹ Mary Douglas quoted in Corrie E. Norman, “Food and Religion,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, 418.

¹⁸² Cooper, *Eat and Be Satisfied*, 127.

¹⁸³ Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food*, 19.

¹⁸⁴ Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food*, 23-24.

how the communities could give recognition and remembrance to the past suffering of the Jewish people, and food allowed them to communicate this connection openly. Christian food does this partially through the Eucharist, but food was used to signify different things in medieval Christian traditions.

Sephardi Jewish communities wrote their own law codes in the Middle Ages, some of which are still massively influential. These instructed people about the proper preparation of all foods in religious celebrations and rituals and incorporation into traditional fasts and feasts along with the appropriate prayers are found in the Shulchan Aruch or "Prepared Table."¹⁸⁵ This was a massive compendium of Jewish Laws compiled in Israel by Joseph Caro, who was born in Toledo at the end of the fifteenth century. His family and many other Sephardic Jews fled to Turkey after Castilian monarchs issued the Edict of Expulsion in 1492. Caro's code of laws became the primary reference of legal information for Jewish communities in the Early Modern Era and is still in use among Orthodox Jews, serving both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities. His code reflected the Sephardic tradition in Spain, North Africa, and the Mediterranean.¹⁸⁶ These laws concern prayer, proper cleansing before the breaking of bread and the proper way to prepare for Rosh Hashanah, the New Year's feast and the laws concerning the main fasting time, Yom Kippur.¹⁸⁷ The ceremonies created a sense of community among fellow believers fasting times.

Laws governing the preparation of meat in the Jewish community were a fundamental aspect of Jewish dietary laws. These laws were so complex that special butchers were trained in the appropriate methods of ritual slaughter as Shochtim, men trained to butcher livestock

¹⁸⁵ Rabbi Schneur Zalman Liadi, "The Laws of Yom Kippur." *Chabad.org*.
http://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/3385295/jewish/The-Laws-of-Yom-Kippur.htm.

¹⁸⁶ Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food*, 19.

¹⁸⁷ Liadi, "The Laws of Yom Kippur."

according to ritual practices.¹⁸⁸ Jews were also prohibited from consuming certain parts of the animal, like the hindquarter. Rather than wasting these cuts of meat, Jewish butchers would sell them to Muslims and Christians in public markets. Their laws were so well known that any Jewish butchers living under the Almohad regime in twelfth-century Muslim Seville, were prohibited from selling their “*tarif* or non-kosher meat and suchlike” to the Muslims at the market or the “purchase is invalidated.”¹⁸⁹ In addition to these regulations, “Muslim are forbidden to buy meat intentionally from the butcheries of the *dhimmis*” or the caliph “ordered them be expelled from the Muslims’ market.”¹⁹⁰ The code does allow Jews and Christians to keep their own butcher shops and sell to their own people, but Christians were forbidden from bringing forbidden foods to market and from “exhibiting wine and pork in the Muslims’ market.”¹⁹¹ The limiting of contact through the identification and separation from Jewish customs provided a well-known and clear starting point to demonstrate these desires to pull communities further apart.

Interactions of people at the marketplace were also heavily supervised. Local market inspectors or *muhtasib* were tasked to “promote good and prevent evil.”¹⁹² These men regulated the wares sold at market and the public interactions between Christians, Muslims, and Jews. The code suggested that Muslim not solicit advice from Jewish and Christian physicians “for they have no concern for the welfare of the Muslim, but only for the medical treatment of their own co-religionists.”¹⁹³ This is contrary to the centuries of exchange with regard to medical theory and its acceptance between members of often opposing religious communities. The market place

¹⁸⁸ Ibn ‘Abdun “Moorish Laws” in *The Crusades: A Reader*. Ed. S.J. Allen and Emilie Amt, (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2003), 317.

¹⁸⁹ Ibn ‘Abdun “Moorish Laws,” 317.

¹⁹⁰ Ibn ‘Abdun “Moorish Laws,” 317.

¹⁹¹ Ibn ‘Abdun “Moorish Laws,” 317-318.

¹⁹² Constable “Food and Meaning,” 227.

¹⁹³ Ibn ‘Abdun “Moorish Laws,” 317.

in Spain was a public forum which created opportune moments for interaction and cultural diffusion. Under more fundamentalist sects of both Islamic and eventually Christian regimes, new laws were created that demonstrated desires to separate communities after culture boundaries had already been crossed for centuries.

Market regulations from the Crown of Aragon in the early fourteenth century, restricted Jews from selling their “left-over,” non-kosher meats to any non-Jew markets but permitted them to continue to sell kosher cuts to both Jews and Muslims. This effectively placed people of both religions all the inhabitants under Jewish Kashrut Laws since Jewish butchers still slaughtered their meat the Jewish way.¹⁹⁴ These restrictions escalated tensions between the two minorities in the Crown of Aragon since Jews maintained their economic control at the markets and their monopoly in Aragon continued. As was frequently the case, economic channels between these communities became a point of contention and Jewish rule over the Muslim meat markets in a "captive economy" allowed these communities to become strained and prompted violent outbursts.¹⁹⁵ Expectations of Muslims for their own communities were that Jews who sold meats to Muslims that were not kosher were bad.¹⁹⁶ Muslims, Christians, and Jews were aware of each other’s customs and habits relating to food in medieval Iberia. Thus, when they desired to separate their communities people in authority, regional governors, and kings, used their knowledge, in this instance of different religious laws concerning food to exert control and prohibit interaction between people. With rising tensions in the thirteenth century, as well as the loss of control of their own economic prosperity and ability to govern themselves autonomously under Christian authority, tensions grew between Jews and Muslims communities subject to

¹⁹⁴ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 171-174.

¹⁹⁵ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 171.

¹⁹⁶ Ibn ‘Abdun “Moorish Laws,” 317

Christian authority.¹⁹⁷ By the end of the fifteenth century, butchers could belong to only one faith, but “were to slaughter in the Christian fashion.”¹⁹⁸ These laws were part of the growing desire to conform to a way of life and adherence to the customs of Iberian Christians.

Muslim identity was also tied to their food laws. Early Muslim food culture sought to emulate the simple ways of the Prophet Mohammad, illustrated in the Qur'an and the Hadith.¹⁹⁹ This included “grains, meat, milk, dates,” and other regional fruits of the Arabian Peninsula.²⁰⁰ As the empire grew, people adopted more of the cultural practices of the conquered regions, incorporating more affluent ways of eating from the Byzantine, Persian, and Syrian traditions. These synthesized with the concerns of the Prophet on maintaining etiquette, hospitality, and generosity when interacting with everyone, regardless of their status, to create a new high dining experience.²⁰¹ Like the Jewish people, restrictions applied to dining from the early days of Islam. In the Qur'an, as in the Torah, pork and blood are haram (forbidden) as are fermented beverages and carrion.²⁰² Another similarity to Judaism was the ritual of properly slaughtering animals and the restrictions on meat which has been ritually slaughtered for people of a different faith.²⁰³ This was a requirement which appeared in the texts of each faith, including the Christian gospels.

Christian comment and critique of the Muslim faith and inhabitants of Iberia, and their food come from a guide for the Pilgrimage to Santiago. *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (ca. 1140) was written by a Frenchman and addressed the road to the chapel and alleged remains of St. John. It was intended as a guide but revealed the associations and

¹⁹⁷ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 173.

¹⁹⁸ L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500—1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 47; 95; quoted in Constable, “Food and Meaning,” 211.

¹⁹⁹ Paul H. Freedman, *Food: The History of Taste*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 136.

²⁰⁰ Freedman, *Food: The History of Taste*, 135.

²⁰¹ Freedman, *Food: The History of Taste*, 136 and 140.

²⁰² Qur'an 5:3; 2:173; 6:145; 16:115.

²⁰³ Freedman, *Food: The History of Taste*, 135.

prejudices toward the peoples of Spain by the French. The author provided a list of the nuanced regional characteristics of the people inhabiting the peninsula. Chapter six of the guide provided the location of drinkable water and gave cautionary advice concerning the deceitful tendencies of the people a pilgrim might encounter on his journey.²⁰⁴ He also mentioned the inferior quality of the food: “all the fish, beef, and pork of the whole of Spain and Galicia causes illness to foreigners.”²⁰⁵ It was not uncommon for authors of cookbooks to assume that food of other regions would cause illness in travelers, but this author clearly held negative associations about Spanish food and people. Chapter seven provided further details on the characteristics of the people he encountered on the pilgrimage. He stated that the Navarrese and the Basques “eat all their food mixed together from one pot, not with spoons but with their own hands, and they drink with one cup.”²⁰⁶ There are similarities, parallels even, with his descriptions of the how the Navarrese and the Basques ate and Islamic dining etiquette. Whether this was done with intent to disparage these groups cannot be known, but the technique is similar to Christian documents of later eras, for example, Catalan author Francesc Eiximenis who associated Castilians with heathens noting that “Catalans are accustomed to eat seated at a raised table, Castilians sit on the ground.”²⁰⁷ which associated Christians with Muslims in light of their consumption practices in order to question their morality.

There are many similarities between this kind of critique and critiques from Alfonso de Palencia in his chronicle, *Decades*, in the late fifteenth century. In particular, he denounced his former patron, Enrique IV the Impotent, king of Castile and brother of eventual Queen Isabella

²⁰⁴ “The Pilgrim’s Guide to Santiago de Compostela,” in *Medieval Iberia*, trans, Paula Gerson, Annie Shaver-Crandell, and Alison Stones, 185.

²⁰⁵ “The Pilgrim’s Guide to Santiago de Compostela,” 185.

²⁰⁶ “The Pilgrim’s Guide to Santiago de Compostela,” in *Medieval Iberia*, 187.

²⁰⁷ Constable, “Food and Meaning,” 112.

of Castile. This work accused Enrique of entertaining guests and dining with his wife in the Moorish style, seated on the ground and readily accepting the Moorish food offered to him.²⁰⁸ For an already heavily criticized monarch, this association with a foreign and opposing entity, like the Muslims, allowed accusations of maurophilia to circulate and inferences to be drawn about his sexual promiscuity and gluttony.²⁰⁹ However, it is highly probable that this dining style and eating with one's hands was not uncommon among Spanish Christians. By drawing parallels between Christian and Muslim dining practices authors like the Frenchmen who wrote the *Pilgrim's Guide* and Alfonso de Palencia undermined the morality and character of the people they considered.

After the forced conversion of Jews and Muslims on the peninsula, the Christian inquisitors identified those who kept their customs and habits related to their former religious identities and used them to target people. Jews who fasted on the Sabbath and Muslims who partook in Ramadan could be identified and targeted by their failure to change habits. In 1478, Ferdinand and Isabel established the Spanish Inquisition and "inquisitors began to pay close attention to a host of practices that had hardly been considered worthy of note previously."²¹⁰ The inquisitors attributed aspects of cultural habits and practices, like the consumption of certain foodstuffs, to indicate failure to convert. This association had consequences both for Jews and Muslims. When Jeronima la Franca was brought to trial, she was accused of "sitting with her relatives...squatting around a tray on which they served couscous and eating the couscous with their hands... as the Moors used to do according to the tradition and custom of the sect of

²⁰⁸ *Alfonso de Palencia, Gesta hispaniensi ex annalibus suorum dierum*, ed. Brian Tate and Jeremy Lawrance (Madrid 1998–1999), 114 (section 3.9, lines 17-19), quoted in Constable, "Food and Meaning," 200.

²⁰⁹ Constable, "Food and Meaning," 200.

²¹⁰ Constable, "Food and Meaning," 231.

Muhammad.”²¹¹ These accusations were similar in tone to Alfonso de Palencia’s critique of Enrique IV and demonstrate the association of Moorish foods to Moorish behavior and the continued bond of Moriscas like Jeronima la France to religious devotion.

For Christians in Iberia, there were not specific religious laws that prohibited the consumption of certain foods; instead, Christian dining habits focused on a balance between gluttony and asceticism.²¹² Christians mitigated demonstrations of gluttony and wealth in their elaborate feast with periods of fasting. The most known periods of feasts were Easter and Christmas, which came after seasons of fasts, Lent, and Advent respectively. In Spain, Juan Ruiz parodied this balance in the *Libro de Buen Amor*, the *Book of Good Love*. The author described a fictional scene representing of the opposing concepts of consumption in the Christian faith, in which Dame Fast raised an army from the sea to suppress “Lord Meatseason – the non-Lenten part of the year,” who “has been acting wroth and overbearing, devastating my lands, doing great damage, shedding much blood.”²¹³ These concepts defined the Christian associations with food throughout the Middle Ages.²¹⁴ These marks of distinction, like the customs of the Moors and the Jews, provided outward symbols of faith communicated through food.

In 1391, there were massive outbreaks of violence all over Spain. Jews were attacked in virtually every city, and soon after compelled to convert to Christianity. Muslims were also the targets of aggression, but their presence in the cities was less visible than the Jews making them less of a target. Nonetheless, Jews became conversos and Moors Moriscos in the aftermath of these outbreaks of violence. Despite this profession of new faith, the “New Christians” were

²¹¹ Madrid Archivo Nacional, Inquisicion, leg. no. 23 in Constable “Food and Meaning” and “Food and Foodways,” *To Live Like a Moor*, 104.

²¹² Henisch, *Fast and Feast*, 1-12.

²¹³ Juan Ruiz, *Libro De Buen Amor*. Ed. And trans. Willis Raymond S. (Princeton University Press, 1972), 294.

²¹⁴ Albala, *The Food History Reader*, 192-193.

forced to prove their faith by abandoning their former customs and habits and demonstrate the realignment of their communities with Christian religious practices. A decree from the town of Albaicin around 1492 ordered the Moriscos to “forget all ceremonies and anything Moorish in your prayers, fasts, celebrations, festivals, births, weddings, baths, funerary customs, and in all other things,” in order to become a Christian.²¹⁵ Such ceremonies marked identity and Jews and Moors who had not altered their ways of life and dining habits were brought before the Inquisition or forced to flee Iberia.

The Alhambra Decree or the “Edict of Expulsion,” was issued in April 1492. It forced all Jews and Moors who had not changed their habits and customs, their dress and fasts, and all aspects of their culture to leave the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.²¹⁶ The crown feared that the Jews who had not converted would desire “to steal faithful Christians [conversos] from our holy Catholic faith ... to draw them to subvert them to their own wicked belief and conviction.”²¹⁷ The decree specifically lists the attributes of Jewish food that Jews would allegedly give to conversos to “steal” them from their new faith. The expulsion was meant to separate those who had converted from Judaism, so they could not give conversos “unleavened bread and meats ritually slaughtered, instructing them about the things from which they must refrain, as much in eating as in other things in order to observe their law.”²¹⁸

The earliest code of laws that identified Jews by using the methods of the Inquisition came from seventh century Visigothic law. The *Canon III* from the Sixth Council of Toledo in

²¹⁵ Fray Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, “Notice for the Inhabitants of the Albaicin” in *The Abencerraje and Ozmin and Daraja*, ed. Barbara Fuchs, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 112.

²¹⁶ Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, “Alhambra Decree or The Edict of Expulsion,” *Foundation for the Advancement of Sephardic Studies and Culture*, trans. Edward Peters. Accessed April 18, 2018 <http://www.sephardicstudies.org/decree.html>.

²¹⁷ Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, “Alhambra Decree or The Edict of Expulsion.”

²¹⁸ Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, “Alhambra Decree or The Edict of Expulsion.”

638 prohibited non-Catholics, specifically Jews from residing in Spain and began to demand they all convert or face expulsion.²¹⁹ The *Lex Visigothorum*, or *Fuero juzgo* in its thirteenth-century Castilian iteration, was an early law code that dictated the expectations and problems associated with the *conversos*. They were compelled to keep their marriage unions within their own community and adapt to the new Christian celebrations rather than their Jewish festivals. The easiest way for Jews to indicate proper conversion was to change their food practices. They promised to partake and reveal “no manifestation of disgust or horror” at these new foodstuffs introduced into their diets.²²⁰ If at any point they failed to adhere to these regulations or if one member of their community failed “he shall be burned or stoned to death” according to this code.²²¹

During the Inquisition, these same methods were used to implicate *conversos* who had not actually converted to Christianity, at least to the standards of the inquisitors. Their foodways and consumption practices could identify them as deceitful, although, much of the failure to change food habits may have come from cultural identity rather than religious. In the records of Inquisitorial trials from a widow, Ines Lopez, who was tried twice in 1495-1496 and 1511-1512, she admitted that she did not abandon all of the customs of her Jewish faith. She confessed on the 22 October 1495 to eating food on the Sabbath that was prepared the day before and partaking in some of the rituals of the day, as well as “eating on low tables at funeral banquets,” “removing the fat from meat,” and observing Jewish fasts.²²² In confessions on January 14 and 19, 1496, she admitted to consuming meat on Christian fasting days and avoided pork when

²¹⁹ “Canon III of the Sixth Council of Toledo,” in *Medieval Iberia*: trans. Jeremy duQ. Adams, 21-23.

²²⁰ “Lex Visigothorum,” in *Medieval Iberia*, trans. Jeremy duQ. Adams, 25.

²²¹ “Lex Visigothorum,” 25.

²²² “Inquisitorial Trials of Ines Lopez (1495-1496, 1511-1512),” trans. Ronald Surtz, 486.

possible as well as the veins and sinew from lamb that she ate.²²³ While she was never executed, almost every other member of her family was brought to trial on similar trespasses. Her sister was executed for her own continued adherence to Jewish customs in early March 1512 when inquisitors turned her over to secular authorities to be burned for heresy.²²⁴ The Inquisition epitomized the way in which food practices could be used to target people belonging to different traditions. For Jews, whose food intentionally separated them from other communities, this tactic presented them with especially dire consequences.

The Inquisition also identified Christians who adopted the customs of the Moors and Moriscos by their food and other habits. Those who were “Old Christians” were still under threat and could be prosecuted for failing to adopt these new practices.²²⁵ Cristóbal Duarte Ballester was one of these “Old Christians,” who was brought to trial twice for “singing Morisco songs, eating meat in the company of Moriscos on days forbidden by the church, and attending Morisco weddings.”²²⁶ According to Ronald Surtz, Ballester was raised in a Morisco community and he “enjoyed singing and dancing a la Morisca,” and attended their ceremonies. He responded to the accusations by carefully separating his associations with cultural elements of the Moors in their food and dance, with religious sentiments, replying that “he is a Christian and he considers himself such.”²²⁷

These trials alluded to the interconnectedness of religious practice with the customs of the Arabic and Islamic worlds or in the case of Ines Lopez with the observance of religious fasts and eating practices. The way a person ate and presented themselves in how they dressed,

²²³ “Inquisitorial Trials of Ines Lopez (1495-1496, 1511-1512),” 487-488.

²²⁴ “Inquisitorial Trials of Ines Lopez (1495-1496, 1511-1512),” 490.

²²⁵ Ronald E. Surtz, “Crimes of the Tongue: The Inquisitorial Trials of Cristóbal Duarte Ballester,” *Medieval Encounters* 12 no. 3 (2006): 522.

²²⁶ Surtz, “Crimes of the Tongue,” 521.

²²⁷ Cristóbal Duarte Ballester, quoted in Surtz, “Crimes of the Tongue,” 522.

danced, and the language they spoke could not, in the minds of the Inquisitors, be divorced from their religious identity. The region which had once been home to three thriving and interdependent communities of faith was now witnessing the rapid pursuit of widespread Christianization and the elimination of the markers of Jewish and Muslim faith and well as their influence on the customs of the region. Despite these growing movements which had emerged a century before, the foods of Iberia continued in some ways to reflect the integration of elements of these different cultures.

Conclusion

Medieval Iberia became a center for the diffusion of cultural elements of these religions and their food habits echoed this exchange. Living together in Iberia, people of different faiths and ethnicities would rely on one another for trade purposes, tax collection, and general peaceable relations. Since the relationship between the peoples of these three faiths became quite tenuous in later centuries, studying the manuals and foodways from a period of greater density and complexity in communal relations becomes important to understanding the developing relationships between these communities and better understand their evolving relationship. The most generally described attributes of the way in which Islamic cuisine influenced the food of western Europe.

Using food to understand the how people interacted with one another and their social values creates new insights into their relationships. Historians who have studied Spain in Middle Ages continue to gain insight into both the relationships between these communities and how they changed over the centuries. Jews and Muslims had an influence on the culture of medieval Iberia. Despite their being a minority, Jewish merchants, physicians, and courtiers had a significant role in Iberian society and their communities were always a very visible minority and the influenced and interacted with the majority population. Muslims, meaning Arabs and Berbers, had a more visible influence on the look of a city and the dress and language in which most people interacted. The exchange between Muslims, Jews, and Christians in Spain created a society where the visible elements of these three-religious group both distinguished them had an impact on the way people lived their lives

There were growing movements that emerged from a desire for separation, the legal implementation of socially constructed borders, separation contrasted with cultural multiplicity that was the result of centuries simply living together. The *Reconquista* and *convivencia* existed simultaneously during this epoch. A result of the *Reconquista* and the movement of Christians into al-Andalus was the necessity for coexistence. As the power shifted and people migrated south, new law codes were written. There was a shift in the segregation of these communities in the thirteenth century, prior to that in the border region and the Muslim controlled territory there was, by necessity, a greater deal of *convivencia*. Separate bath houses, ovens, butchers and other facilities both for men and women and for Christians, Jews and Muslims were also established.

Spanish cuisine until the early modern age developed in societies not only aware of traditions outside of their religious practices outside of their own religious traditions, but actively embroiled in the cultural exchange taking place in Iberia.²²⁸ The Arabs brought political stability and knowledge from across the empire and encouraged the “rapid advancement in science, medicine, technology, and the arts.”²²⁹ Muslims, Jews, and Christians integrated aspects of other religious communities into their own foodways. This exchange was a product of living together. It came from a need to coexist, and the people of Iberia exchanged various forms of knowledge through alimentary sciences, agricultural practices, and culinary techniques as well as more obvious methods of exchange in their language and texts. There was always an idea of separate religions and boundaries, but food habits and customs crossed these lines.

Spain is unique among the Christian west in the prolonged exposure of Christians, Muslims, Jews to the others’ cultures. The customs of both the Mediterranean, Arabic, and

²²⁸ Chabran, “Medieval Spain,” 137.

²²⁹ Chabran, “Medieval Spain,” 131.

Germanic traditions influenced its people, both in food and within the broader culture. Each religion organized their own societies uniquely, and this was reflected in their dining habits and customs. Their different practices allowed them to cultivate their identities among the broader populace. These differences would later be used by Christians to mark *converso* who failed to abandon their old habits and be used to associate sin and gluttony with the Muslims still inhabiting the region. Laws were also a manifestation of these divisions and used later used to negatively indicate and implicate people within the society who did not conform properly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Food is a means to further understanding the legal and social boundaries Muslims, Jews, and Christians created and was indicative of their values and how they understood themselves and each other. It articulated the division between them both through their food restriction and dining habits, and in their legal literature. Cookbooks and medical knowledge were widely disseminated and accepted by member of different faiths. Food illustrates the cultural diffusions taking place as a product of continued contact with the other religions. Despite this acceptance, religious and political leaders still sought to maintain religious borders and created legal boundaries attempting to prevent interaction. The study of culture in the medieval period is especially revealed through the study of food which clearly delineates the integration of the religious practices, structures, and boundaries into daily life and interaction through means of consumption.

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