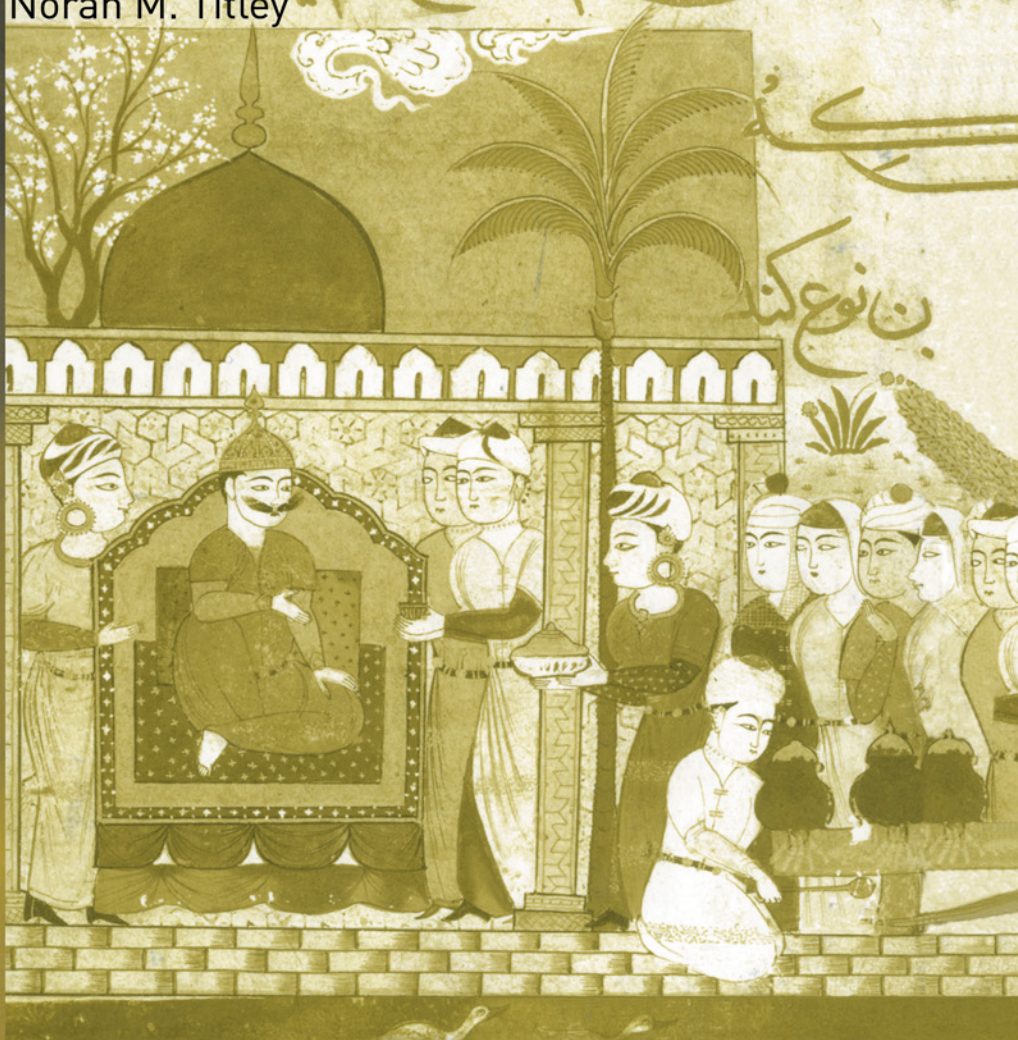


The *Ni'matnāma* Manuscript of the Sultans of Mandu

The Sultan's Book of Delights

Translated by
Norah M. Titley



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The *Ni'matnāma* Manuscript of the Sultans of Mandu

The *Ni'matnāma* is a late fifteenth-century book of the recipes of the eccentric Sultan of Mandu (Madhya Pradesh), Ghiyath Shahi, collected and added to by his son and successor, Nasir Shah. It contains recipes for cooking a variety of delicacies and epicurean delights, as well as providing remedies and aphrodisiacs for the Sultan and his court. It also includes important sections on the preparation of betel leaves as well as advice on the logistics of hunting expeditions and warfare. The text provides a unique and tantalising account of rarified courtly life in a fifteenth-century Indian Sultanate region.

There is only one known copy of the Sultan's Book of Delights in existence and it is held in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library (BL.Persian 149). The manuscript is illustrated with fifty elegant miniature paintings, most of which show the Sultan, Ghiyath Shahi, observing the women of his court as they prepare and serve him various dishes. The book is fascinating in that the text documents a remarkable stage in the history of Indian cookery whilst the miniatures demonstrate the influence of imported Persian artists on the style of the Indian artists employed in Ghiyath Shahi's academy.

The first few miniatures are painted in a distinctive Shiraz (Southern Iranian) style but, increasingly, the later illustrations show the indigenous styles of book painting found in Central and Western India. They are important as the earliest known example of miniature painting in an Islamic Deccani style. In addition, the text itself is a very early example of written Urdu. For the first time a facsimile of the original text is reproduced for a scholarly audience. Norah M. Titley, the British Library's retired curator of illustrated Persian manuscripts, has translated this exquisite book.

Norah M. Titley is one of the scholars in Britain specialising in the study of Persian language manuscripts and miniature paintings. She began her career in the British Museum's Department of Oriental Manuscripts in 1950 and retired as the British Library's curator of illustrated Persian manuscripts in 1983. Since retiring, she has worked intensively on translating the *Ni'matnāma*.

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Preface

The *Ni 'matnāma*, or Book of Delights of Sultan Ghiyath Shahi, who reigned at Mandu in Malwa (Central India) from AD 1469 to 1500, is a most unusual work from several different aspects. The unique manuscript is in the India Office Collections in the British Library. Although there is a long history of the editing or publishing of manuscripts on medieval Indo-Muslim politics, war, political organisation and, more recently, social history, there is very little on the domestic arts and the life of households, even of the ruling classes, nor does the *Ni 'matanāma* appear to have been used as source material by authors on Indian cookery. In addition to the contents, interest lies in the date of compilation (c. AD 1500), the language (one of the earliest manuscripts to include written Urdu), the illustrations (showing strong Persian influence in the early miniatures, becoming more Indianised in the later ones) and the renowned eccentricity of Ghiyath Shahi, which all add up to a fascinating work.

Robert Skelton first drew attention to the *Ni 'matnāma* in an article published in 1959 in which he deals in depth with the background history of both text and miniatures. It was this article that inspired a wish in the present translator to find out what went into the recipes, whether they were for food, drink, medicine, perfume, betel chews or aphrodisiacs, as well as the nature of the necessities so vital to a successful hunting expedition or on the battlefield.

My thanks are due to Mr J.P.Losty for his patient and meticulous editing, to Dr B.Brend for photographs of Mandu, to Dr H.Ginsburg for practical help, to Dr Peter Hardy for timely assistance, to Dr M.I.Waley and to Dr J.Seyller for help in reading the opening and closing inscriptions, and to Mr R.Skelton whose pioneering work provided the inspiration.

Mr G.Shaw, Director of the Library's Oriental and African Collections, generously agreed to fund the scanning of the complete manuscript for publication. Without additional support by the Society for South Asian Studies, publication would not have been possible, and gratitude is due to both bodies that this unique manuscript can now reach a wider readership via this translation and facsimile of the text.

Norah M.Titley
Angmering, 2004

Introduction

After the sack of Delhi by Timur (Tamerlane), in AD 1398, which heralded the collapse of centralised Muslim rule in India, Malwa in Central India became one of the independent states with its own rulers and its capital at Mandu. Ghiyath Shahi succeeded his father, Mahmud Shah, as ruler of Malwa in 1469 and immediately 'put out the hand of liberality and lavishness from the sleeve of generosity and made all sections of the people satisfied and grateful'. An eccentric and a bon viveur, his method of enjoying the of the *Ni'matnāma*, or Book of Delights. The manuscript (*IO Isl. Ms. 149*) of pleasures of life is amply demonstrated by the contents and illustrations this work has long been one of the treasures of the India Office Library (now included in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library), since its discovery and publication by Robert Skelton in 1959.¹ Datable to 1495–1505, it appears to have covered the period before Ghiyath Shahi's death in 1500 and the early years of the reign of his son and successor, Nasir Shah, who probably added a supplement. It now bears the title *Ni'matnāma-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāhī*.

The work consists of recipes for food and drink, for the preparation and distillation of perfumes and essences and also for aphrodisiacs and remedies for illnesses. There is a fairly long section, with illustrations, on the preparation and benefits of betel chewing as well as advice on what to take into battle and instructions concerning hunting expeditions. Ingredients for recipes and remedies are varied and numerous, and include gum, resin, fruit, leaves, bark, stems, roots, tubers, juice, nectar, pollen, kernels, and nuts from plants and trees as well as exotica such as bamboo manna and the crushed perfumed shell of a freshwater mollusc. Recipes for perfumes also include aromatic pastes, powders and pellets. Essences and flavours are also dealt with. There are stern warnings regarding the danger of eating certain fish or of chewing betel when suffering from specific illnesses, and there is a long list of foods not to be eaten with milk. However, the greater majority of the recipes are of positive benefit, to the extent that they sometimes end with comments such as 'this is delicious!' or 'this is a favourite of Ghiyath Shahi.' It is remarkable how many of the cooking recipes are still in use today, nearly five hundred years later.

In his accession speech, Ghiyath Shahi announced that, having supported his father, Mahmud Shah, for thirty-four years, he had decided not to extend his kingdom nor spend his time on the cares of state in general. He proposed to give himself up to seeking pleasure and enjoyment in the hope that his subjects would share it with him. He made his son, Nasir Shah, his heir and left him virtually to run the kingdom while he amused himself and filled his palace with musicians, beautiful female slaves and the daughters of rajas and high officials. Each girl was taught an art or profession, according to ability, including dancing, singing, reading, recitation, flute playing and, for a few, the art of wrestling. The city of Mandu was not for nothing known at this time as Shadiyabad (City

¹ Skelton 1959.

of Joy). Besides the girls who entertained him, Ghiyath Shahi set up a female army of five hundred Abyssinian slaves who were clad in armour and armed with swords and shields. Some of the most intelligent of the slave girls were trained in various kinds of learning and would join Ghiyath Shahi at his meals every day. Others were trained in administration or to run factories or to act as accountants. It is recorded (and exaggeration must be allowed for) that, all in all, he had sixteen thousand slave girls.

Most of the fifty miniatures in the Book of Delights include a few of Ghiyath Shahi's companions, slaves, attendants and cooks while he, himself, is usually shown taking a keen interest in the activities, whether it is cooking or the preparation of betel or perfumes or else leading the way on horseback out hunting. His interest and benevolence extended to the palace livestock, food being placed near the holes of rats and mice at his command, whilst the tame pigeons and parrots were also generously catered for.

Following the tradition of many Muslim rulers, Ghiyath Shahi maintained a studio of artists and those concerned with book production. The few surviving illustrated manuscripts that were produced at Mandu during this period demonstrate the influence of Persian artists working there. After Robert Skelton's article appeared in 1959, another illustrated manuscript from Malwa of the same period and written in the same bold *naskh* was discovered in the British Library (*Or. 3299*).² A glossary of rare words found in ancient Persian poetry (*Miftah al-fuzāla*), it was compiled in 1468–9 by Muhammad ibn Da'ud ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud Shadiyabadi, the latter part of his name indicating he worked at Mandu (or Shadiyabad). The manuscript of this work, datable to about 1490–1500, appears to pre-date the *Ni'matnāma* or Book of Delights, as the 187 small miniatures are strongly influenced by the Shiraz 'Turkman' style of the second half of the fifteenth century. One of the illustrations in the glossary (*folio 146b, Plate 53*) illustrating royal golden shoes, appears to be of Ghiyath Shahi accepting them, because the king is shown with the impressive moustache that is evident in all the *Ni'matnāma* miniatures featuring him. In the latter manuscript he is also wearing his golden shoes (*folio 189b, Plate 51*).

The British Library is most fortunate to include these two manuscripts in the collections as they belong to such a small group of known Indian Sultanate works extant. They were joined more recently by a third, a manuscript (*Or. 13718*) of the '*Ajā'ib aş-şanā'ī*', a Persian translation from Arabic of *Kitāb fī ma'rifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya* (Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices) by Ibn ar-Razzaz al-Jazari. The translator was Muhammad ibn Da'ud Shadiyabadi, the author of the *Miftah al-fuzāla* above, and the manuscript which is dated 1509 is the fair copy. It has approximately 175 illustrations of the automata beloved by various medieval Muslim rulers, but in a fairly crude style.³ Only one other royal illustrated manuscript from Mandu is known, a copy dated 1502–3 of the Persian classic text the *Būstān* of Sa'di, which is now in the National Museum, New Delhi (*Ms. 48.614*). This highly finished manuscript has forty-three miniatures, in a style which shows dependence not on Shiraz but on Herat, but this time without much obvious Indian stylistic influence.⁴

2 See Titley 1964–5.

3 Described in Losty 1982, no. 43.

4 Published by R. Ettinghausen in 1959. See also Losty 1982, no. 42.

In the fifty *Ni'matnāma* illustrations, the Persian 'Turkman' influence from Shiraz is still apparent in the miniatures, particularly in those at the beginning of the manuscript, but they become more and more Indianised, especially in respect of costume, architecture and the drawing of faces in profile (as opposed to the usual half-profile seen in Persian styles of painting). The *Ni'matnāma* is very important in the study of miniature painting as the illustrations demonstrate one of the earliest and most complete mingling of Indian and Persian styles.

In some instances, especially in the first few miniatures, a minute word has been written in a cursive hand above or by the side of the miniature, possibly as a guide to the artist, indicating the particular activity to be illustrated, e.g. the word *sanbūsa* is written alongside the miniature illustrating the preparation of samosas. Sometimes specific subjects mentioned in the text are portrayed, whilst others appear to be general scenes in which Ghiyath Shahi is supervising the cooks. In his article in *Marg*, which first published the manuscript in 1959, Robert Skelton identified two different artists.

Also of great interest is the fact that it is written in a mixture of Urdu and Farsi (Persian), a very early example of written Urdu in which all the words are written in the Persian form without the four dots that much later were used to distinguish purely Urdu characters. There is no distinction made between the characters for 'k' and 'g', whilst 'r' and 'l' are interchangeable, as are 'b' and 'p'. Like the glossary mentioned above, it is written in the bold *naskh* hand so characteristic of Mandu calligraphy.

New recipes in the text are indicated in two ways: the leading words are written in red and the character *ba* appears in the margin. There is little order in the way the recipes follow each other, and there is a great amount of repetition: for instance, recipes for sherbet may unexpectedly be interspersed with those for soup as if the thought of liquid had jogged the compiler's memory. The manuscript refers to Ghiyath Shahi's favourite recipes in a way that suggests he was still alive when compilation began. His son, Nasir Shah, appears to have had the work continued as the illuminated heading on folio 162b gives the title 'The Book of the *Ni'matnāma* of Nasir Shah'. The text following refers to Nasir Shah's own favourite recipes as well as those of his father Ghiyath Shahi and his grandfather Mahmud Shah.

The manuscript has three different foliation systems, viz. (i) a modern foliation system written in the East India Company's library (India Office Library), (ii) Farsi numerals, (iii) written out words in Farsi. The modern system runs straight through from 1 to 196. The Farsi numbers and words (1 to 207) correspond with each other, and their absence indicates where most gaps occur. These gaps are confirmed by the catchwords in the lower margin of the verso not tallying with the first word of the following recto. They amount to eleven missing in all, as follows: between 16b and 17a (1 missing); 17b–18a (1); 19b–20a (1); 37b–38a (2); 46b–47a (1); 56b–57a (1); 60b–61a (1); 67b–68a (1); 151b–152a (2). In addition, in four further instances, although the Farsi foliation is uninterrupted, the catchword does not correspond to the first word of the next (recto) page, as follows: 79b–80a; 85b–86a; 126b–127a; 131b–132a. These four folios must have been extracted before the manuscript entered the royal library where it was foliated and had not been noticed by the foliator. The other eleven folios were extracted after it had left the library, but before it entered the East India Company's library. Additionally,

the catchword between folios 5b and 6a is *slightly* suspect. One or more miniatures must be missing, especially between folios 47a–56b and 61a–67b. Folio 153a has no Farsi foliation numbers. A note on folio 162a in Farsi reads: ‘The assembled *Ni‘matnāma* 207 pages’. There are fifty surviving miniatures, which are discussed below.

There are several inscriptions and seals. On folio 1a:

- 1 ‘The book describing the cooking of Ghiyath Shahi’s samosas.’
- 2 ‘O King of the cockroaches!’ (*yā kabīkaj*, in a bold *naskh*). The same inscription is repeated on folio 196a in a similarly bold hand just at the end of the text.⁵
- 3 In a good, possibly Mughal, hand: ‘On medicine, in *naskh* writing [and] in a crimson binding. [It] entered into the Royal Library from the

5 According to Steingass (1957) this is frequently inscribed on the first page of books in India (and elsewhere) under the superstitious belief that, out of respect for the name of their king, the cockroaches will spare the book and leave it undamaged. Here they are playing safe by putting it at the end of the text as well.

possession of Malik Almās on the 24th day of the month of *Rabī‘ al-avval*, AH 1044 (24th July 1634).’

- 4 A faded inscription stating that this is the *Ni‘matnāma* of Nasir Shahi dealing with the methods for cooking food and aphrodisiacs (*hashvār*) and the preparation of rosewater (*gulāb*), spirits (*‘araq*) and perfumes (*atṭārī ‘āt*).
- 5 The red seal of the ‘E. I. Comp.’s Library’.

At the end of the manuscript, on the final folio (folio 196b), is a short inscription in a cursive hand, of which only the date can be discerned: 24th of the month of *Sha‘bān*, AH 978 (c. 29th June 1570), together with another ‘E. I. Comp.’s Library’ seal. On the flyleaf recto (unfoliated) appear the following:

- 1 ‘Tippoo MS’ (in pencil) and ‘149’ (in red), written by the East India Company’s librarian.
- 2 A repeat of the inscription on f.1a, more crudely written, referring to the ‘on the art of medicine’, but with the date of being taken into the Royal Library given as the 30th day of the month of *Rabī‘ al-avval*, AH 1044 (30th July 1634), six days later than the inscription on folio 1a. It is followed by the letters of the Arabic alphabet, crudely written, leaving out the characters for ‘p’, ‘ch’, ‘**h**’ and ‘g’ (which are found in Persian but not Arabic manuscripts, being substituted here by ‘b’, ‘j’, ‘h’ and ‘k’). In a big bold hand is written the title of the work, with *duvum* (‘second’) above it. Above are two round seals, which as yet defy interpretation. One of them is a Mughal period seventeenth-century seal, the other is almost certainly from its appearance (circular, with a decorative rim) a Sultanate period seal.⁶

6 John Seyller writes in a personal communication: ‘All in all, the only indication that I see for a Mughal provenance is the use of “duwum”, a word used in an elaborate system of qualitative classification that I have seen nowhere else. Conversely, the Mughals did not normally use “amirat” (royal) to indicate their library, but I do not know who else would have claimed to have one at this point. Manuscripts in Deccani collections normally had seals impressed near their inscriptions.’

The manuscript may have been taken from Mandu in AD 1562 when the Mughal Emperor Akbar defeated the last independent Sultan of Mandu, Baz Bahadur. There is some evidence that the manuscript was taken into the Mughal library—an inscription on folio 1a refers to the manuscript entering the Royal Library (presumably the Mughal one) in AD 1634. Later it appears to have travelled south, since a note on the flyleaf records it as a ‘Tippoo MS’, i.e. as having been in the library of Tipu Sultan of Mysore when his capital of Seringapatam was captured by the British in 1799. It is not, however, included in the catalogue of that collection published by Charles Stewart in 1809, and its precise route into the East India Company’s library is mysterious.

Apart from the fact that folios had been removed, there had been some damage to the pages also before the manuscript came to London, particularly towards the end. Damp and other calamities had caused smudging, obliteration of words and, worst of all, holes in the paper. Restoration has been very skilfully carried out by the British Library’s Conservation Department, but even they could not restore words lost by holing or by complete obliteration.

The text itself is also difficult to understand at times, is often abbreviated (where the author assumes knowledge now lost on the part of his reader), and uses many now obscure terms. It rarely gives quantities, but sometimes gets them wrong. The reader who wants to try out these recipes must be prepared to experiment, but the translator takes no responsibility for the results. Despite the difficulties, this text offers the sorts of insights into medieval Indian life given by few other works of the period.

Description of the miniatures

Plates 1 and 2 Mandu

Folio 4b Section on the use of milk in *kashk*, pottage, and the feeding of cows. The high horizon, heavy vegetation are features of the Persian Shiraz Turkman style of the late fifteenth century. The small cursive inscription *gāv u shūr* (cow and milk) above the top margin are probably instructions to the artist. (Plate 3)

Folio 5a The small inscription is *kās*, cup, bowl, or *kāsa*, a royal meal. This section concerns the preparation of samosas and *lās*, meat stew. Ghiyath Shahi is enthroned, wearing a crown and attended by four servants. (Plate 4)

Folio 6b The small inscription just below the throne is simply '*alaf*, food or provender. The section is concerned with the cooking of rice or pulses with milk. Ghiyath Shahi barefooted has seven attendants and is watching the cook in the foreground with his cooking pots. (Plate 5)

Folio 8b The small inscription appears to be '*alaf* teaching or instruction. Ghiyath Shahi is pointing towards the cook who is handing a dish of food to one attendant, while four others are standing near the throne, holding dishes and watching procedures. Ghiyath Shahi, crowned and barefooted, is in a blue-domed pavilion, which has a circular pool in the foreground. The section is explaining the ingredients needed for *talīb* pulse balls fried in oil, dried in the sun and used for flavouring. (Plate 6)

Folio 11a The small inscription appears to be *mādab*, feast or entertainment. Again a garden pavilion with typical Mandu architecture of a tower topped by a small dome. Ghiyath Shahi is wearing informal clothes, seated on cushions with the usual attendants holding dishes. A female cook kneels by the stove in the foreground, to the left of a large pool or cascade. The section is concerned with bread making. (Plate 7)

Folio 14a No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi is seated in a tiled garden pavilion with trees in the background and a round pool in the centre. A male cook attends to the stove, on which he is stirring and fanning a cooking pot. Ghiyath Shahi is gesturing towards the cook. There are eight attendants. The section concerns methods for cooking meat. (Plate 8)

Folio 18a The small inscription appears to be *randhān*, the preparation of food. Again Ghiyath Shahi is seated in a garden pavilion, gesturing towards the two male cooks kneeling by their stove. Pink tiled courtyard in the foreground with a stream running through it. One of the cooks is chopping meat. The section is concerned with soup and skewered meat (*sīkh*). (Plate 9)

Folio 23a The small inscription is *taghdiya* food, nourishment. Ghiyath Shahi is seated in a garden pavilion which has a large blue dome. Two cooks are near the stove in the foreground, one is chopping meat, the other has his hand on the pot lid. The meat, *lās*, hashed meat broth, or *yakhnī*, soup, section. (Plate 10)

Folio 25b The small inscription is obscure, possibly *mādab*, feast or entertainment. Ghiyath Shahi is seated on a divan in a garden, near a small whitedomed pavilion which

has an inscription The Sultan, the Just' over the door. Ghiyath Shahi appears to be giving instructions. His dark cook is pouring (probably) oil into a pan on the stove. A stream and ducks are in the foreground. Section of rice recipes. (Plate 11)

Folio 29a Two small inscriptions (i) *tarā* fresh vegetables, and (ii) *shamat* potherbs. Ghiyath Shahi is seated in a tiled courtyard, with two cooks with the stove and pots in the foreground. Stream with ducks. Recipe below the miniature is for rustic (vegetarian) food. (Plate 12)

Folio 32a Small inscription *gāgar*, water pot. Ghiyath Shahi is in a courtyard in front of a blue-domed garden pavilion. Cook has two pots on tripods and is chopping ingredients. This section for rice or pulse water, *pīchha*. (Plate 13)

Folio 35b Small inscription is *lanvās*, i.e. *lās*, stew or meaty broth. Ghiyath Shahi in a white-domed pavilion courtyard. The cook who is holding a soup ladle has two pots on tripods. Male and female attendants. The section deals with ingredients for soup. (Plate 14)

Folio 40b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi seated in a garden pavilion, being offered dishes by female attendants. Section for congee recipes. (Plate 15)

Folio 44b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi is seated on a throne under a canopy in a garden, the cook and stove are in the foreground. This appears to be by a different artist who has placed Ghiyath Shahi's attendants in a row, unlike the other compositions in which they are depicted in groups or singly The method of drawing the attendants' heads in a strict row is also to be seen in *Or. 1403*, a copy of the *Shāhnāma* in the British Library, dated 1438 and influenced by an earlier Shiraz style. No provenance is given for *Or. 1403* but it was undoubtedly produced in India, as details such as lotus flowers, the distinctive yellow pigment and faces in profile all point to its origin. This section gives recipes for *bhāt*, boiled rice. (Plate 16)

Folio 51a No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi is seated on a stool, one of his woman companions next to him. A garden scene with a stream with lotus plants in the foreground. Male cook holding a ladle kneels by his stove. The section deals with *kaṛhī* chickpea pulse, sour milk and spices recipe. (Plate 17)

Folio 54a No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi seated on a stool watching his cooks at work out of doors. The pot on top of a blazing stove is being stirred. The miniature appears in the section concerned with buttermilk recipes. (Plate 18)

Folio 66a No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi seated on a stool under a tree out of doors at night, watching his two cooks. A section on sherbet. (Plate 19)

Folio 71b Small inscription: *raṣā* soup or gravy. Ghiyath Shahi in a garden pavilion watching his two cooks preparing meat, one is cutting a haunch with his knife, the other is chopping meat. Both men have Persian features whereas the two women with Ghiyath Shahi have Indian features and dress, and large earrings. The section concerns *qīma*, minced meat. (Plate 20)

Folio 76a Small inscription ?*manzar var* (unclear) below the left-hand cooking pot. Ghiyath Shahi being offered a cup. Two female cooks, one ladling food from the cooking pot onto a plate, the other cook supervising the stove. Unusual plain white landscape. Section on sherbet and soft food. (Plate 21)

Folio 79b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi on a stool under red awning in a garden at night supervising his cooks, one of whom, a dark girl, is blowing up the fire with a

hollow tube. The other cook has greens or potherbs. The recipes here are for greens and potherbs. (Plate 22)

Folio 83b Small inscription *sanbūsa*, samosa. Ghiyath Shahi seated on a stool in a garden is being offered a dish, possibly of samosas. A cook is frying them over a stove, while another is placing them on a round dish. Section on recipes for *bara* and samosas. (Plate 23)

Folio 88b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi standing in a doorway pointing towards his cook who is stirring a pot. A gold and blue metal plate on the (damaged) tiled floor. The section is on medicinal food. (Plate 24)

Folio 91b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi out of doors, in white (night?) clothes, reclining on a divan, being fanned and massaged. There is a night sky and a background of heavy vegetation. The section is on instructions for a healthy way of life. (Plate 25)

Folio 94a No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi out of doors apparently in discussion with three of his attendants. In the foreground a flask is being poured over a dish of betel leaves on the left. On the right a plate (of lime?) is being put into a pestle and mortar. This is one of the sections on the preparation of betel. (Plate 26)

Folio 98a (damaged) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi seated on a stool out of doors, turning to accept a betel chew offered by his dark woman companion. Betel preparation in the foreground with lime being pounded in a mortar on the right and betel leaves being prepared on the left. Dishes and bowls. Tree in the centre bearing *pān* leaves? (Plate 27)

Folio 100b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi is kneeling on a stool, putting a betel chew in his mouth. There is a night sky, and he is wearing white night clothes. Out of doors with a background of heavy vegetation. A woman attendant is holding a gold bowl of betel. Wine flask in the foreground. A dark girl kneeling before Ghiyath Shahi is offering him another betel chew. This is a continuation of the betel theme—here the enjoyment of betel. (Plate 28)

Folio 103b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi kneeling (out of doors) on a small stool while betel chews are being prepared in the foreground by three men. A woman attendant is offering Ghiyath Shahi a bowl of betel chews. Instructions for preparing perfume for use in flavouring betel. (Plate 29)

Folio 111b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi is not shown. The miniature depicts the distillation of perfumes, three distilleries supervised by men, one with a large fan. Rows of plants in the background, gold sky and a large central tree. Section on the preparation of perfumes and flavours. (Plate 30)

Folio 115b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi kneeling on a stool watching two cooks. Out of doors scene with a night sky. One cook stirring a gold cooking pot on a stove, the other one dishing up from a gold pot into a blue and white ceramic dish. Section deals with halva and *pālūda*. (Plate 31)

Folio 118b ‘Leaf eating’ written in large *naskh* in the right hand border of the folio. Ghiyath Shahi being offered betel chews by a dark attendant. He is seated on a stool out of doors. Betel being prepared in the foreground by a man, using a pestle and mortar, and by a woman. Large round plate in the centre. (Plate 32)

Folio 121b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi watching the preparation of *abtāna*, aromatic paste. Two servants working on it, one mixing ingredients in a large bowl, the other rolling out the paste. Outdoor scene against a landscape of heavy vegetation and a gold sky. (Plate 33)

Folio 124b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi is not present. His couch with a large cushion and two plates of (?)betel chews is in the centre under an awning. Other dishes and plates in the foreground together with flasks and jars. The section on the use of perfume in the house. (Plate 34)

Folio 129b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi at night, kneeling on a stool out of doors. Section on water cooling. A water skin and flasks are suspended on sticks and there are large water vessels in the foreground. (Plate 35)

Folio 133b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi out of doors supervising his cooks, one of whom is holding a pot lid. Section on food as an aphrodisiac. (Plate 36)

Folio 136b No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi seated on a stool against a background of heavy vegetation. A rectangular pool with lotus flowers and ducks in foreground, the cook on the right of it. Section of recipes for soft food. (Plate 37)

Folio 144b An unreadable small inscription in left margin. A more formal setting for Ghiyath Shahi sitting in a pavilion, a pool and a stream with ducks in the foreground. A cook is in the right hand foreground and an attendant is offering Ghiyath Shahi a dish. The section is on the preparation of pottage (*lāpasī*). (Plate 38)

Folio 147a (damaged) (small inscription *asmārī*, an entertainment). Ghiyath Shahi is seated on a stool listening to musicians playing a tambourine and a stringed instrument whilst a third is clapping. This section is of recipes for *karḥī*. Male and female cooks in the foreground. Gold sky denotes a daytime scene. (Plate 39)

Folio 153b (damaged) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi supervising the activities of his four cooks in the foreground. He is seated on a stool, out of doors. Different kinds of stoves and cooking utensils are shown. The section is concerned with food suitable for the monsoon season. (Plate 40)

Folio 157a (damaged) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi on a hunting expedition escorted by his throne bearers, arms bearers, falconer and mounted attendants. The horses are reminiscent of the raw-boned animals seen in Shiraz paintings of the 1430s. This section is concerned with advice for provisions and tactics used when hunting. (Plate 41)

Folio 159b (slight damage) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi, riding a skewbald horse, possibly arriving at his camp. Landscape of heavy vegetation. Servants with flasks and dishes are in the foreground, fanning water cooling jars. Continuation of hunting instructions. (Plate 42)

Folio 162b (damaged) '*unvān* (not reproduced).

Folio 165b (damaged) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi is enthroned out of doors. The section has recipes for *chūva*, aromatic paste, which is probably demonstrated here. One large gold dish holds cups, flowers and leaves, there are various bowls and a perfume distillery. (Plate 43)

Folio 168b (damaged and retouched) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi is seated on a stool out of doors being offered cups on a gold dish. The section is concerned with the preparation of scented oils. Two men working in the foreground, one blowing the stove fire. (Plate 44)

Folio 171b (slightly damaged) Ghiyath Shahi seated on a stool under an awning out of doors at night. The section is concerned with method of distilling camphor and also of distilling rosewater and other flower perfumes. Ten glass distillery flasks in the foreground. (Plate 45)

Folio 174b (damaged) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi seated in a tent. The method for distilling perfumes and frankincense is described. The servant is removing the clay pot of frankincense from the stove with tongs as described in the text. Other attendants are offering a gold dish and a flask. A sword bearer stands on the left. (Plate 46)

Folio 177b (damaged) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi riding towards a group of people followed by his mounted parasol bearer. People in the group are offering him cups, possibly of sherbet, with which this section is concerned. Cook kneeling by a stove is taking the lid off a large metal cooking pot. (Plate 47)

Folio 180b (damaged) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi sitting on a carpet in a walled garden with nine gold and ceramic dishes of food before him. Other dishes are carried by four attendants. A servant in the foreground is dishing up more food. The section is for ways of cooking meat. (Plate 48)

Folio 183b (damaged) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi enthroned beneath a canopy out of doors. Usual dishes and flasks in the foreground. A section on *pūrī* bread stuffed with minced meat. (Plate 49)

Folio 186b (damaged) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi seated on a stool in conversation with dark female companion. Stove and cooking pots in the foreground. Scene out of doors. Recipes for *kūfta*, minced meat balls. (Plate 50)

Folio 189b (damaged) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi standing under a canopy out of doors, his dark female companion has her arm round his shoulder. The recipes are for *khīs*, flummery. A cook in the foreground is rolling or crushing something on a board. Attendants include a sword bearer. Ghiyath Shahi is wearing gold shoes, which are seen being presented to him in the *Miftah al-fuzāla* (*Or.* 3299, *f.146b*). (Plates 51 and 53)

Folio 192b (damaged) No small inscription. Ghiyath Shahi fishing, seated on a stool holding a fishing rod. He is turning round to his dark female companion who is offering him what appears to be a betel chew. Small rectangular pool with three fish. An attendant is removing a fish from the fishing line and another servant is kneeling in the foreground holding a fish. Water cooler being fanned in left foreground. (Plate 52)

All the miniatures are reproduced courtesy of the British Library

The Book of Delights

(f.1b) Take a cooking pot, either gold or silver or brass and put it into another cooking pot of copper or iron. Put in water and add 'alaf¹ so that the water comes over the 'alaf. Put a lid on it and seal it firmly. Take fresh cow's milk that is not mixed with water, cook it by the method of fanning with a piece of pure cloth on a stick. Take the milk up in that cloth and knead it on a plate, hour by hour, by the same method as in kneading bread, until the milk on the plate thickens. Remove it and, using an iron utensil, pick up the milk. Prepare the samosas and fill (f.2a) them with that which has been described.

Another kind of Ghiyath Shahi's samosas: take five *sīrs* of good grains of pure wheat, put one *sīr* of sweet-smelling ghee (*rūghan*) into it and grind it by hand and pound it with a wooden pestle. When it is well-mixed, prepare slices of *māhīcha* paste the thickness of a finger and fry them in ghee. Put the fried paste amongst roses so that it acquires a sweet smell, then knead it by hand and crush it so that it becomes fragmented. Add potherbs, musk, camphor, cardamoms and cloves and mix them all together. Stuff the samosas, filling them very full and pick them up by the hand.² They are very delicious and (f.2b) good.

Another kind of Ghiyath Shahi's samosas: take well-cooked mince with the same amount of minced onion and flavour it with dried ginger (*zanjabīl*). Having ground a quarter of that with half a *tūlcha* of garlic, mix them all together. Grind three *tūlchas* of saffron in rosewater and mix it with the mince. Remove the pulp from aubergines and, having mixed it with the mince, stuff the samosas and fry them in ghee. They can be either of thin dry bread or of fine flour bread or of uncooked dough. Cook each of the three kinds of samosas, they are delicious and good.

Another kind of Ghiyath Shahi's samosas: take finely minced deer meat and flavour ghee (f.3a) with fenugreek and, having mixed the mince with saffron, put it in the ghee. Roast salt and cumin together. Having added cumin, cloves, coriander and a quarter of a *rattī* of musk to the mince, cook it well. Put half the minced onion and a quarter of the minced dried ginger into the meat. When it has become well-cooked, put in rosewater. Take it off and stuff the samosas. Make a hole in the samosa with a stick and fry it in sweet-smelling ghee and serve it (*when*) tender. By the same method samosas of any kind of meat that is desired, can be made.

The method for samosas of tender meat of mountain sheep (*parbatī*) or of deer: mince (*the meat*) finely (f.3b) and add turmeric, cumin, fenugreek, coriander, cardamom and cloves and mix them together. Flavour sweet-smelling ghee with asafoetida. When the ghee has become well-flavoured, put the mince in it and leave it so that it becomes well-cooked. Add lime juice and pepper and then put in a quarter of a *sīr* of dried ginger (*zanjabīl*) and one *sīr* of chopped onion and remove it. Add one *rattī* of camphor and one *rattī* of musk. Prepare a few large samosas and a few small ones the size of one mouthful. Having stuffed them with the mince, fry them in sweet-smelling ghee and, when they are to be eaten, sprinkle them with vinegar or lime juice. Serve them and eat them.

(f.4a) Another method: buy a yellow cow or a black cow, feed it on sugarcane, green grass, cotton seeds and date sugar and also coconut, nutmeg, cinnamon, pulses, partridge eggs and bamboo leaves, or else use a sheep or a cow buffalo. Take the milk from it, boil

1 Obscure; according to Steingass, 'alaf is provender or food.

2 i.e. eat them with the fingers.

it and skim off the cream that rises to the top. Drink the milk lukewarm. Strain the cream in a cloth and, having added wheat flour to it, prepare *kashk*.³ Fry it in ghee and add a quantity of camphor, cardamoms, cloves, date sugar and round peppers. It is very tasty.⁴

(*f.4b, with a miniature*) Another of Ghiyath Shahi's samosas: mix together well-cooked mince with the same amount of minced onion and chopped dried ginger, a quarter of those, and half a *tūlcha* of ground garlic and, having ground three *tūlchas* of saffron in rosewater, mix it with the mince together with aubergine pulp (*f.5a, with a miniature*). Stuff the samosas and fry (*them*) in ghee. Whether made from thin coarse flour bread or from fine flour bread or from uncooked dough, any of the three (*can be used*) for cooking samosas, they are delicious.

Also a stew (*lanvās, i.e. lās*) of Ghiyath Shahi: take thin pieces of meat and flavour them with the essence of asafoetida and fenugreek. Mix the meat with some turmeric (*f.5b*) and cook it until it is very tender. Put plenty of sweet-smelling ghee on it and, having added some cardamoms and cloves and a little camphor and rice flour, cook it. When it is well-cooked add very large pieces of onion and big pieces of dried ginger and scatter dry ground pepper on it and sprinkle it with lime juice. It is delicious.

Another plain rice of Ghiyath Shahi: heat palm sugar sherbet and when it comes to the boil, add the rice. When it is well-cooked, take it off and put cardamoms, camphor and cloves into the water which has been strained from the rice...(*missing folio(s)*)⁵...(*f.6a*)...having stitched together those leaves, cool the milk. It is delicious.

Again, in the making of *bara*⁶ with milk: having soaked rice in water, grind it finely. When the milk has become hot in the cooking pot, put the rice flour into it. If there are five *sīrs* of milk, then put in four *sīrs* of flour and leave it so that it becomes well-cooked. Take it off and add one handful of fine white flour to it and, having prepared the *bara* cook it in ghee. Put potherbs, camphor, musk, cardamoms and cloves on the pulse and also add perfume prepared from the scent of flowers.

Again the method for milk rice: boil the milk well and add well-washed rice to it (*f.6b, with a miniature*) or put in those kernels of wheat that are very white or put in *sarūla* flour⁷ or put in finely cut *māhīcha* paste and add camphor, musk, rosewater and a small amount of white ambergris. When it is well-cooked, take it off. It must not be too thick, nor equally, too thin, when cooked.

(*f.7a*) Another kind of milk rice: well-boil five *sīrs* of milk. Grind half a *sīr* of washed rice with milk, strain it through a cloth and put it into that milk. Add some potherbs that are not too sweet and, when cooked, do not shrink. Add sour-orange *taranj* pulp which has been de-pipped. If the orange is not sweet and produces acid, then wash the sour-orange pulp in water so that the acidity runs out. Put the pulp into the milk and, having

3 A thick pottage made of milk and flour, here obviously so thick as to be almost solid.

4 Note in the top margin: 'viands, victuals.'

5 The catchword on f.5b is slightly suspect, and partly obliterated.

6 *Bara* or *barī* is normally a cake made of ground pulse, allowed to ferment, and then deep fried in ghee—the modern *wāda*. Here rice flour is used instead.

7 *Sarūla* are small balls of paste made from a confection of flour mixed with sugar, ghee, poppy seed, dates and almonds and then boiled in milk. Perhaps here meaning flour suitable for making *sarūla*?

added rosewater, camphor and musk, take it off and cool it. It is delicious.

Another kind of **bara** with *māst* (sour coagulated milk). Tie the *māst* in a cloth (f.7b) and shake it well so that it thickens, then add one handful of fine white flour. Having prepared the **bara** and cooked it in sweet-smelling ghee, fry it. Put cardamoms, camphor, musk, potherbs and cloves on the **bara** as well as perfume prepared from sweet-smelling flowers.

(f.7b, marginal note:) Another kind of **bara** from bean pulse (*māsh*): having soaked the pulse in water, throw away the liquid. Then having dried it (*the pulse*), grind it. Make the dough gradually, by degrees, so that the flour grains are well-kneaded. Then in the usual way, having mixed it with potherbs, cook it in well-flavoured ghee.⁸

Again *kasīrū*⁹ **bara** cake: wash five *sīrs* of pulse (*dāl māsh*) well and grind it finely. Then having ground fifty *kasīrū* tubers, mix them (*with the pulse*) and put five *sīrs* of fresh butter into it and knead it by hand, then rub in some asafoetida and salt with the palm of the hand. Cook it in sweet-smelling ghee. Put camphor, musk, potherbs, cardamoms and cloves on the **bara** as well as perfume prepared from the scent of flowers.

(f.8a) Keep some pieces of this **bara** which have not been sweetened. Prepare good *karhi*¹⁰ either with *dūgh*¹¹ sprinkled on it or perfumed *kānjī* (congee) and put this same **bara** into it. After the **bara** has been put into the *karhi* or *dūgh* or congee, eat it immediately before it dissolves. Again, for yam¹² **bara**: grind the yams well and add one handful of fine white flour to them. Fry the **bara** in sweet-smelling ghee and add potherbs, camphor, musk, cardamoms, pepper and ground cloves. By the same method make red yam **bara** and, also by the same method make jackfruit (*kathal*) **bara** and also by the same method mango **bara**¹³

Also for a better method of preparing pulse (*māsh*) **bara** (f.8b, with a miniature), make sour milk (*qataḡh*) with tamarind and add potherbs, rosewater, camphor, musk, cardamoms and cloves and flavour it with the scent of oil of aloes. Put the **bara** into very hot water, then take it out and put it into the *qataḡh*. By the same method prepare *mūng* **bara**. Another recipe for *māsh* **bara** and milk: (f.9a) wash the pulse thoroughly, grind it finely and mix it with asafoetida, onion, dried ginger, cumin and fenugreek and prepare the **bara**. Make another **bara** with fresh butter and put butter on it, prepare another from pulse and put fresh butter on it and thus place pieces of **bara**, layer by layer—one layer with butter and one layer with pulse, one on top of the other and then fry it in ghee. Heat up the milk and put potherbs, camphor, musk and rosewater into it. Keep some of the

8 End of marginal note.

9 *Kasīrū*: *Cyperus tuberosus* root which is either ground or else eaten as a fruit.

10 *Karhi*: chickpea pulse dressed with spices and sour milk.

11 Churned sour milk, still thin and runny.

12 *Pandālū*, yam.

13 Note in the left margin: '*kathal* snamely *phanas*', both meaning 'jackfruit'.

milk unsweetened but in both recipes use very hot milk. Put fermented *dūgh* on the milk, (f.9b) thus creating a layer of *māst* and a layer of that *bara*. It is delicious.

Another kind of *karhi bara*: take sour *dūgh* and having washed (some) rice well, grind it and put it into the *dūgh*. Roast fresh coriander, cumin and fenugreek and put that in. Add ground cardamoms, onions, cloves and fresh ginger. Boil the *karhi* well and add salt and pepper. When it has boiled, take it off and heat two earthenware pots. Put asafoetida, cumin, fenugreek, cardamoms, cloves and sesame into one and place it on top of the second pot. Cover both of them with a cooking pot. When it has become well-flavoured, put the *karhi* into the cooking pot, add the *bara* (f.10a) and make it very hot.

Another method, for *phīnī* (a sweetmeat): take five *sīrs* of pure wheat grains and a quarter of a *sīr* of ghee. When the grain has been pounded, add the ghee so that it becomes sweet-smelling and pure. Mix in washed rice that has been ground and prepare slices of flour paste (*māhīcha āradī*), knead it and roll it out. Rub fresh butter on it and cut it with a knife. Fry the prepared *phīnī* in sweet-smelling ghee. If at any time another variety is required, then wrap red paste on one and white paste on one so that it forms leaves (i.e. sheets of paste) of each kind and the *phīnī* becomes coloured.

Another kind of *khājā* (sweetmeat): put five grains (*ruh*) into one *sīr* of ghee and knead it with the palm of the hand. (f.10b) Then pound it well and put ghee into it, drop by drop. Roll it out with a rolling-pin and use the bread making method to make it. Rub fresh butter into rice flour and knead it and fold the dough and take the *khājā* piece by piece with an equivalent amount of the dough and roll them out and make the *khājā* thin and, either with tweezers (*manqāsh*) or with a nail, draw a picture on it and fry it in ghee. Having made a pure syrup, put it on and flavour it with the perfume of flowers.

Another *phīnī* of pulse: having washed *mūng* pulse, grind it finely and soak it in hot water. Roll it out and allow it to rise and put into it... (damaged) and cut it with a knife as for the method for *phīnī* and... (damaged). Another method for *phīnī* (f.11a, with a miniature): having made the *phīnī*, fry it in ghee and put pure syrup on it and, by the same method, make chickpea pulse *phīnī* and, by the same method, prepare several that are also delicious.

Another method, for thin bread (*nān-i-tang*) of all kinds. Grind potherbs well in ghee. Add camphor, musk, cardamoms and cloves. Make dough of white grains for thin bread (f.11b) by the same method. Take enough grains to make enough pieces for thin bread and make the equivalent number of pieces of dough. Having added the potherbs, cook the thin bread.

Another recipe for thin bread: having put water and potherbs into *mūng* pulse or into chickpea pulse, cook it well. Just as dough is made from the flour of stoneground grains for *pūrī* (balloon) bread, so having made the dough in the same way, divide it into small portions and cook it. Another kind of thin bread made from pure white grains: knead camphor, musk, cardamoms, potherbs and ghee together, fold the dough and fry it in ghee and flavour it with the scent of roses. This is called sweetened *nān-i-tang*.

(f.12a) Another recipe for *nān-i-tang* is made from kalt.¹⁴ Soak fresh kalt pulse in water and grind it finely. Mix it with water and strain it through a thin cloth. Heat it up in a frying pan, having greased the pan with ghee. Wrap *pālūda*¹⁵ in a clean cloth and pound

¹⁴ Sic, probably *kalthī*, a kind of horse gram pulse (*Dolichos uniflorus*).

¹⁵ A mixture of water, flour and honey.

that cloth over the frying pan.

Another method, for soup (*shūrbā*): take water that rice has been cooked in and save it. Having mixed together turmeric, saffron, cardamoms, cloves, pepper, cumin and cooked meat, cook them again. Take them out, add asafoetida and salt and put in ghee and also lime juice. Another method for soup: having put in pounded wheat, meat and whole potherbs, (*f.12b*) cook the soup. Another recipe for soup: add cooked meat to *karhī* and boil it. Put in cassia, cinnamon, cardamoms, camphor, dried ginger juice, lime juice and salt and put it (*all*) into a cooking pot. It is delicious.

Another recipe, for *zarat* (millet)¹⁶ flour soup: put in *dūgh*, cumin, salt and onions and cook it. Add lime juice, cardamoms and cloves and take it off. When it is cool, flavour it with asafoetida and sesame. Another recipe for soup: grind rice flour or *zarat* flour or the rough parched wheat called *thūlī* (*sic*).¹⁷ Put either one of them, or else washed *zarat* or washed *mūng* pulse, into milk. Boil it and put in an equivalent amount of palm sugar. Sprinkle mace and camphor on it.

Another (*f.13a*) method for a drink: mix *zarat*, wheat, barley, lentils and roasted chickpeas in rice water and cook them. Add salt and two *dirams* of ghee and drain off the liquid. Flavour the liquid with ghee or with sesame and then make it either sweet or sour or sweet-smelling or sharp or put in lime juice and garlic. These are all varieties. Put sesame seeds in sweetened and sweet-smelling water and this (*also*) is a variety. Another recipe for a method for a dry bread drink: soak the dry bread in water, knead it by hand, drain off the water and add flavours and sweeteners.

Again, the recipe for boiled grain: (*f.13b*) steam the rice (*until it is*) soft as for *barī* and, after it has been taken off, put in roasted chickpea flour or roasted *karhari*¹⁸ or roasted almonds or roasted water lily seeds or roasted jackfruit kernels or roasted mango kernels or roasted *jāman* kernels. Having added them (*to the rice*) cook it.

Another recipe, for *chaklī* (a kind of cake): having cleaned *zarat*, pound it and having put cumin into *dūgh*, cook it. Cool it with *māst*, cumin and salt. It is called *maṭṭhā* Eat it.

Another recipe, for meat (*with*) potherbs: put a round spoonful of sweet-smelling *rūghan* ghee into a cooking pot and when it has become hot, flavour it with cumin, onions and fenugreek. When it has become well-flavoured, put in dry ground turmeric, when (*f.14a, with a miniature*) the turmeric has turned red, put the meat into the cooking pot. When the meat is well-roasted, add water, *sūnf*, coriander, cumin, fenugreek, and potherbs. When they are well-soaked, squeeze out the water and throw it away. Put the potherbs with the meat and add salt. When it has become well-cooked, put in large pieces of dried ginger and the juice of ginger and lime with a little salt, then serve it.

Another recipe, for *pūrī* (balloon bread): (*f.14b*) prepare the *pūrī* and, having mixed together roasted and peeled sesame seeds, potherbs, camphor, musk, cardamoms and cloves, put them in (*to the pūrī*). Make the edges of the *pūrī* strong and fry it in ghee and flavour it with the perfume of roses.

16 *Zarat* means 'maize' according to Steingass (1957) and Platts (1965), but given the date of the text, it possibly refers here and elsewhere to a kind of millet (Arabic *zarat*).

17 *Thūlī* (parched grain) must be meant.

18 *Karhari* the black nut of a fruit of which the kernel is white and much esteemed in tonics and aphrodisiacs.

Another recipe, for *laddū* (a sweetmeat): add five *sīrs* of white grains to a quarter of a *sīr* of ghee and one *diram* of salt. Make a good dough and pound it in a mortar. While pounding, gradually add one *sīr* of ghee and make balls or slices of dough (*mahīchā*). Having fried them in ghee and marinated them in pure syrup, make the *laddū* and flavour it with the scent of roses. Another kind of *laddū* is made from *mahīchā*: put together one *sīr* of grain, one *tūlcha* of ghee¹⁹ and one *māsa* of salt. Make the dough (*f.15a*) and when it is well-moistened, pound it in a mortar. Then, as in *pāpar*,²⁰ cut it by hand, as in the method for *pāra-yi ārd*,²¹ and similarly prepare the *mahīchā* (*so that it is*) thin like hairs, and put them in a thin cloth and fry them in ghee. Put half of the *mahīchā* above and half below and, in between the layers of paste put potherbs, camphor and musk and flavour it with the perfume of roses.

Another recipe for *mūng laddū*: wash *mūng dāl* well and boil it slightly and add potherbs, camphor and musk. Fold the *laddū*, mix fine white flour in water and mix them together. Fry them in ghee and flavour with the scent of roses. Another recipe for *laddū* (*to satisfy*) hunger: soak five *sīrs* of white flour grains well (*f.15b*) and pound it in a mortar by hand with a wooden pestle. Flavour it with one and a half *sīrs* of ghee. Prepare a number of pieces of *mahīchā* the thickness of a finger and fry them in ghee. Make perfume from roses and sprinkle it on the *mahīchā*. Then, having mixed together two *sīrs* of ground peeled almonds and two *sīrs* of grated coconut with potherbs, camphor, musk, cardamoms, and cloves, fold them into the *laddū*.

Another recipe for the method for different meats: put together five *sīrs* of meat, a quarter of a *sīr* of turmeric, half a *tūlcha* of cloves, one *tūlcha* of cardamoms and a quarter of a *tūlcha* each of roasted cumin and roasted fenugreek and a quarter of a *tūlcha* of coriander. Put sweet-smelling ghee into a cooking pot and put it on top (*of the fire*). When it has become hot, put asafoetida, cardamoms, cloves and fresh coriander in water and flavour it. (*f.16a*) When the water has become well-flavoured put the meat into it. When the meat has become well-stewed, add water and two *tūlchas* of salt. When it has become well-cooked, add one *rattī* of camphor and one *rattī* of musk. Put in a quarter of a *tūlcha* of pepper and the juice of two limes or put in greens or whatever is to hand.

Another method for mince: mix together five *sīrs* of mince, three *tūlchas* of turmeric, one *tūlcha* of cardamoms, half a *tūlcha* of cloves, a quarter of a *tūlcha* of coriander, one *tūlcha* of fenugreek, a quarter of a *tūlcha* of roast cumin, fresh coriander and a quarter of a *tūlcha* each of chopped fresh ginger and onions. Put two *sīrs* of ghee into a cooking pot and place it on top of the fire. When (*f.16b*) it has become hot, flavour it first with asafoetida and then add fenugreek. When the fenugreek has turned red, add the minced meat and a small cupful of asafoetida. Put together two *rattīs* of camphor, one *rattī* of musk and the juice of two limes. Cook them and add two *sīrs* of minced onion, four *tūlchas* of minced dried ginger (*zanjābīl*) and a quarter of a *tūlcha* of long pepper and serve it.

19 This seems a wrong measurement.

20 Wafers of *dāl* dough, i.e. pappadum.

21 Peasant's gruel.

The method for meat *lanvās*:²² put together four *sīrs* of meat and four *tūlchas* of turmeric and other suitable potherbs and, having cooked it by the same method (*as above*), take it off. Having taken it off, grind one *tūlcha* of lovage by hand and put it in and also put in very large pieces of onion and fresh ginger (*adrak*).

Another recipe for meat: cut the meat up finely, so that it is minced. Cook it ...(*missing folio(s)*)²³ (*f.17a*) and flavour it with asafoetida and fenugreek. Put the meat and the above-mentioned potherbs into a cooking pot and, when it has become well-cooked, remove the broth and throw away the meat. Flavour the broth with cumin, fenugreek, asafoetida, cardamoms and cloves.

Another recipe for meat without ghee: put the meat with the above-mentioned herbs into water and put it on top of the fire. When it is cooked take it off and remove the soup. Strain it and throw away the meat and flavour the soup with fenugreek and asafoetida. Another recipe: the mince must be ground in advance, then cook it by the same method. Mix together mustard (*rā'ī*) seeds, *māst*, turmeric, salt and lime juice. Put sweet sesame into a cooking pot and place it on the fire. When it has become well-heated, (*f.17b*) flavour it with asafoetida. After mixing the meat with the mustard seeds and *māst*, put it into the cooking pot. When it is cooked, serve it.

Another recipe for *bara* made from meat and pulse (*māsh*): mince the *bara* finely and, having mixed turmeric, cumin, fenugreek, cardamom, cloves, camphor, musk, fresh coriander, asafoetida, salt, pepper, lime juice, fresh ginger and chopped onion with a little ghee, put them into the *bara*. Keep some minced onion and fresh ginger separate, and mix them with dried coriander, *sūnf*, cardamoms, cloves, camphor, musk, lime juice and salt separately. Make two loaves from the minced meat and put the stuffing between those loaves and strengthen the sides. By the same recipe make a number of other loaves and put a cooking pot on top so that...(*missing folio(s)*)²⁴...(*f.18a, with a miniature*) flavour it. Remove it from the fire and, having put it on a dish, serve it. Make rabbit soup (*yakhnī*) by the same recipe and use the same recipe for any *yakhnī* that is required.

Another recipe is for skewered meat (*sīkh*) for use where fires are available, either for *taḡhrān* (game birds) or sheep meat. First of all cut the meat very finely, wash it with turmeric and (*f.18b*) good water and boil it. Add salt, asafoetida and chopped potherbs and boil it. If it has become well-cooked, tie it with a thread and marinate it with all kinds of potherbs mixed with lime juice. Leave it in one place for several hours (*to marinate*) and then roast it. When the potherbs in the meat turn red and become absorbed, then put musk, camphor and rosewater into ghee and rub it on the meat and roast it once more. When it has become well-cooked, and it is time to eat, throw away the thread.

Another recipe for clay oven (*darkā*) meat: make a ditch two *gaz* deep and one and a half *gaz* wide. Rub flowers on the inside of the ditch, line it with clay and put sticks into it. Light a fire and make the clay oven very hot (*f.19a*) and make the stones lining it hot.

22 i.e. *lās*, a stew or meaty broth.

23 The catchword on f.16b is *dūgh* but f.17a starts *va bakhār*. The Farsi foliation indicates one folio is missing.

24 Catchword on f.17b is *kīyāh* but f.18a begins *ta'ām khūrdan*. The Farsi foliation indicates one missing folio.

Either the flesh of cows or of sheep or of game birds may be used. Wrap the meat in banana leaves and put stones in the ditch oven and put banana leaves on the stones. Put the meat wrapped in banana leaves on top of the stones and, again, put banana leaves over the meat. Once more put in hot stones and on those stones put banana leaves. Place meat on those leaves and once more put banana leaves on the meat. In this way put layers of whatever quantity is required, whether sheep, chicken or pigeon (*f.19b*) and (*finally*) put a lot of banana leaves on the ditch oven and top it up with flowers. Seal it so that nothing runs out of it. This recipe is for one or two cows but put in whatever quantity is required and leave it for a whole night so that it cooks. Burn two or three bundles of firewood on the oven and when it is time to eat the meat, take it out and eat it.

Another recipe for the method for fish: take the bones out of the fish and wash it with *dūgh*, turmeric and asafoetida. Burn pure asafoetida in oil and grind it and, having mixed together cumin, roast fenugreek, turmeric, pepper, coriander and roast sesame seeds, rub them into the fish. Add onion and ground fresh ginger and the oil in which the asafoetida...(*missing folio(s)*)²⁵ ...(*f.20a*) First, having pounded the cooked fish in ghee (*and*) similarly, having put ghee on (*damaged*) cook it, and take a plate made of stitched orange leaves (*paṭṭal*) and put the mince on it and tie it with thread. Flavour it with small white cardamoms and add water so that it becomes well-flavoured and put the orange leaf plates into a cooking pot. Directly it comes to the boil take it off and serve it. By the same recipe, having placed a quantity of mince on screw pine (*kīyūra*) leaves, cook it and by the same recipe spread it on banana leaves or the leaves of red roses or white China roses (*sīvātī*). Place the mince on them as stuffing and fasten them up. Prepare meat by the same recipe, partridge, quail, rabbit, deer, whichever kind is required.

(*f.20b*) Another recipe for a method for skewered (*sīkh*) fish: just as, previously, we cooked mince in ghee, cook fish by the same method and mix it with coarsely ground roasted coriander and roasted fennel seeds. Having mixed the mince with potherbs, a good method is to add some ebony fruit (*tīndū*), and wrap it in cotton and fasten it to a skewer. Mix camphor, musk and rosewater with ghee and rub the ghee on to the skewered mince every hour. When it has become thoroughly red, serve it.

Another recipe for rustic (*rūstā*) fish *kabāb*, namely *ganvārī*.²⁶ having placed one sweet-scented earthenware pot on top of another, make them both hot. Stuff the boned fish with *dūgh* and asafoetida and wash it with water. Rub salt, asafoetida, pepper, cardamoms and dried ground cloves on it and also rub lime juice on the fish and roast it in the earthenware, namely clay, cooking pot. (*f.21a*) When it has become well-roasted, flavour it with pure asafoetida. By the same recipe make *kabābs* of partridges, quails, kid, chicken and pigeon and also, by the same recipe, make rabbit *kabābs*.

Another recipe for fish *yakhnī*: prepare fish, as explained previously, by the same recipe and use the same flavours, or else flavour it with orange leaves and spread a cloth over it. Rub the fish with lime juice and salt, put it in and place a lid on the cooking pot.

25 Catchword on f.19b is *hing* but f.20a begins *avval pukhtan*. The Farsi foliation indicates one missing folio.

26 Also meaning 'rustic'.

When it is cooked, take it off and squeeze the water out and throw the fish away and make the *yakhni* by the method of bean *yakhni*. Mix cardamoms, cloves, pepper, lime juice, salt, ginger and finely cut onions all together and flavour them with pure asafoetida. Sew two sour-orange (*taranj*) leaf plates, (f.21b) place them, one over and one under, in the *yakhni*. Take them out at meal time and serve the *yakhni*. By the same recipe make *yakhni* of any meat that is liked.

Another recipe for the meat of mountain sheep: take it complete with bones and wash it well and, having added asafoetida, onions, fresh ginger, salt, fresh greens and fresh coriander, cook it. Put in plenty of water. Add some pepper and lime juice and, when it is well-cooked, take it off and either eat it as it is or else flavour it with asafoetida essence.

Another recipe for the method of frying fish: wash the fish as explained previously and mix it with chopped potherbs and fry it either in *sarsun* (rape) seed oil or in mustard (*rā'ī*) seed oil (f.22a) and flavour it with asafoetida.

Another recipe for the method of saffron meat: wash the meat well and, having put sweet-smelling ghee into a cooking pot, put the meat into it. When the ghee is hot, flavour it with saffron, rosewater and camphor. Mix the meat with the saffron to flavour it and when it has become well-marinated, add a quantity of water. Chop cardamoms, cloves, coriander, fennel, cinnamon, cassia, cumin and fenugreek, tie them up in muslin and put them with the meat. Cook almonds, pine kernels, pistachios, and raisins in tamarind syrup and add them to the meat. Put in rosewater, camphor, musk and ambergris and serve it. By the same method cook partridge, quail, (f.22b) chicken and pigeon.

Another recipe: wash the meat well. Flavour ghee with asafoetida and, having mixed the meat with saffron, put it into the ghee. When it has become well-marinated, add hot water, salt, cardamoms, cloves, *sūnf*, coriander, cumin and fenugreek. When it is well-cooked, put in lime juice and pepper. Take it off and add whole sour-orange (*taranj*) leaves or sweet-orange (*nārang*) peel. Another recipe: cook the meat as previously explained and put leaves into a number of cooking pots. Put mangoes into some and put unripe mangoes (*kīrī*) into some. Another recipe: heat some ghee and flavour it with ambergris, rosewater and musk. Put the meat in and when it is flavoured, mix it with rosewater or saffron. When (f.23a, with miniature) it has become well-marinated, put in hot water and cook it well. When it has become well-cooked put in fresh ginger, onions and the juice of sour-oranges. Take it off and put onions into some of it and also put in cucumber.

Another recipe: take hashed meat broth (*yazdā'ī yakhni*) either of sheep meat or partridge or beef or rabbit, whichever *yakhni* is required. Make it and having kneaded the meat in it, cook the meat broth and add turmeric, salt and all kinds of potherbs. (f.23b) Flavour it with ghee, add water and make the soup. Put in plenty of onion and the soup becomes very good. Add pepper and lime juice and serve it. Another recipe is for Mongol *yakhni*: having stuffed meat very well with onions, fresh ginger, potherbs and salt, boil it. Either cut the meat very finely or, if it is so desired, have it uncut and, if it is required in soup, put it in soup. Another recipe for Mongol *yakhni*. take pieces of meat complete with bones and boil it with onions, fresh ginger, salt and all kinds of potherbs. When it is well-cooked, add either lime juice or ghee.

Another recipe, for meat: wash the meat well and put it in vinegar, (f.24a) keep it and marinate it in ghee flavoured with asafoetida. Mix the meat with potherbs of all kinds and put it into a cooking pot. When it is well-cooked, add lime juice, pepper and fresh ginger

and serve it. Another recipe for meat: boil very large pieces of meat, take them out and cut them very finely as for bean *yakhnī*. Add onions, fresh ginger and sliced radishes and flavour it well with asafoetida. Another recipe, for *yakhnī*. cut fresh ginger and onions finely and mix in salt. Cut up the stewed meat finely and mix it in, add lime juice and flavour it with ghee. Another recipe, for meat: cut the meat up and tie one portion of meat and one portion of onion with thread. Prepare several portions by this method and marinate them in flavoured ghee. Add water, (*f.24b*) cook them well and add cardamoms, cloves, salt, cumin, turmeric and coriander. When it is well-cooked, put in pepper and lime juice and take it off and, according to inclination, eat it as a stew or a soup.

Another recipe, for rice without ghee: mix together half water and half congee and put it on to boil. When it comes to the boil put the washed rice and ground saffron into the cooking pot. When it is well-cooked, strain off the surplus liquid and keep it separate and put into it half a *sīr* of rice and a quantity of sweet-smelling ghee and add rosewater and camphor. Another recipe, for plain rice: soak tamarind in water and when it has become soaked, knead it and strain off the water. Keep the water and throw the tamarind away. (*f.25a*) Flavour the water with *marhaṭṭī* aloes²⁷ and perfume it with the scent of roses and boil the water. Wash the rice well and soak it in water and, when the cooking pot has come to the boil, put the rice into it. Cook the rice and strain off the water and throw it away. Put rosewater into the rice and take it off. Make *karhī* with the strained water or, having put in potherbs, make sherbet. By the same recipe cook parched grain and by the same recipe, having added sour-orange or sour pomegranate juice, cook it.

Another recipe for plain rice: boil water thoroughly and put the rice in. When it is cooked, strain it and add rosewater to it. Put in white China rose and camphor and take it off. Another recipe for plain rice (*f.25b, with a miniature*): take two parts of water and one part of milk and put them into a cooking pot and set it to boil. When it comes to the boil, add the rice. When it is cooked, strain off the surplus water and remove the steamed rice. Another recipe for plain rice: put saffron into water and set it to boil. When it comes to the boil, add the rice. When it is cooked, strain it and throw away the water. Mix saffron, ambergris, rosewater, camphor and musk (*f.26a*) together and put them into the rice and having kneaded it by hand with sweet-smelling ghee, mix the rice, flavour it and serve it.

Another recipe for plain rice decorated with gold: set the water to boil and, when it comes to the boil, add the rice. When the rice is cooked, take it off and cool it. Spread the rice on a large plate and press it, so that it becomes fused, and decorate it with gold leaf. Another recipe for plain rice: having put potherbs into tamarind juice, set it to boil. When it comes to the boil, add the rice. When it is cooked, strain it and prepare cold sherbet with the water, and put camphor, musk and rosewater on to the rice. When it becomes runny, put pepper on it.

A recipe for rice with ghee: put good ghee into a cooking pot. (*f.26b*) When it becomes hot, flavour it with camphor, rosewater and white ambergris.

Then, having mixed rice with saffron and salt, put it in the ghee and fry it well. Then add water, pine kernels, pistachio nuts, peeled almonds, cardamoms, cloves and shelled white coconut. Break them into pieces, do not mince them. Mix them all together and put them

27 *Marhaṭṭī* ‘related to the Marathas’, but the connection with aloes is obscure.

into a cooking pot and cook them well. Then having added leaves of sweet basil (*raiḥān*) and sacred basil (*tulsī*) or sour-orange, serve it.

Another recipe, for *qalīya* rice:²⁸ put ghee into a cooking pot and when it has become hot, flavour it with asafoetida and garlic. When it has become well-flavoured, put the meat, mixed with chopped potherbs, into the ghee. (*f.27a*) When it has become marinated, add water and add, to an equal amount, one *sīr* of cow's milk. When it has come to the boil, add the washed rice. When it is well-cooked, take it off. Cook other rice by the same recipe and, likewise, do not make it with cow's milk but put in four *sīrs* of garlic and whole peppers, and serve it.

Another recipe, for the method for parched grain: when sweet-smelling ghee has become hot in the cooking pot, flavour it with cumin or fenugreek or asafoetida or onions, then put the parched grain into it and fry it well. Put in enough water to cook it and then serve it. Another recipe for parched grain: when the sweet-smelling ghee has become hot, flavour it (*f.27b*) with sacred basil and camphor. Mix parched grain with saffron, put it in a cooking pot and fry it well. Add water and salt and, when it has become well-cooked, put some rosewater on it and serve it.

Another recipe, for *zarat bhāt*:²⁹ having made the *zarat* very white, pound it. Throw away the husks, take that which remains whole and put it into buffalo cow's milk and put fermented *dūgh*, on to it. The second day, take the *māst* and remove the layer of *zarat* which is under it. Separate the buttermilk and keep the separated fresh butter. Wash the *zarat* well (*f.28a*) and quickly take the pure water which remains on top of the *dūgh* and keep it. Set half the water to boil, put the *zarat* in it. When it has become well-cooked, strain off the water and throw it (*the water*) away. Take the cooked *zarat* and cool some of it and put it into *dūgh* that has been flavoured with asafoetida and put fresh lime leaves on top of it.

Another recipe, for the method of kedgeriee (*khichrī*): put three parts of *mūng dāl* and one part of rice into sweet-smelling ghee which has been flavoured with fenugreek, and fry it well. Add water and salt, cook it well and serve it. Another recipe for *karḥarī*³⁰ *khichrī*: (*f.28b*) set water to boil and when it comes to the boil, put in *karḥarī dāl*. When it is cooked, add washed rice and salt. When it has become well-cooked, add sweet-smelling ghee and serve it.

Another recipe, for the method for fish: take the flesh of the fish and throw away all the bones. Then burn asafoetida in sweet oil or in rape seed oil and chop it. Mix fresh lime leaves, cardamoms, cloves, cumin, fenugreek, salt and lime juice with the flesh and oil and leave them overnight. The next day prepare a small loaf from that flesh and dry it in the sun. Then place it in a large pan (*māt*), and whenever it is required, (*f.29a, with a miniature*) fry some in ghee. Eat it dry or else fry it over the fire and eat it. By the same recipe, prepare the flesh of partridges and deer and quails and ground sesame seeds, whichever is required, prepare it.

Another recipe, for rural or vegetarian food: take root vegetables and boil them well, then take them off and fry them in ghee flavoured with sesame and asafoetida. (*f.29b*)

28 *Qalīya* is a kind of fricassee of meat.

29 *Bhāt* is a dish of cooked rice or *zarat*.

30 *Karḥarī* is a nut used in cooking and medicine—perhaps ground up to make the kedgeriee?

Add lime juice, salt and burned vegetable oil and mix it as explained above. Take some of it, flavour it and cook it. By the same recipe cook the seeds of the radish which is called the siliqua (*sīngri*) and by the same method cook all kinds of potherbs.

Another recipe is for the method for corinda (*karūnda*):³¹ having put mustard, salt and lime juice in *māst*, mix them together. Slightly boil the corinda and put it in the *māst*. Put sweet sesame seeds into a cooking pot, put it on and add essence of pure asafoetida. When it is well-fried, add the *māst* and corinda. It can be eaten when parboiled. Serve it.³²

Another recipe, for the method for swollen pulse: (*f.30a*) soak *mūng dāl* thoroughly in water, grind it finely and cook it in water until soft. Then rub a plate with oil flavoured with asafoetida and put the pulse, that has been soft-cooked, on that plate and allow it to swell. When it has thickened, mix together pepper, lime juice and vegetable oil that has been flavoured with asafoetida. Take some in the palm of the hand and knead the pulse. Cut it with a knife and remove it from the plate and put it into another receptacle.

Another recipe is for the method of *karhī*: take fresh *dūgh* and [*put?*] either rice flour or chickpea flour into it, then add turmeric, asafoetida and salt and boil it. When it is cooked, take it off. Flavour vegetable oil with asafoetida, cumin, fenugreek and cardamoms. (*f.30b*) Then prepare *barī* from *mūng* flour or chickpea flour, fry it in ghee or vegetable oil and put it in the *karhī*. Another recipe, for white *karhī*: take some *dūgh* and put into it asafoetida and coriander, either fresh or dried, and add salt and boil it. When it is parboiled, add cardamoms, cloves, fresh ginger, onions and pepper and take it off and, in the same way as previously explained, flavour this recipe. By the same recipe prepare *karhī* woodapple (*kītha*) and myrobalan (*āmla*) and *mūng* pulse and mint and garlic, whichever is desired.

Another recipe, for the method for *karhī* with cow's *dūgh* flavoured with fresh ginger. Cook it and add turmeric and salt (*f.31a*) and put in the amount that will not burn the mouth. Add some rice flour and boil it. Another recipe for the method for *karhī*: Put myrobalan, rice pulse, fried *shāl*,³³ cassia, cinnamon, cardamoms, cloves and salt into cow's *dūgh* and boil it and serve it.

Another recipe, for the method for *karhī*: mix together almond flour, *dūgh*, white sugar, cardamoms and cloves and put it on and boil it. When it is cooked, serve it. Another recipe for *karhī*: put chopped lime leaves into *dūgh* and sprinkle it with lime juice and also the peel of limes. Then, having added salt, cardamoms and cloves, boil it. When it is cooked, serve it. (*f.31b*) Another recipe for *karhī* from dark green pumpkin (*dangrī*): knead the pumpkin by hand and strain off the juice and keep it. Boil the pulp and also keep its juice. Then, having put in palm sugar, cardamoms and cloves, boil it. When it is cooked serve it.

Another recipe, for the method for *pīchha*, namely the surplus water that is removed from the cooking pot after cooking rice and separating it. Put *mūng* pulse into the water and boil it. Chop fresh sandal and take its juice. Put myrobalan and cardamoms into it and

31 Corinda (*Carissa carandas*), a small acid fruit.

32 Note in the right margin: '*karūnda*'.

cook it. Put in salt. When it is cooked, add some mint leaves and serve it. Another recipe (f.32a, with a miniature) for rice water: take the water of cooked rice, put in plenty of grape-sugar and add cardamoms, camphor, cloves and rosewater. When it is well-cooked, serve it. Another recipe for the method for *pīchha* made from chickpeas. Boil chickpeas, take the water and, having added salt, cumin, asafoetida, cardamoms, cloves, pepper and sour-orange juice, boil it. When it is cooked, serve it. Another recipe for *pīchha*: (f.32b) fry *mūṅ* in ghee and flavour it with dried ginger juice, salt and asafoetida.

Another recipe, for split pulse: flavour ghee with asafoetida, add *mūṅ* pulse to it and fry it and then add salt and water. When it is cooked, put in either fried sesame seed flour or fried chickpea flour. Add some sweet-smelling ghee and serve it. Another recipe, for split chickpea pulse flavoured with *sūn*³⁴ that is, the *sūn* pulse of Ghiyath Shahi: pound chickpea pulse and *zarat* grains finely with a clean pestle, put them in a cloth, strain them and keep the water. Chop very fresh saffron (f.33a) add it and mix it all together and then cook it for the amount of time it takes for the pulse and the liquid to become as one and for the colours to be blended. Add salt, lime juice and dried ginger juice. Put in the peel of sweet-oranges (*narangi*) and sour-oranges (*taranj*) and take it off. Then take a lapis lazuli plate or a turquoise plate. Put cooked rice (*bhāt*) on one and place the *dāl* by the side of the rice. Having put sweet-smelling ghee on a separate plate in advance, flavour the *sūn dāl* of Ghiyath Shahi with sweet-scented perfumes. The perfumes are as follows: make perfume from champa flowers and yellow *sūn* flowers. Put *sūn* and screw pine (*kītkī*)³⁵ (f.33b) into the cooked chickpea pulse and wrap it up in cotton. Flavour it a little and put red roses and white China roses and rosewater or the flowers of orange, either *taranj*, *nāranj* or *narangi*, and, if it is so desired, cook some of these varieties quite separately.

Another recipe for split *mūṅ*: having cooked whole *mūṅ*, tie it in a butter cloth.³⁶ Pound flowers of every kind in another cloth³⁷ and place it on the buttered pulse. Fasten the flower cloth on to the butter (cloth). Put water into a cooking pot with the butter and place a lid on the pot. When the scent of the flowers has permeated the split *mūṅ*, then take it out, add (f.34a) rosewater and camphor and eat it.

Another recipe, for the method for vegetables: put green vegetables into a cooking pot, add asafoetida, salt and ghee, and cook them. When they are cooked, put in sacred basil leaves, sweet basil leaves, fresh leaves of the mango tree, fresh lime leaves, fresh sour-orange leaves and mint, each of which has been tied separately into a bunch. Place the bunches on the vegetables. Put the bunches and the vegetables on a dish, and dish them up. Throw away the bunches and eat the vegetables.

Another recipe, for the method for curds (*maṭṭhā*): take and mix together, strained *māst*, potherbs, palm sugar, sugar, cardamoms, cloves, cassia, cinnamon, nutmeg, date sugar, pepper, *sūnf*, camphor and musk. (f.34b) This becomes good *maṭṭha*

Another recipe, for the method for *pīchha*: bake *mūṅ* in an earthenware pot, then put

33 i.e. *shālī*, wild rice.

34 A kind of red sugarcane, *Bignonia indica*.

35 *Kītkī* and *kīyūra* are both *Pandanus odoratissimus* (screw pine), *kītkī* being smaller than *kīyūra*.

36 i.e. a butter muslin cloth.

37 i.e. one of the perfumed cloths described previously.

it into a cooking pot and add water, salt, fresh ginger juice and sour-orange juice. When it is well-cooked, take it off and flavour it with the essence of asafoetida. Another recipe for *pīchha*: bake rice (*biryān*)³⁸ and then put it into plenty of water and boil it. Add salt and loaf sugar and also put in three or four myrobalans (*cherry plums*). When it is well-cooked, flavour it with asafoetida and fenugreek. Another recipe for *pīchha*: having baked wild rice (*shāl*), grind it finely and put it into sour *dūgh* (*f.35a*) water³⁹ and add salt and loaf sugar. When it is well-cooked, put in chopped baked cumin. Cook one lot in this way and cook another lot in sweet water.

Another recipe, for the method for soup. It may be made of rabbit or partridge or quail. Put the meat into pure water, add asafoetida, cumin, coriander and salt and cook it. When it is cooked put in sour-orange juice, take it off and flavour it with asafoetida. Another recipe for soup: having put in meat, turmeric, cumin, fenugreek, cardamoms, cloves, salt and asafoetida, boil it and cook it. When it is well-cooked, strain the soup and keep it. Then having mixed cardamoms, cloves, asafoetida, cumin, (*f.35b, with a miniature*) fenugreek and salt together, flavour it. Another recipe for soup: having mixed meat with saffron, put it into flavoured ghee, add cardamoms, cloves, coriander, *sūnf* and salt and cook it. When it is well-cooked, put in some pepper and sour-orange juice, scatter rosewater on it and serve it.

Another recipe (*f.36a*) for the method for boiling meat: put a lot of water into a cooking pot and flavour it with sour-orange leaves or mango leaves and put in some kind of meat, chicken or pigeon or partridge or quail, put into it whatever kind of meat that is desired. Mix together asafoetida, cumin, fenugreek, cloves, turmeric, cardamoms and salt, crush them and put them on top of onions. Wrap up the lid of the cooking pot and seal it with flour dough so that the flavour does not escape. When it is well-cooked, take it off and, having strained the crushed potherbs, throw them away. Then mix together saffron, rosewater, white aloes, one *rattī* of camphor, one *rattī* of musk (*f.36b*) and rub them into that meat. Return it to the cooking pot, cook it while watching it carefully. When serving it at meal time, rub in some sweet-smelling ghee and serve it and [*also*] serve some without ghee.

Another recipe, for the method for samosas: take finely minced venison and flavour some ghee with asafoetida and fenugreek. Mix the minced meat with saffron and put it in the ghee. Then bake asafoetida, salt, cumin and fenugreek. Put cardamoms, cloves, coriander, one *rattī* of camphor and one *rattī* of musk into the mince and cook it well, and add a half quantity of (*f.37a*) finely minced onions and a quarter of minced dried ginger into the meat. When it has become well-cooked, sprinkle it with rosewater and take it off and stuff the samosas. Make a hole in the samosas with a stick and fry them in sweet-smelling ghee until they are tender. By the same recipe, samosas can be made from any kind of meat that is desired.

Another recipe for meat after that manner: take very finely ground mince and mix saffron or turmeric together with cardamoms, cloves, coriander, pepper, salt, lime juice,

38 *Biryān*: literally, baked food.

39 i.e. whey.

camphor, musk, onions and fresh ginger. Heat some ghee and flavour it with asafoetida (f.37b) and put the mince with it. Make it tasty with white ambergris and rosewater and take it off. Having made flour dough, make two loaves and put the mince between them. Cook the loaf, making it firm and well-cooked, and then remove it. Put camphor, musk and rosewater into sweet-smelling ghee and, having made the loaves in the above-mentioned way, put the ghee on them.

Another recipe, for the method for *khīs* or *anbal*:⁴⁰ wash rice well and grind it on a grinding-board. Sift the flour in a cloth. Having made *biryān* of *dūgh*, salt and finely chopped ginger... (missing folio(s))⁴¹... (f.38a) they call this *anbal*. It is either eaten with milk or with water. Another recipe for making flummery (*khīs*): cook fine rice flour, either with water, juice or congee, and with potherbs of the amount that does not make it too sweet. When it is cooked, take it off. Another recipe for *khīs* with tamarind: cook rice flour in tamarind juice, take it off. Another recipe for *khīs*: put together rice flour, potherbs and tamarind juice and cook them. When they are cooked, take them off and put in camphor and rosewater. Another recipe for *khīs*: puff some grain and scrape it well (f.38b) and cut very finely. Dry it in the sun and grind it finely. Take the ground part and the flour. Take two parts of congee, or, if there is no congee, use *dūgh*, add a few potherbs and the puffed grain flour and cook the *khīs*. When it is cooked, remove it and cool it. Eat it either with cold milk or cold *dūgh*. Also, having dried some puffed grain, fry it in ghee and eat it.

Another recipe, for the method for *dūgh*: put salt into sour *dūgh*, add asafoetida, cardamoms, cloves, cumin, fenugreek and vegetable oil. Mix it all together and heat two earthenware pans. Put some of the same potherbs on to one of the earthenware (f.39a) baking pans and place the second pan on top of it and then put a cooking pot on top of both of them. Make the cooking pot aromatic, flavouring it five or six times, and put the *dūgh* into it. This *dūgh* is the kind known as *sanjān*.⁴²

Another recipe for the method for *dūgh*: mix together *dūgh*, salt, sour-orange juice and fresh ginger juice. Fry asafoetida in vegetable oil, grind it and put into the *dūgh*. Another recipe for salt *dūgh*. bake cumin (*biryān*) and flavour it with asafoetida. Another recipe: put sour *dūgh* into fresh *dūgh*. Another recipe for *dūgh*: (f.39b) put radishes, salt, mustard seed and lime juice into *dūgh* and flavour it with asafoetida.

Another recipe for the method for curds: put potherbs, camphor, musk and rosewater into *māst* (coagulated milk) and flavour it with the perfume of roses. Another recipe for the method for *kaṛanba*:⁴³ fry *māst*, salt and asafoetida in vegetable oil and [add] *bhāt*. Another recipe for curds: beat it with half-*māst*, add rosewater, camphor, cardamoms, cloves and sour-orange leaves and put in *mūtha* beans⁴⁴ and white beans⁴⁵ or else have it plain. Another method for *dhīr dū t̄*.⁴⁶ having put a spoonful of *māst* into salt, strain

40 i.e. flummery.

41 Catchword on f.37b is *va ān* but f.38a begins *bemānad*. The Farsi foliation indicates two missing folios.

42 'Double-boiled'.

43 A vegetarian dish.

44 *Phaseolus aconitifolus*.

45 *Vālā-yi safīd*.

46 Lit. 'quantity by spoon'.

it through a cloth and, having grated a lot of garlic, (*f.40a*) add it. Bake coriander seeds, add them and put a quantity of chopped green onion leaves on top of it.

Another recipe is for the method for Ghiyath Shahi's congee: wash tamarinds well and put them into pure water. When they have become soft, knead them by hand and, having rinsed them, take their sour juice and put salt into it. Flavour it with aloes and perfume it with every kind of flowers. Add rosewater, camphor and musk. Another recipe for the method for double cooked congee: prepare very sour pure congee and add salt to it. Grind mustard seeds coarsely and throw away the husks. Mix fenugreek and sweet sesame seeds (*f.40b, with a miniature*) together and make the congee. Heat two earthenware pots. Put potherbs in one and, having placed the second one on top of it, scent the cooking pot four or five times and put the congee into the cooking pot. Another recipe, for the method for sherbet: mix lime juice, potherbs and pepper together and rinse them. Flavour them with aloes and scent them with the perfume of roses and add rosewater, (*f.41a*) camphor and musk.

Another recipe, for the method for Ghiyath Shahi's *baghrā*.⁴⁷ cut a quantity of pieces of gold leaf larger than the pieces of *baghrā*. Boil it⁴⁸ in water and in this way the gilding becomes sprinkled (*over the baghrā*). Remove it and then, using the *baghrā* water, grind together pine kernels, almonds, pistachios and raisins and put them into that *baghrā* so that it becomes delicious. Add vinegar that has been strained and flavour with garlic. If another variety is required, put it into *māst* curds or tamarind juice or lime juice or sour-orange juice or any acid fruit juice that is required, or else dissolve saffron, musk and camphor (*f.41b*) in water and put it into that *baghrā*. Cook stew well from pieces of meat and put it into the *baghrā* or, in place of that, if it is so wished, put in the brains of crows or small pieces of thin bread or put in *mūng* that has been cooked in ghee or, having boiled whey that has been strained from *dūgh* of the sour variety, put that in. Put in any of these that are required, one by one. There are a hundred versions of this recipe.

Another recipe for the method for *yakhnī* (broth): for the amount there may be of *yakhnī*, take half of that amount of onion. Mince half the onion with fresh ginger and also mince mint leaves of the quantity of two *dirams*. (*f.42a*) Mix them all together and sprinkle saffron, rosewater and lime juice on it and add some sweet-smelling ghee. That is one variety, and if it is flavoured with asafoetida that is another kind and if it is flavoured with vegetable oil, that is also a variety. Or else use the flavour of aloes essence or camphor or white ambergris or the smoke of burnt betel leaves or the flavour of sour-orange leaves or the scent or the perfume of jasmine or of wheat.

Another recipe, for the method for *pūrī* bread: put sacred basil leaves into ghee and, having added camphor, heat it. (*f.42b*) Crumble the *pūrī* bread, put it in the ghee and fry it. Then add rosewater and honey (*shahd*). If tamarind juice is put in, then that is a variety and if lime juice is put in that becomes a version, as it does if syrup is put in. If mixed with different fruit juices, these are also varieties.

Another recipe, for the method for *bhāt*: cook the *bhāt* with the washed rice in congee or *dūgh* or syrup or sweet-scented water or in pumpkin juice and then cool it. Also having

47 Triangular sections of paste or dough to be decorated. In this recipe the *baghrā* has clearly already been made.

48 Presumably 'them', the gold leaf and the *baghrā* are boiled together.

baked sesame seed (f.43a) and roasted or fried chickpea pulse, rice and cumin, mix them with fenugreek, cardamoms, cloves, lime juice, salt and ghee and add in asafoetida that has been fried in ghee. If another kind is required then each becomes a distinct variety. If *dūgh* and garlic are put in the rice, this is another kind. If fried aubergine soaked in sour milk is put in that is a variety and if wafers of *pāpar* and ghee and lime relish are put in that is another kind. Put all these into rice *bhāt*, put in fresh ginger and mix into this same *bhāt*, *mūng* and ghee and this becomes another kind. If *mūng* (f.43b) and ghee and *bhāt* and *bara* are put together, it is a variety, as it is if soup and *barī* and meat and lime are mixed with *bhāt*. Also if *yakhni*, ghee and *bhāt* are put together and also if honey (*shahd*) and ghee and *bhāt* are mixed, those are other kinds. If sour-orange juice, pumpkin juice, lime juice, sweet-orange juice and *sadāphal*⁴⁹ juice and *kamrak*⁵⁰ juice is taken, each one that is put into *bhāt* makes a different kind. If potherbs, ghee, *bhāt* and camphor are mixed together that becomes a variety, and if *bhāt* and *dūgh* and fresh ginger and onions and lime juice and salt are put together, that is another kind. If *bhāt*, potherbs, (f.44a) musk, rosewater and camphor are used that is another. If one *sir* of *bhāt* and six *tūlchas* of honey (*shahd*) and four *tūlchas* of ghee are mixed together, then that is a different kind. If *bhāt* is fried in ghee to which rosewater and camphor are then added, serve it and that is another sort. If *bhāt*, *mūtha* beans, white beans, cardamoms and cloves are put together, it becomes a variety. If *bhāt*, *mūng* *bara* and *karhī* and ghee are put together that is one sort. If *bhāt* and two *bakravī*⁵¹ are mixed together that is a variety. If sugarcane syrup and perfume are added, that is a variety as is date sugar and perfume. (f.44b, with a miniature) If ground almonds and ground pine kernels or ground pistachios or ground walnuts or ground *karharī*⁵² or ground water lily seeds mixed with perfume are put into *bhāt*, they become varieties.

Another recipe for the method for *bhāt*: put in cumin *biryān* that has been cooked and ground and add soup and ghee.

(f.45a) Another recipe, for sherbet: flavour water and potherbs with asafoetida and vegetable oil and add saffron and a few potherbs.

Another recipe, for *zarat bhāt*: pound the *zarat* well so that it is not too fine nor yet too coarse. Put it in water and *dūgh*, stir it and when it is thoroughly soaked, cook it. Strain it and keep the liquid. Take the separated *zarat bhāt*, cool it and mix in lime juice or sour-orange juice, salt and finely cut fresh ginger equal in amount to the *bhāt*. Another recipe for *bhāt*: cook the *bhāt*, using either *zarat* or rice and cool it. Then take (f.45b) lime juice or tamarind juice or boiled corinda or boiled unripe mangoes, put salt into whichever is being used, and burn it in oil of sweet asafoetida and knead it by hand with that oil and mix rice with it. Another recipe for the method for *bhāt*: take mango syrup, camphor, musk and rosewater and, having flavoured sweet-smelling ghee with camphor, put them into that *bhāt*, cook it and serve it (f.46a). If cooked *jāman* fruit⁵³ is put into it, this

49 Pampelmousse or shaddock.

50 *Averrhoa carambola*, starfruit, *kamarānga* in Sanskrit, *kamrakh* in Hindi.

51 A similar kind of citron to sour-orange, *taranj*.

52 The black kernels of a nut.

53 The Java plum, fruit of the tree *Eugenia jambolana*.

becomes another variety, and by the same recipe as that use corinda and similarly use jackfruit. Another recipe for the method for *bhāt*: having boiled five small mangoes in milk, boil them again. Add *māst*, honey (*shahd*) sweet-smelling ghee, potherbs and camphor, and eat it.

Another recipe, for pasta (*tatmāj*):⁵⁴ prepare thin strands of pasta from the finest flour and boil it. Put together camphor, musk, rosewater, potherbs, cardamoms, three or four cloves, *bābrang*,⁵⁵ mace, spikenard and wild spikenard, grind them finely and add them [*as well as the pasta?*] to the sweetest *māst*.

Another recipe, for the method for pottage or gruel (*pūlānī*): (*f.46b*) put in tamarind, cardamoms, cloves, mace, potherbs, musk, camphor and a little rosewater and add sweet-smelling ghee.

Another recipe, for the method for *baghrā*: cut⁵⁶ the *baghrā* from the flour of plain boiled rice (*khashka*) and boil it in water. Remove the *baghrā* and keep the water. Put vinegar into the water and add ground almonds, garlic and salt so that it becomes delicious. Having cooked mince in sweet-smelling ghee, put that into it and add a few potherbs. Make sherbet and put all these into it. Another recipe for sherbet: take the juice of all kinds of fruit, put in a few herbs. In some...(*missing folio(s)*)⁵⁷ (*f.47a*) put them in some of it, and in some, put fresh ginger, onions and pepper. That amount is one variety. Flavour it with every kind of perfume. By the same method prepare it with *dūgh* or with mustard seeds or with juice. Prepare whichever is required by the same method.

Another recipe, for the method for bread (*nān*): according to the amount of grain available make that bread. Put potherbs in some and in some put sour fruit. Put fruit in some and then these are a quantity of varieties of bread. Put sour grapes (*ghūra*) in some flour and cook the bread. Put the juice of sour fruits in some.

Another recipe for *bhāt*: (*f.47b*) take cooked *bhāt*, and having dissolved four *rattīs* of white ambergris and one *rattī* of camphor in rosewater, knead it. Put some ghee which has been used to fry meat into the *bhāt*, also kedgerie, crushed parched grain, sugar, sherbet, melon and *dūgh*, whatever is required. Prepare perfume by the same recipe and use it as flavouring.

Another recipe, for the method for making flavoured foods. Grind four *rattīs* of rosewater, ten *rattīs* of white China rose, twenty *rattīs* of cardamoms, one *rattī* of cloves, four *rattīs* of mace and put them into whichever food is required. (*f.48a*) Another recipe for the flavouring of foods: grind a quarter of a *sīr* of mango syrup, two *māsas* of camphor and three *dirams* of saffron and use them in all kinds of food, it is wonderful. Another recipe for flavouring food: take nine leaves of the betel that is called *dīnat*, camphor, cardamoms and ground cloves. Add them to food, it is wonderful. Another recipe for flavouring foods: use sacred basil leaves and ground camphor because whatever food they are put into, it becomes good. Another recipe: chop mint and vinegar, add it to food and it becomes good. Another recipe (*f.48b*): *chavā*⁵⁸ should be used in all foods and with betel leaf (*tanbūl*) and, particularly, use it in perfume, it becomes good.

54 *Tatmāj*, thin strands of pasta, vermicelli.

55 *Bābrang*, *Embelia ribes*, used medicinally for flatulence.

56 A strange choice of word here.

57 Catchword on f.46b is *kāfūr* but f.47a begins *bīyandāzad*. The Farsi foliation indicates one missing folio.

58 The herb *Amaranthus oleraceus* or *A. gangeticus*, also known as *lālsag*.

Another recipe for flavouring: fry plenty of asafoetida in vegetable oil, then grind it and use it in food. That vegetable oil gives relish to food or greens or *karḥī* or *dūgh* or curds, it makes them tasty and it is good. Another recipe for flavouring: mix apples and rosewater together, flavour them and also put in white ambergris and scatter some musk on it. Also put sugarcane peel on food where required, flavour it and it becomes good. Another recipe for flavours of all kinds as follows: flavour of palm sugar, potherbs, (f.49a) sugar, gum lac (*lakha*), mastic (*mastakī*), civet (*ghālihā*), chanpa oil, oil of jasmine (*mūgara*) and of white jasmine and of sandal, *rāl* (Saul tree resin), camphor juice, ambergris gum, amber, saffron, sesame seed, fenugreek, chickpeas, cumin, *sūnf*, coriander, essence of sour-orange leaves, essence of lime leaves, and the flavour of turmeric leaves. All these are separate flavours. Each food that is required or each sherbet or each *dūgh* or juice or each meat or each vegetable, (f.49b) flavour it and make it tasty.

Another recipe for *rābarī*: *dūgh*, *jāman*, roast green potherbs, zarat, chickpeas, 'adas lentils, *tūr* lentils, wheat, barley and *mūng* pulse separately and then grind them and put them singly into the *dūgh* and flavour it well. Put salt into some of it and use some without salt. Another recipe for *dūgh*: bake the kernels of *jāman* fruit, mangoes and jackfruit, and then grind them and put them in *dūgh* and flavour it with the same kernels.

Another recipe for the method for meat: boil the meat well, take it off, (f.50a) dry it and fasten it to a wooden skewer. Mix saffron, white ambergris and rosewater together and rub it on the meat. Put it in a cooking pot and add rice. Put in fresh ginger, onions and salt and cook it. Serve it with good gravy. Another recipe for meat: cut up the meat and cook it with turmeric, salt, fresh ginger, onions and *dūgh*. Flavour it with asafoetida fried in ghee. Add cardamoms, cloves, lime and pepper and serve it. Another recipe for meat: put the flanks of a sheep, bones of the breastbone, fat and the shoulder blade with all kinds of potherbs and mix them together. Add turmeric and (f.50b) rice flour. Make a broth, coloured yellow with sweet saffron and mango, and put in all the potherbs.

Another recipe for a delicacy: prepare balls made of *mūng* pulse stuck together, boil them and put them into minced meat. Prepare very small minced meat balls (*kūfta*) and cook them. Add raisins, almonds, pine kernels, pistachios, peeled kernels of the chironji nut,⁵⁹ peeled coconut, camphor, musk, rosewater and white ambergris and cook it. Fry it in ghee and add cardamoms and cloves.

Another recipe is for the method for the seeds of large watermelons: put together melon seeds and cucumber seeds and, having peeled them, grind them. (f.51a, with a miniature) Add some flour and, having made *barī* fried in ghee, bake it and put potherbs, camphor and rosewater on it.

Another recipe, for the method for *karḥī*: having put together mangoes, *dūgh*, salt, pepper, cumin, fenugreek, asafoetida, cardamoms and cloves, cook them and flavour with asafoetida. By the same method, make it from *kītha* (woodapple) and prepare (f.51b) by the same method any kind of *karḥī* that is required. Another recipe for *karḥī*: put in palm sugar and cook the *karḥī* and flavour it with asafoetida.

59 From the tree *Chironjia sapida* or *Buchanania latifolia*: *chīrūnji* appears to be the word used for the nut, and *chārūlī* for the kernel. Babur calls them 'a thing between the walnut and the almond', much used in sweets and puddings.

Another recipe for the method for *phāt* (split pulse): fry *mūṅ* pulse in ghee and add salt, water, asafoetida, fresh ginger juice, lime juice and onion juice. Take it off when it is cooked and flavour it well. Another recipe, for kedgeree: fry the kedgeree⁶⁰ in ghee or bake it in almond oil or fry it in fresh butter and then, having added water and salt, cook it and put plenty of baked asafoetida in it (f.52a). Put in all kinds of relishes and put *pāpar* layer upon layer on a dish and put sliced fresh ginger and onion on it. Another recipe for kedgeree: soak the kedgeree either in *dūgh* or congee or lime juice or tamarind juice or sour-orange juice or in perfumed water or in mint juice or in myrobalan juice or in pumpkin juice or in jackfruit juice or in *badhal* (monkey jackfruit) juice or in camphor juice or in musk juice. Select whichever is required from these and soak the *mūṅ* pulse and rice in it, then fry it in ghee. Cook the kedgeree and put relish and *pāpar* in layers on a dish.

Another recipe for parched grain: (f.52b) put the parched grain into *dūgh*, add salt and pieces of onion and, having put in cumin, cook it. Also put parched grain into *karhī* and cook it and, similarly, put parched grain into soup and cook it. Also having put cumin into congee, add parched grain and cook it.

Another recipe, for the method for *pīchha*: put rice water into a cooking pot, add some sacred basil and sweet basil and a handful of fresh leaves of sour-orange and lime and serve it.

Another recipe, for the method for *harsīya*.⁶¹ cook the *harsīya* by the method used for *pīchha* until it is soft enough to eat with a spoon, or else cook it with partridge or quail or kid meat.

Another recipe (f.53a) is for the method for *rūda*: wash the entrails of a sheep until they are clean. Put potherbs of every kind into minced meat, stuff the entrails, boil them in a cooking pot and then bake them in ghee.

Another recipe, for the method for skewered meat (*sīkh*): mix meat with salt, onions and turmeric and boil it with whole potherbs. Cut it into very small pieces and strain it. Then fasten one segment of meat and one piece of onion on the skewer and rub ghee, caraway, lime juice, white amberggris, rosewater and salt on it. Bake it well and when it is tender, wrap it in thin bread and serve it.

Another recipe, for *zarat* bread: cook *zarat* bread (f.53b) and, having cooked it, turn it over and sprinkle rosewater on it. Then put either honey (*shahd*) and aromatic ghee on it or else ghee in which meat has been cooked.

Another recipe, for parched *zarat* (*thūmra*): cook parched *zarat* and fry it in ghee, then, having put honey (*shahd*), cardamoms and camphor on it, serve it.

Another recipe: cook wheat *khīchra*⁶² by the same method and also cook rice *bhāt* by the same method. Another recipe for *khīr* made of *zarat*: cook the *zarat khīr* and put plenty of poppy seeds on it and scatter honey (*shahd*) and aromatic ghee on it (f.54a, with a miniature), using plenty of honey (*shahd*) but only a small quantity of ghee.

60 Presumably meaning 'fry the mixture of rice and *dāl*' as indicated below.

61 Steingass (1957) defines *harsīya* as: 'a thick pottage of bruised wheat, boiled to a consistency, to which meat, butter, cinnamon and aromatic herbs are added'.

62 Another kind of kedgeree, of rice, barley and pulse boiled together, according to Platts (1965).

Another recipe, for the method for buttermilk (*mhūrī*): cook the buttermilk in *dūgh* and bake it in ghee. Either make it sharp, sour or sweet, whichever recipe is appropriate, make that one.

Another recipe is for the method for *suhālī*:⁶³ (*f.54b*) mix cinnamon, cassia, cardamoms, camphor, white ambergris and onions with the dough of fermented dry bread and fry the *suhālī*.

Another recipe is for a vegetarian dish:⁶⁴ put together a quantity of those vegetables that are to hand, with aubergine, gourd (*kandūrī*), melon (*majaba*), gourd (*chachīnda*), grain, dill, zerumbet,⁶⁵ pumpkin and lentils. Cook them and flavour them with ghee. Fry asafoetida in vegetable oil, grind it and put it in and add salt.

Another recipe, for the method for sherbet: put together one cup of water with two *dirams* of sugar and add it to any fruit juice. This becomes a quantity of sherbet.

Another (*f.55a*) recipe, for the method for *karhī*: put a quantity of screw pine (*kīyūra*) leaves into *karhī*. When it has become well-flavoured, mix oil of aloes, *tagrī* (fragrant powder), sandal and rosewater and flavour it. Flavour it with aloes and throw away the debris of the screw pine. Another recipe for *karhī*: put flowers of every kind into the *karhī*, boil it and add some camphor, cardamoms, musk and cloves.

Another recipe, for thin soft *zarat* bread: rub flour on top and underneath the dough and cook it in a way that prevents it from becoming hard or broken. Then eat it with honey (*shahd*) and ghee.

Another recipe (*f.55b*) is for the method for split pulse (*phāt*): put *mūng* and chickpeas together and cook them. Make the pulse soft with potherbs and flavours, then sandwich this filling between two sections of bread made from double wheat flour. Add *sūnf*, cook it and put the filling into that bread and either fry it in ghee or cook it over a thorn fire or eat the bread with the ghee which has been used to cook the pulse.

Another recipe, for white grain bread: cook it and scatter portions of musk on it. Another recipe, for *nān-i tang* (thin bread): make it wide and scatter sesame seeds on it or poppy seeds or coriander seeds or raisins or walnuts or almonds. Rub these ingredients into it in place of grain flour (*f.56a*) or else rub on *chārūlī* flour⁶⁶ or roasted chickpea flour and cook the bread.

Another recipe, for *karhī*: put essence of *gāl*⁶⁷ into *dūgh*, boil it and add *māst*, honey (*shahd*) and ghee. It is good. Another recipe, for sherbet: mix onion juice and fresh ginger juice and flavour it with baked asafoetida. Another recipe for sherbet: grind pine kernels or walnuts, add syrup and have it with plain parched grain or with *bhāt*. Another recipe, for soup: fry a cup of turmeric in ghee. Prepare flour from roasted rice and mix it in water and turmeric. Grind saffron and pepper and mix it in. If it is wished, (*f.56b*) sweeten it or else make it sour and eat it with *bhāt*.

63 Platts: 'wheat flour kneaded with water and made into very thin bread cakes and fried in ghee; a thin greasy cake'.

64 *dīg-i bāghī*, lit. 'cooking pot of a garden'.

65 A plant or its aromatic roots, *Curcuma zerumbet*, a variant form of zedoary, *Curcuma zedoaria*, related to turmeric, but used instead of ginger.

66 Ground chironji kernels, i.e. *Buchania latifolia*.

67 A kind of rose.

Another recipe, for the method of stuffing: soak chickpea pulse and boil it. Grind together dried pine kernels, walnuts and pepper and then mix them with onions and lime juice. This is called Ghiyath Shahi's stuffing.

Another recipe, for sherbet: mix vinegar and honey (*'asl*) and when it appears to be well-blended, add dried bread to it. Another recipe, for a dried relish (*āvāta*): mix mango chutney with mustard seeds and salt and put it on iron plates. Leave it in the sun for eleven days, then put rape seed oil on it. It is good. Put (*missing folio(s)*)...⁶⁸

(*f.57a*)...Chop the meat with salt, coriander and fenugreek and also chop betel leaf. Grind cloves and cardamoms and mix them into it. Another recipe, for *karḥī bhāt* and rice: if it is desired to cook this, then cook this recipe and put into it some *māst* and the cream of *māst*, namely clotted cream, and parched *zarat* and *bhāt* of barley meal, put all these in it.

Another recipe, for sherbet involves mixing together mango syrup, mango juice, palm sugar, ground cardamoms, cloves and musk. Another recipe, for *dūgh*: put chopped mango into *dūgh* (*f.57b*) and add palm sugar or salt. Another recipe, for sherbet: having mixed mangoes with sugar, chop them and take the juice and put cardamoms, camphor and cloves into it. Another recipe, for sherbet: chop fresh ginger with sugar and strain off the juice. Add cardamoms and cloves to the juice. Strain off radish and fresh ginger juice and add it to those cardamoms and cloves with a little salt.

Another recipe, for the method for bread: mix together fresh butter, ghee, salt, flour and *sūnf* and cook it. Another recipe, (*f.58a*) for *dūgh*. put salted lime into *dūgh* and chop it. Strain it and eat it or else put in salt and flavour it with asafoetida and cumin.

Another recipe, for kedgeree (*khichrī*): put *khichī* in ghee, add salt, flavour it with asafoetida and cumin and then fry it. Cook the *khichrī* and add salted lime juice, also the juice of preserved fresh ginger and preserved *basnuta*.⁶⁹ Put all these onto the kedgeree and add *dūgh*, a portion of onion and salt to the *bhāt*.

Another recipe, for meat: cook the meat well and separate the broth, separate the meat and separate the ghee and cook the meat. Add aubergines and pumpkin (*f.58b*) and cook it. Another recipe, for the method for stuffing (*bhrat*): flavour a lot of onion well and soak dry bread or thin dried meat in ghee. Another recipe, for broken pulse (*phāt*): put a quantity of *mūng* pulse with meat and chickpea pulse. Add onion and cook it.

Another recipe, for the method for bread: make bread greasy with sweet-smelling ghee or with ghee in which meat has been fried. Another recipe is the method for (*cooking a*) head (*kalla*): cook a sheep's head by the Khurasani method, then cook *mūng* pulse by the rustic method and cook the sheep's foot, having added rice. It is very good.

Another recipe: flavour unleavened dough...(*missing folio(s)*) (*f.59a*) having cooked it over thorns. Another recipe for bread: (*take*) white grains, rose-water, salt and a little camphor relish and cook the bread. This camphor bread is a delicacy of Ghiyath Shahi.

Another recipe, for *karḥī*: mix *karḥī*, rice flour, *dūgh*, salt, turmeric and saffron together. Cook the *karḥī* and add camphor. This is Ghiyath Shahi's golden *karḥī*. Another recipe for *khichrī*: put musk and rosewater in *khichrī*. Another recipe for *karḥī*: put white

68 Catchwords on f.56b are *nu'e dīgar* but f.57a begins *bīyandāzad*. The Farsi foliation indicates one missing folio.

69 The plant *Linum strictum*, which has yellow flowers.

ambergriis and rosewater in *kaṛhī* and cook it. This is known as ambergriis *kaṛhī*. Another recipe, for the method for skewered meat (*sīkh*): cook the skewered meat well, then fry it in ghee. Add salt and lovage (*f.59b*) and cook it. Then put vinegar, palm sugar and broth on it and put meaty broth (*lās*) over it. Grind a quarter of a *sīr* of almonds, walnuts, pine kernels, pistachios and raisins and make a stuffing, adding a little palm sugar. Cook bread with a double filling over thorns and sprinkle it with rosewater.⁷⁰

Another recipe is the method for water: make pieces of new earthenware very hot on a fire and put them in water. When the water becomes sweet-smelling, add rosewater and palm sugar. If another variety is required, then put in asafoetida and salt and this becomes another kind.

(*f.60a*) Put parched grain or *bhāt* with *dāl* or *zarat* with plenty of onion. Fry it in ghee, add water and salt and cook it and flavour it with vegetable oil. Knead the meat with seven betel leaves, six *dirams* of cardamoms, one *diram* of cloves, asafoetida and saffron and add onion. Flavour it, put in water, rice, ghee and chickpea pulse and serve it with soup. Another recipe for meat: use three *dirams* of garlic, half a *sīr* of onion, one cooking pot of meat, the equivalent of one *diram* of asafoetida, a quarter of a *sīr* of fresh ginger and half a *sīr* of chickpea pulse. Flavour it with ghee, add water and cook it. Another recipe for meat: rub the meat with asafoetida and *dūgh* and, having added onion and fresh ginger, flavour it with vegetable oil. (*f.60b*) Put water in and make soup or else stew (*lās*) and add salt, lime juice and pepper. Another recipe for meat: mix the meat with fresh ginger, onions, garlic, ambergriis, aubergines, rice flour, fenugreek and salt, and cook it in rape seed oil. Either make soup or have it as a stew (*lās*).

Another recipe, for rice: mix almonds and saffron in ghee and bake the rice. Add water and cook the rice, adding salt, pepper and cloves. Another recipe for rice: a quarter of a *sīr* of almonds, a quarter of a *sīr* of raisins, a quarter of a *sīr* each of walnuts and pine kernels, five *sīrs* of rice, a quarter of a *sīr* of asafoetida, a quarter of a *sīr* of salt, two *dirams* of cloves, two *dirams* of pepper, two *dirams* of date sugar...(*missing folio(s)*)⁷¹ (*f.61a*)...mix it with soup and put plenty of cassia and ghee into it.

Another recipe, for sherbet: five *dirams* of lime juice, seven *dirams* of potherbs and two *sīrs* of water. Sprinkle rosewater on it. Another recipe for sherbet: one *diram* of cardamoms, one *diram* of cloves, five *dirams* of potherbs, two *sīrs* of water. Another recipe, for *dūgh*: take the whey of sour *dūgh* and add salt and asafoetida. Flavour it with vegetable oil or asafoetida.

Another recipe, for *bhāt*: soak the *bhāt* in rose and sugar water (*gulshakar*), and put rosewater on it. Another recipe for *bhāt*: chop wild figs (*anjīr jangalī*), namely *gūlar*, make sherbet, add two *dirams* of palm sugar and mix the *bhāt* with it. (*f.61b*) Another recipe, for meat: chop sweet-orange peel and betel leaves and rub them into the meat. Another recipe for meat: chop *ajvā'in* (lovage) and rub it into all kinds of meat. Another recipe for *bhāt*: cook pieces of banana and cut it into slices similar to two gold coins. Chop ten pieces of banana and two *sīrs* of raisins in water and then mix this sherbet with the *bhāt*. Another recipe, for *kaṛhī*: grind rice flour, poppy seeds, almonds and raisins and boil them in water. Add some ghee, cardamoms and cloves and serve it. Another

70 i.e. first make *sīkh kabābs*, put them in a gravy, and eat them with stuffed bread.

71 Catchword on f.60b is *shakartarī* but f.61a begins *bā shūrbā*. The Farsi foliation indicates one missing folio.

recipe for *bhāt* (f.62a): put jujube (*bīrchūn*), namely dried love fruit (*kunār*)⁷² in water, mix it with *bhāt* and add rosewater. Another recipe for *bhāt*: grind roast chickpeas and roast sesame seeds and mix them with *bhāt*. Another recipe: put boiled wheat, namely wheat in the husk, with one *sīr* of *chārūlī*, one *sīr* of wheat, one *sīr* of rice, a quarter of a *sīr* of cloves, a quarter of a *sīr* of cardamoms, two *dirams* of date sugar and a quarter of a *sīr* of raisins, in water and cook them. Add three *dirams* of potherbs, cook the wheat grains in the husk and add a small amount of ghee.

Another recipe for bread: take bread kneaded in rose and sugar water, and ghee. Put in plenty of ghee. Cook the bread. Cook a *gūjhā* stuffing⁷³ (f.62b) and cook *suhālī* in mustard seed oil. Another recipe for *suhālī*: fry the *suhālī* in rape seed oil. Chop onions and garlic, take the juice and put it on the *suhālī*. Another recipe for *suhālī*: fry them in ghee and sprinkle rosewater on them. Prepare sherbet from wild figs (*gūlar*) and honey (*shahd*) and drink it with the *suhālī*. Another recipe for sherbet: make sherbet from pumpkin juice and mango syrup and put in camphor and rosewater. Another recipe for sherbet is from pumpkin juice and honey (*shahd*), add camphor and rosewater. Another recipe for *karhī*: take the juice of a white China rose and mix it with rice flour, and put it in. (f.63a) That is an excellent variety, and, if salt and pepper are put in, that is another kind and if relish is put in that becomes another variety. If mace, cardamoms and cloves are put in, then that becomes another kind. Another recipe, for the method for *chaklī* (a round flat cake), cook it from *zarat* or from rice. If a sweetener is put in, it becomes a variety, and if a relish is put in and it is cooked, that becomes another sort, and if salt and pepper are put in that is a variety, and if perfume is put in and it is cooked that is another kind.

Another recipe, for *darr ra* (a kind of milk pudding): mix milk, rice flour and palm sugar. Cook some with camphor (f.63b) and put a little palm sugar into it. Another recipe, for the method for parched grain: make the parched grain into *chakra* (i.e. *chaklī*) with milk, put in cloves and make it slightly sweet. Another recipe for baked *dabra*:⁷⁴ grind *bhāt* with clotted cream (*malāyī*) and boil it in milk. Add a little palm sugar. If desired the *dabra* can be made from flour or roast chickpea flour or from water chestnut flour or from almond flour, cook it by the same method. Another recipe for *darr ra*: grind pine kernels in water and cook *bhāt* in the same water. Cook chironji kernels, walnuts, almonds, coconut, water chestnuts and make *karhī* by whichever recipe is required. It becomes several kinds. (f.64a) Another recipe for *darr ra*: cook the *darr ra* and cook every kind of sour fruit that is required. These make varieties. Another recipe for sherbet: mix fruit juices and *jāman* juice and flavour it with camphor. Then make the sherbet in a Chinese porcelain cup and, by the same recipe, if it is so desired, make mango sherbet or corinda or *fālsa*⁷⁵ or pumpkin or from pampelmousse or jackfruit or from monkey jackfruit—make the sherbet from whichever is required. Add palm

72 *Zizyphus jujuba*.

73 i.e. of ground almonds and other nuts.

74 *Dabra* is unripe corn, but here meaning a kind of sweetmeat.

75 The sour purplish berry of *Grewia asiatica*, long known in India under the name *phālsa* as yielding a refreshing drink.

sugar, camphor, cinnamon, cassia and cardamoms.⁷⁶

Another recipe for *navāla* (snacks):⁷⁷ (f.64b) put a quantity of flour with the white of a hen's egg, knead it together and then knead it into the separated yolk and then cook it in a damp cloth over hot sticks. Use it as a stuffing for *pūrī* bread. Cook the *pūrī* bread well. Make a filling of almonds, cardamoms, potherbs, cloves and rosewater. Use this as stuffing as well as the hen's egg. Fry it in ghee and sprinkle rosewater on it. Also, by the same method, prepare *navāla* with walnuts and with pine kernels and with pistachio nuts. Ghiyath Shahi's *navāla* is made by the same methods, every kind of them. Sub-sequently from this *navāla*, we call (*the following*) to mind: having made *pūrī* bread, make the *navāla* and add a little palm sugar, and a portion of pumpkin as well as potherbs, rosewater, cardamoms (f.65a) and cloves and stuff the *pūrī*. Moisten camphor and fry it in oil and put syrup and date sugar on it. There are several varieties (*of navāla*). Also use water lily flowers, white China rose flowers, the leaves of *pū'ī*,⁷⁸ yam (*paṇḍālū*) leaves, garlic leaves, lentil leaves, *chīnach* (a herb) leaves, melon leaves, fresh shoots of the sour-orange bush, fresh young shoots of lime and tamarind and fig (*pīpal*) and mango and *jāman*. Rub them with chickpea flour and rice flour, fry them in ghee, rub in potherbs and sprinkle them with rosewater, camphor and cardamoms. If syrup is put in, (f.65b) then it is another variety and if salt, relish and pepper are added, this is another sort. Also if dry bread is cooked in perfumed ghee and vegetable oil or if *pūrī* cooked in essence of turmeric and fenugreek or if *qarṣak* (a small sweet cake) is cooked, flavour it.

Another recipe, for rice: make rice water from rice and eat it with *dūgh* and turmeric. Another recipe for cold food (*sardāna*): boil milk, allow it to cool then add mango syrup and flavours. Another recipe for ghee: put bananas and dates into ghee. Boil the ghee, strain it and add date sugar (f.66a, *with a miniature*) and eat this ghee with food. Remove the bananas and dates from the ghee, put palm sugar on them and make sherbet. Another recipe for sherbet: mince coconut and leave it (*to soak*) in sweetened water. Strain off the coconut milk and, if desired, put syrup in it and also mangoes if so wished. (f.66b) Then drink it with *bhāt*.

Another recipe is for a method for ghee: put date sugar and jackfruit into ghee, boil it and eat it with food. Another recipe for soup: prepare minced meat, put chickpea *dāl* into it and cook the soup. Toss plenty of garlic into it and add fresh ginger, onions, lime juice, cardamoms, cloves, pepper, turmeric and fenugreek and flavour it with asafoetida.

Another recipe for skewered meat (*sīkh*): fry the *sīkh* well and chop some radishes and onions finely. Put together lime juice, fresh ginger juice, salt, asafoetida, turmeric, fenugreek, *āzmūda* and ghee. Rub them on the *sīkh* and revolve them over a fire. (f.67a) When they are roasted, stuff them into hot thin bread and serve them. Another recipe is for *yakhnī*: boil the fruit of bananas, cut them finely and flavour them well, with fresh ginger, onions, lime juice, salt, turmeric, fenugreek and asafoetida and make the *yakhnī*.

Another recipe, for relish: put mint and salt into lime syrup. Another recipe for sherbet: put lime juice into palm sugar syrup and sharpen (*the flavour*) with camphor. Another recipe for sherbet: chop vinegar, onions and mint together and add cardamoms and camphor. Another recipe for the same (*i.e. sherbet*): mix *dūgh* with rice flour, boil it

76 Note in margin below: '*navāla*'.

77 Platts (1965): 'a morsel or a dish of meat or a dish set before an unexpected guest'.

78 Indian spinach, or the potherb *Basella lucida*, white basil—probably the latter here.

and add pepper and salt. Put it in an earthenware dish (f.67b) and flavour it with asafoetida and vegetable oil.

Another recipe, for *palīv* (soup or broth): chop up partridge meat, cook it in *dūgh* and put it in asafoetida and vegetable oil in an earthenware pot, flavour it and it becomes partridge *palīv*. Another recipe for *palīv*: boil *zarāt*, throw away the husks, wash it well and chop it up with *dūgh*. Having drained off the *dūgh*, take it and make the *palīv*. Flavour it with asafoetida and vegetable oil in an earthenware pot.

Another recipe for pickle (*āchār*): take figs (*pīpal*), wild figs (*gūlar*), *phīphar*, *jāman* fruit, sour corinda, *āmla* seeds, bananas, green chickpeas, roasted chickpeas and small cucumbers. Put in sourness (*tarshī*), sharpness (*tīz*) and salt and make the pickle. All these...(*missing folio*).⁷⁹

(f.68a)...a quarter of a *sīr* of almonds and a quarter of a *sīr* of coconut into it. Another recipe for rice: cook the rice well. Put sour-orange leaves, lime leaves, *karna* (citron) leaves,⁸⁰ sacred basil and sweet basil into the rice and cook it or else, having put it into *khichī*, cook it. After cooking take out the leaves and put in cardamoms and cloves. Another recipe, for *maṭṭhā* (curds): put palm sugar, vinegar, cloves, cardamoms, camphor and musk into the curds and add thin bread and broken *pūrī* bread and meat. This is Indian *baghrā*.⁸¹ Another recipe for stuffing: mix water lily seed flour, cloves, (f.68b) camphor and palm sugar and fry it in ghee. Another recipe for *pālūda kūkū*:⁸² prepare the *pālūda* from water lily seed flour. Make sherbet from cardamoms and palm sugar and put this sherbet into the *pālūda*. Another recipe, for meat *kūkū*: squeeze the seeds out of jackfruit, put them in the meat, add a relish and put in cardamoms and cloves.

Another recipe, for rice: stick cloves in a sour-orange and having removed the pulp, stuff the orange with cloves, cardamoms, musk, camphor, saffron and rosewater. Put this orange into rice and cook it.

Another recipe (f.69a) is for the method for *bara* (fried pulse balls): make from unripe wheat (*gūdī*) or make it from *mūtha* (mothi) beans or from parched grain or from *māsh* pulse or from *mūng dal* or from *zarāt* or from any grains that are to hand. Make *bara* of every kind. Make it from small chickpeas (*batūrī*) and from chickpeas (*nakhūd*) and from *zarāt*. Prepare *bara* from each of these. Put fresh butter into flour, cook the *bara* and put relish into some and put perfume into some or put syrup into some and put potherbs of all kinds into some. Have some of the *bara* plain, some dry and make some of it moist.

Another recipe, for wheat *khichrī*: pound wheat *khichrī* well and having blanched it, (f.69b) take it and cook it in distilled water. When it is well-cooked, remove it and make it thoroughly cold. Strain *māst* (coagulated milk) through a cloth and put the thick part

79 Catchword on f.67b is *nū* ' f.68a begins *bādām*. The Farsi foliation indicates one missing folio.

80 A citron, with aromatic flowers.

81 'Sections of dough' normally.

82 *Pālūda* is a rich drink usually of water thickened with a certain type of flour or (latterly) sago, with added cream and fruit juices. *Kūkū* is a kind of fritter.

into the *khichī*. Add salt and mustard seeds so that it can be used in *rāita* and eat it on the second day when it has become stale.

Another recipe, for sherbet: put six *dirams* of cardamoms and three *dirams* of cloves into water with enough potherbs to make it tasty and make the sherbet. Another recipe, for *dūgh*: put limes and cloves into *dūgh* and also put salt and asafoetida into *dūgh* and also put chopped betel leaves, cardamoms, cloves and camphor into *dūgh*. Another recipe, (f.70a) for sherbet: chop up two Sulayman (*white*) dates fried in ghee, dissolve them in water and make the sherbet.

Another recipe, for *bara*: put *mūng* *bara* into flummery (*anbalvānī*). Another recipe, for sherbet: chop up monkey jackfruit, mix it with water and add palm sugar or salt and mustard seed. Then make carrot *biryān*, chop the carrots up in water and add palm sugar and flavouring. Make the sherbet. Another recipe, for meat: put sorrel (*anbūta*) or orris root (*chūka*) with the meat and put greens with the meat. Another recipe, for sherbet: make the sherbet from vinegar, honey (shahd) and water, also serve it with duck and make *barī māst biryān*⁸³ (f.70b) and then make broth or stew from the meat and, having put the above-mentioned *barī* it, cook it.

Another recipe for meat: when the meat is cooked, take it off and put in dried ground fenugreek. Another recipe, for the method for supper stew (*āsh shām*): put together two half *sīrs* of *khichrī*, two half (*du nīm*) *sīrs* of meat and cook them. Put in plenty of ghee so that when it is cooked, the wheat and ghee are fused together (*congealed*), and flavour it with orris root or dill (*sīva*) and cook it. Another recipe, for chickpeas: flavour meat with asafoetida (f.71a) and cook it. Add chickpea pulse. Add cumin, fenugreek, asafoetida, salt, turmeric, pepper, lime juice and garlic, cook it until it is very tender.

Another recipe, for potherbs (*sāk*): flavour basil green (*pū'ī*) with asafoetida, cook it and add rice and salt. When it is cooked, take it off and serve it. Another recipe, for partridge: cook the partridge well, flavour it with asafoetida and put in chickpea pulse and add salt, cumin, fenugreek and turmeric. Another recipe, for chicken: cook the chicken using the same recipe explained for partridge and cook it well. Another recipe, for the method for pressed meat (*chachpīrak*): chop the minced meat finely (f.71b, with a *miniature*) and prepare a small loaf from fine white flour. Take two loaves, one below and one above, and stuff the mince between them. Make the sides firm and cook them with other meat. Add chopped cumin, fenugreek, asafoetida, salt, turmeric, pepper, lime juice, fresh ginger and onion, also put in *sūnf*. With the same kind of mince, make a gourd dish or a water chestnut dish and, having put in good potherbs, serve it.

(f.72a) Another recipe, for the method for *barī*: wash *māsh* pulse and grind it. Keep it overnight and put one portion of asafoetida in it. The next day put in an equal amount of asafoetida, and having baked cumin, pepper, onions, fresh ginger and fenugreek, mix them with crushed salt and beat the *barī*. By the same method prepare *barī* from *mūng*. Another recipe, for mango (*āmla*) *barī*: grind *āmla* in *pīthī māsh*,⁸⁴ add potherbs and beat the *barī* a great deal. Another recipe, for melon (*majad*): split the melon and remove the inside pulp. Add *māsh* pulse to it and put in baked asafoetida (f.72b), cumin and

83 *Barī māst* is the modern *dāhi vadā*, i.e. wadas in yoghurt—perhaps these were then baked?

84 Pulse soaked in water, then crushed or ground.

fenugreek. Mix it with poppy seeds and fresh ginger. Keep the ground *pīḥī* for one day and beat the *barī* the second day.

Another recipe, for *sakbā*:⁸⁵ put vinegar into meat broth, add cinnamon, cassia, cardamoms, flavouring and whole potherbs. Another recipe, for *tarīd*:⁸⁶ put ghee and different kinds of dried bread into broth. Sherbet: put pieces of dried bread in sherbet. Another recipe: put pieces of dried bread into *dūgh* and add onions, garlic and salt. Flavour it with asafoetida. Another recipe, for *dūgh*: flavour the *dūgh* well and put in salt, (f.73a) cumin and fenugreek. Another recipe, for meat: put cumin, pomegranate seeds and whole potherbs into meat broth. Another recipe, for *dūgh*: put palm sugar, lime and asafoetida into *dūgh*. Another recipe, for *dūghbā* (dried buttermilk): put meat into *dūgh* and cook it.

Another recipe, for mince: for the amount of minced meat available, prepare an equivalent amount of minced onion and also prepare minced onion leaves and a quantity of half that amount of radish (*tarab*) leaves and a third of that amount of minced fresh ginger and two of garlic, lime juice and saffron. Having put in those amounts, cook the *yakhnī* and eat it with hot thin bread. (f.73b) Another recipe for mince: mix together chickpea pulse, garlic and mince, cook it and add lime juice and pepper. Chop radishes (*tarab*) fresh ginger and onions and put them in. Another recipe for mince: put *dūgh*, garlic, grape syrup and vinegar in mince and cook it. Another recipe for mince: put chickpea pulse, *sūnf* syrup and radishes in mince and make broth (*lās*) from it. Add fresh ginger, onions and lime juice, flavour it with vegetable oil and add asafoetida. Eat it with hot bread. Another recipe for mince: put pumpkin with mince and cook it. Then add mace, cassia and cardamoms and cook it well.

Another recipe, for *kūfta*: put together morsels of dried ginger (*zanjabīl*), morsels of radishes, (f.74a) morsels of asafoetida, morsels of onion and morsels of garlic. Prepare one meat ball (*kūfta*) and cook it with broth. Add lime juice, pepper and potherbs and serve it. Another recipe for *kūfta*: (take) seven cumin seeds, saffron, some mustard, musk, some mustard seeds and camphor and the same quantity of white ambergris. Mix them all together, make the *kūfta*, and make soup broth and cook it. Add pepper, lime juice and potherbs and cook it and then add the leaves of *kasūndī*,⁸⁷ mint, sacred basil and all potherbs. Another recipe, for the greens of orris root: having boiled orris root greens, mix them with mince. Form balls (*kūfta*), (f.74b) cook them and add pepper and relish. Another recipe for *kūfta*: put jackfruit into mince and prepare meatballs or else put in pumpkin or monkey jackfruit or mango syrup or unripe mango (*gīrī*) or fresh shoots of mango or sour-orange or fresh shoots of sour-orange. Use all the aforementioned varieties with mince and prepare meat balls.

Another recipe, for sherbet: chop together figs, *fālsa*, and dried dates with water. Make sherbet, flavour it and put in an equal amount of syrup. Another recipe for *kūfta*: steam orris, mint, dill and sorrel and make the *kūfta* with sumach juice (*āb-i samagh*). (f.75a) Fry it in ghee, put syrup, rosewater and camphor on it and serve it. Another recipe for *kūfta*: chop water lily flowers and put them with mince. Prepare the *kūfta* and fry it in

85 Steingass (1957): a dish made with wheat, vinegar and wheat flour.

86 Steingass (1957): bread crumbled in milk; sop.

87 Kasaundi, a green leafy member of the cassia family, *Cassia sophera*.

ghee and flavour it with rosewater and camphor. Another recipe for *kūfta*: pound the meat and mix it with a scattering of poppy seeds, salt, *sūnf*, saffron, camphor and musk. Form it into balls and wrap the balls in lime leaves and put them into soup and broth. If the balls are wrapped in sour-orange leaves or in betel leaves these are other varieties.

Another recipe, for swollen parched grain (*khandvī*): put in *mūng* and whole potherbs (*f.75b*) and prepare the *khandvī*. Mix rice flour and *dūgh* and make *kaṛhī* and add it to the swollen grain (*khandvī*). If the *khandvī* is put into congee, it makes another kind as it does if put into soup or sour fruit juice or *kaṛhī*, or if asafoetida is put on to sour milk (*dada*) this is another kind, and if it is fried in ghee and syrup, and flavouring is put on it, then that is a variety. If it is put into mustard juice or into sweet sherbet or into flummery (*anbalvānī*), (*f.76a, with a miniature*) these are other kinds.

Another recipe, for the method for sherbet: five *dirams* of sugar, two *dirams* of fresh ginger, two *dirams* of cloves, two *dirams* of cardamoms. Grind all these together, sift them and make the sherbet and put camphor on it. Another recipe, for *ḥarīra*:⁸⁸ grind poppy seed flour, coriander and cumin seeds and put them with *sūnf*, clove essence and cardamoms (*f.76b*) in water and boil them and add a little palm sugar and ghee. Another recipe, for sour-orange *ḥarīra*: prepare the *ḥarīra* from sour-oranges. Chop up all the fruit and put it in and add date sugar and syrup. This becomes orange *ḥarīra*. Another recipe for *ḥarīra*: put marsh melon (*kharbaza*) seeds with palm sugar and date sugar, make the *ḥarīra* and put cardamoms and cloves on it.

Another recipe, for supper food (*āshshām*) *khichrī*: cook wheat and meat together so that they amalgamate, add soft fresh butter, cloves and mace. If *mūng āshshām* is made, this is another kind and, if it is made from *zarat* or rice, (*f.77a*) then these are different varieties. Another recipe for the method for *zarat āshshām*: make *zarat āshshām* and add *āzmūda*.⁸⁹ Use the amount of grain that is available. If *āshshām* is made from different kinds of grain, then each grain makes a different variety of *āshshām*.

Another recipe, for sherbet: grind palm sugar, cardamoms and cloves, make sherbet and, if *bhāt* is added to it, it becomes *pānbhāt*. Another recipe, for the method for mango *khandvī*: put palm sugar, cardamoms, flour and cloves together and boil them. Make *rābarī*,⁹⁰ then prepare the *khandvī* and add ten *dirams* of honey (*'asl*) twenty *dirams* of ghee, dry bread crumbs and fresh ginger syrup (*f.77b*). This is one variety, and if sour-orange is put into some, that is another kind, and if greens water, chickpeas, fresh ginger juice, pepper and salt are put in, this is another sort.

Another recipe, for meat: cut *kabābs* of thin veal, add rounds of onion, fresh ginger, cardamoms, cloves and rice flour and flavour it with ghee. Add whole potherbs and, having roasted *āzmūda* seed, put that in. Another recipe, for tied meat: take one portion of meat and one portion of onion. Put a portion of cardamoms, cloves and saffron on it and, on top of that, put a portion of onion (*f.78a*) and tie it with

88 Platts (1965): 'a kind of pap made of sugar, milk, water, aniseed and cardamoms'.

89 *Ajmūd*, parsley; *āzmūda*, variously defined as parsley, celery seeds or caraway

90 Platts (1965): 'a kind of food like pap; meal mixed with buttermilk; thickened milk'.

thread. Then add whole potherbs, fry it in ghee and put in lime juice and fresh ginger juice. When it is cooked, take it off and throw away the thread.

Another recipe, for soup (*shūrbā*): give a little flavour of garlic to fresh ginger juice and onion juice and then cook the meat soup. Add coriander, cumin, fenugreek, lime juice and asafoetida. It makes very good soup. Another recipe for soup: put a portion of meat into pure water with fresh ginger juice, lime, cumin, fenugreek, coriander and *sūnf* and then boil the meat. Take the strained liquid from it and, having tied whole potherbs in muslin, put them into it. Add relish (*f.78b*) and pepper and serve it. Put all the following in water and boil them: spikenard essence, wild spikenard, *mūtha* beans, small melon, wheat, cinnamon, cassia, cardamoms and cloves. Strain off the water, keep it and put in camphor and musk. Cook *bhāt* in that water or whatsoever is desired. Another recipe for meat: boil the meat well, add vinegar and mint and serve it.

Another recipe, for the method of flavouring food or *pān* or water: two *dirams* of sandal, one *diram* of musk, half a *diram* of white ambergris, rosewater, whatever is required use that flavouring. Another recipe for perfume or flavouring (*ta'īr*): put oil of aloes on potherbs, then distil *chūva* in (*f.79a*) a glass and put camphor, musk and rosewater into the aloes essence. Use it with whatever is required to be flavoured or perfumed. Another recipe for *ta'īr*: take saffron, rosewater, musk, camphor—whatever is desired, use this perfume or flavouring.

Another recipe, for meat: flavour meat and four aubergines and make them quite soft by cooking them. Put in sour and sharp flavouring and whole potherbs and cook them. Fry asafoetida in vegetable oil or in ghee and chop it and put it into the cooking pot. Another recipe, for 'foreign' (*gharīb*) food: boil green vegetables in water or boil them in lentil water. Cook *zarat* bread and flavour it. Whichever green vegetables are used in this food, flavour them with vegetable oil (*f.79b, with a miniature*) and asafoetida. Put fresh ginger, onions and pepper on them and, having put them all together, cook them and add asafoetida oil. Another recipe for green vegetables: boil vine greens in *dūgh* and water. Then take them off, squeeze them well and open them out and fan them. Then having roasted and ground cumin, salt and sesame seeds, add them... (*missing folio(s)*)⁹¹

(*f.80a*)...lime juice, roast lovage, fresh ginger, vegetable broth, cloves, cooked ghee, sweet sesame seeds, fresh cow's butter, coriander seed, white ambergris and tamarind. Also make *rā'ūtā* of all kinds, sour or sweet or sharp, from leaves or shoots or roots. Prepare it from whatever is desired, put in *māst* and mustard seeds and this becomes *rā'ūtā*. If it is made from good quality perfumes, these form other varieties as follows: flowers of *sapastā*,⁹² or flowers of tamarind (*tamarhindī*) or of the horse radish tree (*sanhajna*) and rape seed, tamarind (*tantarīkha*), date sugar, ghee, cloves, asafoetida, young shoots of fig tree (*pīpal*), gherkins, cucumbers, flavoured vegetable oil, large gherkins, fresh ginger, Chinese cubebs,⁹³ orris root greens, loaf sugar, (*f.80b*) lime juice, aubergines, galingale,⁹⁴ turmeric, mustard, cassia, long pepper, *dūgh*, small gherkins,

91 Catchword on *f.79b* is *bīyandāzad* but *f.80a* begins with the word *āb-i līmū*. The Farsi foliation sequence is unbroken. 92 Sebestan plum, *Cordia myxa*.

93 Cubeb: the berry of the climbing shrub *Piper cubeba*, which resembles a grain of pepper and has a pungent spicy flavour.

94 Galingale (*khūlanjān*): aromatic roots of the genera *Alpinia* and *Kaempferia*.

lentils, apples, green chickpeas, grain, pumpkin, *māst*, cardamoms, mace, lovage, pepper and white amberggris.

Again, use the method for cooking fish and, if there is no fish, then cook meat by the fish cooking method with rice flour. Should there be a long fish that resembles a snake, do not eat it after it has been cooked but eat the rest of every kind of fish. Again, do not eat milk and fish together nor aubergines and fish nor *māst* and fish. (*There now follows a list of foods that are, presumably, permissible to eat with fish, namely*): salt, sour-orange, rice flour, *tantarīkha*, roast lentils, dried ginger, roast sesame seeds, cloves, cumin essence, poppy seeds, garlic, roast *mūng* flour, (f.81a) cumin, tamarind (*tamarhindī*), fenugreek, chickpea flour, green coriander, congee, *karna*, almond oil, ghee, dried fresh ginger, vegetable oil, long pepper, rape seed oil, onions, mustard seed oil, *sūnf* essence, roast water chestnuts, jujube (*bīrchūn*). Also a recipe for the fish that is called *trikaṅṭak* ('three-spiked') in Hindi. This fish has three spikes and these spikes are poisonous so throw them away. The flesh is good, cook it and eat it. Also another fish, called the gall-fish. There is poison in the gall of this fish and in its fat. If a man eats it, he will die.

Again, recipes for the cooking of *pūrī* bread and dry bread (*kāk*) and *chapāti* and baked bread (*tanūrī*). (f.81b) Having rubbed on the seasonings suitable for that bread and (also) roast chickpea flour and sesame seed flour, cook the *pūrī* and then grease it with ghee and put it in a damp cloth. With other breads, cooked from different grains,⁹⁵ it is necessary that the flour for rubbing on the sides⁹⁶ should consist of flour of other grains.⁹⁷ Having rubbed the flour on it, cook the bread. (*Follows a list of suitable ingredients*): chickpea (*batla*), *zarat* (*rāla*), green chickpeas, *zarat* (*kanganīz*), parched wheat grains, salt, parched *chārūlī* kernels, almond flour, sesame seeds, *sūnf*, walnut flour, asafoetida, *tīvra*,⁹⁸ flavourings of all kinds, barley, lovage, *zarat*, lentils, coriander, *mūng* pulse, fine white flour, *gūdī*,⁹⁹ grain kernels (*bran*), nigella (*kalūnjī*) seed, chickpeas, wheat, plain boiled rice, also (f.82a) the potherb *kasūndī* (*smelling of*) camphor (*kapūr kasūndī*),¹⁰⁰ dry bread, rosewater, salt, chickpea pulse, musk, myrobalan, *karna*, beetroot (*chaghandar*), dill greens, fresh ginger, sweet basil, sorrel, fenugreek greens, pumpkin, gourd (*kankarū*), pomegranate seeds, cloves, lime leaves, cardamoms, boiled water, cinnamon, lime juice, cassia, onions, *dūgh*, turmeric, lovage, radishes, white amberggris, mustard seeds, ghee, vegetable oil flavour, *sūnf*, coriander, sour-orange leaves, rice, round peppers. Also, to boil milk: having strained the milk and taken the water that remains, do not drink the water of that milk with fish and do not drink milk with fish. Do not eat the following with milk: fish, radishes (*tarab*), *mūng*, flour, *mūtha* beans, lentils kaltha (a pulse) and *zarat* greens (f.82b) nor with any green stuffs nor with sour fruit, do not drink milk with any of the preceding collection of foods. Also do not drink milk with salt. Milk that has gone bad should not be drunk nor should meat and milk be eaten together. Drink milk with the following: honey (*shahd*), almonds, raisins, coconut, wheatgrain, whey, wild dates (*khajūr*), dates (*khurmā*), myrobalan, honey (*shahd again*), melon seeds, thin bread, dried

95 Note between lines 4 and 5: 'namely *palīthan*', the dry flour put under or over dough (synonym *khashkī*).

96 *Balavan* (*sic*)=*palīthan*.

97 i.e. not the same as that used to make the dough.

98 Pungent strong hot relishes or spices.

99 Unripe wheat or barley parched in the ear.

100 *Kasūndī* is a green potherb, *Cassia sophera*, here apparently smelling of camphor.

myrobalan, black bananas, *pūhīya* rice, walnuts, *chārūlī* kernels, pistachios, pine kernels, water chestnuts, *kasīrū* tubers, *karhī*, water lilies, camphor, musk, cardamoms, cinnamon, cassia, date sugar, round peppers, long peppers, pepper roots, ghee, palm sugar, *ladḍū*, *suhālī* bread, potherbs, *tal saktī* (sweetmeat), *khāja*, *phīnī*, (f.83a) all kinds of *bhāt*, milk, rice in the husk (*dhūndhan*), parched grain, *kītkī* and *zarat*—drink milk with all the aforementioned.

Also for the cooking *bara* of all kinds: prepare the *bara* and fry it either in ghee or sweet sesame oil or in almond oil or rape seed oil or in ghee flavoured with burnt asafoetida. Add fenugreek, cumin and *sūnf*. Fry the *bara* in these things and also prepare *khandvī* having thoroughly roasted it. Use round pepper, bean pulse, onions, fresh ginger, honey (*shahd*), palm sugar, molasses, cane sugar syrup, flavouring; *chūlāā*’¹⁰¹ and rice flour; vine leaves and rice flour; clove of garlic and rice flour; (f.83b, with a miniature) *chīnach* (a herb) and rice flour; mustard seed oil and *chārūlī* kernel flour, chickpea flour and *chārūlī* kernels; *mūng dāl* and almond flour; dates and rice flour; tamarinds coriander, cloves, musk, cassia, cinnamon, burnt *sūnf* in vegetable oil; and palm sugar and rice; white basil and rice flour; *sūnf* and rice flour; vegetable oil in burnt fenugreek; cumin oil, oil in burnt asafoetida, ghee, walnuts and rice; (f.84a) parched grain and water chestnuts; bread and *māst*; camphor, plenty of *sūnf*; *zarat* and pine kernels; water lily seed flour, long pepper, *baṭlūn* (myrobalan and salt) and rice flour; oil of betel leaves (*tanbūl*); lentils, rice, *kaltha* pulse, *mūtha* beans, coriander seed, asafoetida, date sugar, *āzmūda*, *sūnf*, salt, rosewater, fenugreek, *bara* made from melons, tamarinds, *gūḍī*,¹⁰² *baṭlūn* cumin, chickpea *dāl*, rape seed oil. Add honey (*shahd*), palm sugar, molasses, cane sugar syrup, camphor, musk and rosewater. Add flavouring to whole potherbs and also add flavouring to water or *dūgh* or buttermilk or *karhī* or sherbet or congee or lime juice or sour-orange juice or unripe grape (*ghūra*) juice or barberry (*zarashk*) juice or mango syrup or myrobalan syrup (f.84b) and potherbs. Put the fried *bara* into these ingredients. It is also a remedy for pain caused by food indigestion, it brings relief.

This remedy was used by Sultan Firuz:¹⁰³ five *dirams* of *ajmūd*, five *dirams* of *jāpatrī* (*mace*), five *dirams* of cloves, five *dirams* of poppy seeds, five *dirams* of jasmine (*maghāra*) seeds and five *dirams* of saffron. Grind and sift this collection of ingredients for the remedy and then mix it in honey and make it into balls (*pellets*) equal in size to prepared betel chews. Eat one pellet daily, the semen flows. (Other ingredients are) mustard seed, *zarat* grain, cardamoms, sugar, camphor, jujube, jackfruit, musk, mimusops, water lilies, sandal, corinda, *kankīrū*, bamboo shoots (*dhāman*), water chestnuts, *bhāt*, potherbs, (f.85a) starfruit (*kamrak*), salt, rosewater, monkey jackfruit, myrobalan, *kasīrū* root, *kītha* (woodapple), pungent bastard-saffron seed (*kazar-i tīvra*), oil of aloes, hog plum (*anbāra*) wild dates, cloves, *tīndū*,¹⁰⁴ honey (*shahd*), *fālsā*.

Also for pain, the (following) remedies produce lustful feelings and increase the flow

101 The potherb *Amaranthus polygymus*.

102 Unripe barley or wheat parched in the ear.

103 Firuz Shah Tughluq of Delhi, 1351–88, from whom Dilawar Khan Ghori, the ancestor of the Sultans, received Malwa as a fief.

104 Fruit of *Diaspyros melanoxylon*, the Coromandel ebony, with an astringent fruit used in medicine and also for eating when quite ripe.

of semen: long pepper, cardamoms, chironji kernels (*chārūlī*), fresh cow's butter, cow's ghee, sheep's milk, poppy seeds, cloves, date sugar, pine kernels, dried ginger, milk, dates, sugar, roasted chickpeas, *chārūlī*, almonds, figs, myrobalan, cow's milk, 'āqarqarhā,¹⁰⁵ raisins and honey (shahd). Mix them, little by little, together and rub them on the penis. It makes sexual intercourse very pleasurable and comfortable. Also for good sexual intercourse and improved flow of semen, fry the following in ghee and eat them: flesh of a calf, flesh of sheep, (*f.85b*) brains of the domestic sparrow, pigeon, ghee, cow's milk, cardamoms, 'āqarqarha, *basbāsa* (mace), cinnamon and ten domestic sparrows, they produce strong lust. (*Again*) palm sugar, roasted chickpeas, raisins, white *mūṣṭī*,¹⁰⁶ *kankīrū* roots, honey (*shahd*), *ajmūd*, cloves, *kūchhā* seeds,¹⁰⁷ fine white flour, ground *zarat*, milk, haggis (*kīpā*), *gūkhrū*, white rock salt, chironji kernels, flesh of domestic sparrows, poppy seeds, dates, jasmine seeds, pine kernels, yolks of hens' eggs and wheat bread.

Again to prepare fresh pickle from ingredients: when the roots, leaves, flowers and blossoms have been broken up together, mix them with potherbs of every kind...(*possible missing folio(s)*)¹⁰⁸...lovage, (*f.86a*) cinnamon, sour-oranges, melons, barberries, mace, asafoetida, fenugreek and the flowers of tamarind. Again the special quality of the following medicine is that it wards off bile and phlegm, purifies the blood and stops copious sweating. It is a purge and an aperient and also if it is rubbed on the skin, it purifies the pigment and the outer skin. This is the medicine: yellow myrobalan (*halīla*), balleric myrobalan (*balīla*), white China rose, fresh myrobalan (*āmla*), skin of *pterocarpus* (*bīya*), wild figs, catechu essence, *gulanbar* (mango?), figs, *phīphār*,¹⁰⁹ *jāman* kernels, *gulanbar* peel, *tīndū* peel, honey (*shahd*), *kānīā* *sīlīyā*,¹¹⁰ *kanval* (lotus) tubers, fresh pepper, cassia leaf, Coral tree (*marjān*) seeds, *mūtha* beans, mango (*anba*) tree bark, (*f.86b*) *barma*,¹¹¹ unripe wood-apple, unripe dates, skins of swollen parched grain, sesame oil, *ajmūd*, *kāyaphal* bark,¹¹² *lūd* bark,¹¹³ bark of *mahva*,¹¹⁴ *parīnag* or *phālī*,¹¹⁵ ghee (*hūs*), *mūchras*,¹¹⁶ sesame meal, pomegranate seeds, pomegranate skin, *dhāva* flowers,¹¹⁷ *bandhāra*,¹¹⁸ white water lily (*kīrav*) seeds.

105 *Dranunculus anthemis pyrethrum*, used to treat headaches, toothache, paralysis of the tongue; it increases saliva.

106 White or black *mūṣṭī* a medicinal tuber, *Curculigo orchoides*, which is an aphrodisiac and a tonic.

107 A kind of tamarind.

108 Suspect catchwords on *f.85b* are *ajvā 'īn dar ān* but *f.86a* begins with the words *ajvā 'īn, taj, taranj*. The Farsi foliation sequence is unbroken.

109 *Gardenia latifolia*?

110 i.e. *kanta shelio* (frankincense).

111 *Tricosanthes incisa*, from the *Tricosanthes* species of gourds.

112 Wild nutmeg bark, *Myrica sapida*.

113 i.e. *ludhra*, medicinal bark of the tree *Symplocos racemosu*.

114 Tree with aromatic flowers, *Bassia latifolia*, or *Madhuca indica*, which when fermented were used for making spirits.

115 A medicinal and aromatic plant.

116 Gum of the Silk tree.

117 A red flower used in dyeing.

118 A drug.

Another aphrodisiac: the properties of this medicine are that it increases semen and strengthens desire. It is beneficial to the elderly and to youth and to children. It sharpens the intellect, makes the eyes shine, purifies the skin, enhances the hearing and the acuteness of the ear and it purifies the teeth and the tongue: had *ṣāgar*,¹¹⁹ dried ginger (*zanjabīl*), round peppers, honey (*shahd*), (*f.87a*) jackfruit, almonds, *muhāmīd*,¹²⁰ grapes, mimusops and its fruit, *gūkhrū*,¹²¹ white China rose, red rose, dates, *khārk*,¹²² *kasīrū* root, fine white flour, *chūlā* 'ī potherbs,¹²³ melon, piony (*khīyātūrī*), gourd, *dūdī* (bottle gourd), *mahva* flowers, water lily seeds, milk, *rada barda*,¹²⁴ pomegranate seeds, cassia, date juice, *āmla*, garlic, cane sugar syrup, *jūī madd*,¹²⁵ *balbīj* seeds,¹²⁶ seeds of the rose (*kūza*), *mūṣlī* (medicinal tuber), chamomile, *āsanda* (Dragon's Blood),¹²⁷ figs, *khīr* made using *zarat*, sesame seeds, chironji kernels, pine kernels, pistachio nuts, walnuts, coconut, ghee, potherbs, bananas, *zarat*, gold leaf. The above-mentioned items make people fat and benefit those who are thin and those who are weak. Broken bones mend, wind and bile are cured and poison (*f.87b*) is warded off. They make for longevity and increasing comfort.

Also these (*following*) ingredients are effective in repelling fever. Cook the food and eat it. The fever of phlegm, biliousness, blood and wind is repelled. The ingredients are as follows: pīpal flowers, gourd, potherbs, *kalavī*,¹²⁸ yellow betel leaf, frankincense, roots of the castor-oil tree, cucumber, myrobalan, gentian (*charāyata*),¹²⁹ *mūng* pulse, peel of unripe mangoes, *andarjū* seeds,¹³⁰ the roots of *bal*,¹³¹ black cumin, round pepper, Coral tree, pīpal root, *nasūt*,¹³² *gūkhrū*, honey (*madhūrī*), small cardamoms, *raddha*,¹³³ stick liquorice (*jūhī*), *mākha vanā*,¹³⁴ *sadha* (nectar), Persian lilac (*bakā 'īn*), salt (*sālūnī*), the milky fluid (*dūdhī*) found within wheat, cooked or boiled lentils,¹³⁵ a rose (*varda*), verbena (*sīvan*),¹³⁶ small lentils (*rinūka*), wild nutmeg bark, large lentils (*rīnkanīn*), (*f.88a*) sweet-orange, bamboo, roots of areca, round turmeric, mimosa (*rāsntī*),¹³⁷ *jīvak*,¹³⁸ hard dry bread, turmeric, rice in the husk, sesame

119 Obscure, seems to mean 'dried deer bones'.

120 The Coral tree *Erythina indica*.

121 The plant *Ruellia longifolia* or *Tribulus lanciginosus*.

122 Swallow wort, *Calatropis gigantea*.

123 *Amaranthus polygamus*.

124 Obscure, a variety of *zaraf*?

125 *Jūī* is a variety of euphorbia that yields oil.

126 *Balbīj*, seeds especially of the *Abutilon indicum*, used medicinally throughout western India.

127 *Dalbergia ougeinensis*. It has red gum and the bark extract is used medicinally.

128 *Gloriosa superba*, the Superb Lily, of which the tubers are used medicinally.

129 *Gentiana cherayta*.

130 Seed of the medicinal plant *Nerium antidysentericum*.

131 Medicinal plant, probably *Sida carpinifolia*.

132 Species of a purgative root, Indian jalap, *Ipomea turpe-tham*.

133 A medicinal plant.

134 Seed of the water lily *Anneslea spinosa*, taken for strengthening purposes.

135 This seems to be *masūr*, the pink lentil, *Lens culinaris*.

136 *Gmelina arborea*. Both root and fruit are used in medicine.

137 *Mimosa octandra* or *Ophioxylon sexpentaria*.

138 Name of a medicinal plant, one of the eight principal drugs classed together under the name *ashta varg*.

meal, deodar, *javāsa*,¹³⁹ *patpapra*,¹⁴⁰ figs (**bar**), *mūthi* beans, *pādal*,¹⁴¹ screw pine (*kūtkī*), dried acidulated milk (*patās*), preserved fruit or jam, *majītha*,¹⁴² *tīntū* (*sic*) (i.e. *tīndū*) fruit, *zarat*, *khīr*, cardamoms, invalid food (*patha yanī*), date sugar, lovage, *ratānjan* (eye medicine), sandal, grain in the ear, cardamoms, *padmak*,¹⁴³ water or juice.

Also a method for warding off eye disease (cataract?): these medicines are effectual in repelling eye disease (*mantar gīrī*). Cook them in food or put prepared *phakī*¹⁴⁴ in food. The ingredients are as follows: root of the castor-oil tree, *nāg-i kīsar*,¹⁴⁵ *bhīyan guhla*,¹⁴⁶ cassia, *burnā*,¹⁴⁷ stick liquorice, *chūka*, sorrel, horse radish roots, *balbīj* roots,¹⁴⁸ green coconut, potherbs, cucumber, myrobalan, (*f.88b*, with a miniature) edible(?) mustard (*rā'ibhūg*), cucumbers, *tīndū* fruit, horse gram (*kalatt*),¹⁴⁹ *pāshan bīd*,¹⁵⁰ sugar, ghee, *zarat*, oleander, black cardamoms, betel leaf, *pīpal*, *kachlūn* (black salt),¹⁵¹ root of the *kānis* grass,¹⁵² *dhamāha* rice, cucumber, bamboo, sugarcane syrup, myrobalan, sugarcane roots, *dūb* grass, roots of *shālī* rice,¹⁵³ musk, *garmāla*,¹⁵⁴ cardamoms, grapes, large cardamoms, fruit from the *bahuphalī* fig, fragrant grass (*asīr*).¹⁵⁵

Another medicine for making eyes bright: (*f.89a*) this medicine makes eyes very bright if it is put into food or meat or green stuff and vegetables and cooked and eaten. If it is boiled with herbs, strain the liquid and use it to wash the eyes. If the (*following*) ingredients are mixed together and put on the eyes, the eyes become very bright and diseases of the eyes are completely prevented. The medicine is as follows: *panj mūl*,¹⁵⁶ *māk vanī*,¹⁵⁷ leaves of lemon grass (*akhtia*), quince flowers, lemon grass flowers, *majītha*,¹⁵⁸ date sugar, horse radish tree, golden kashta,¹⁵⁹ stick liquorice, grapes,

139 The prickly plant *Hedysarum alhagi*.

140 The medicinal plant *Oldenlandia biflora*.

141 Tree-trumpet flower, *Bignonia Sauveolens*.

142 A drug, manjith; the root of the plant yields red dye madder.

143 *Costus speciosus* or *C. arabicus*.

144 *Phankā*, the plant *Pistia stratiotes*.

145 *Mesua ferrea*, the dried flowers are used in perfume and medicine.

146 A potion made with opium or bhang.

147 The tree *Cratoeva Roxburghii*.

148 *Abutilon indicum*.

149 *Dolichos uniflorus*.

150 *Plectantrus scutellarioides*.

151 A medicinal salt made by calcining fossil salt and the fruit of emblic myrobalan to promote digestion.

152 The tall grass *Emperata spontanea*.

153 *Shālī* is the generic name of all fine winter rices.

154 Steingass (1957): a certain kind of medicine.

155 *Andropogon muricatum*.

156 A collection of five roots or tubers. See Platts (1965), p. 272, for lists of these. He cites two collections.

157 Obscure. *Māk* is the medicinal plant *Eclipta alba*. *Mak* is of course *makka* or *Indian zarat*, but this was introduced from the Americas presumably somewhat later than this text.

158 The drug from madder, *Rubia manjith*.

159 The medicinal plant *Costus speciosus* or *Costus arabicus*.

dūḍī,¹⁶⁰ cumin seed, *shapat* grass,¹⁶¹ *ajmūd*, *halīla* (myrobalan), *lūd*,¹⁶² camphor, round turmeric, honey (*shahd*), burnt cultivated potherbs,¹⁶³ *āmla*, fresh shoots of *sattavar*,¹⁶⁴ **bhīṛā**,¹⁶⁵ *sanbhālī*,¹⁶⁶ cloves, musk, blue water lily, (*f.89b*) sesame meal, sandal, red sandal, musk seeds, seeds of the *nīm* tree, leaves of the *nīm* tree, lentil pulse, *sapārī*, fruit of the monkey jackfruit tree.

Another medicine for curing itchiness of the body is as follows: *marva*,¹⁶⁷ pure sulphur, 'adas, *tūr*, *mūng*, date juice, saffron, date sugar, pepper, lime juice, greens of the *panvār* (cassiatora) tree, *barmhī*,¹⁶⁸ *āsanda* bark,¹⁶⁹ frankincense, cardamoms, *sanbhālī* (chaste tree)¹⁷⁰ leaves, deodar, rice in the husk, round turmeric, turmeric, *sāngar*,¹⁷¹ cucumber, *nāgbīl* betel, large cardamoms, cardamoms, liquidambar, round peppers, sesame meal, limes, *rīnūk*,¹⁷² *khūr*, catechu, *karta*,¹⁷³ screw pine (*kītkī*), cinnamon.

Again, the method for making potherbs into pellets or for using eggs with potherbs or making many-coloured pumpkin with potherbs. (*f.90a*) Blow the fire and cook plump minced chicken, add onion, fresh ginger and whole potherbs and use it as a stuffing for the eggs of hens or of pigeons or of the eggs of any other bird that is required. Put together cardamoms, cloves, white ambergris, rosewater, camphor, musk, saffron and salt, rub it on the carcass and flavour it with ghee and cook it. Slightly cook some fresh onions, add lime juice and flavouring and put it in the mince. Flavour it with ghee and add whole potherbs.

Again, to stuff lime rind, throw away the pulp leaving the skin whole (*f.90b*) after the sourness and acidity have been removed. Then stuff it with flavoured mince and cover the top of it. Flavour it, cook it well and serve it. By the same method prepare citron fruit (*karna*) or sweet-orange or sour-orange and cook it. Also take flowers of the blue water lily and stuff them with *bhāt*, tie them up with thread, place them in a cooking pot and when cooked, serve them. Again make a cup from sour-orange leaves, put *bhāt* into it, tie it up with thread and cook it. When the stuffing is well-cooked, take it off and serve it in the leaf cup. Cook many varieties.

In the same way, there are also many kinds of *karhī*. Make *pāpar* and (*f.91a*) also make sherbet. Make some with *dūgh* and *māst* and put in the following ingredients:

160 The milky fluid found in unripe wheat grains, also spelled *dūdhī*.

161 *Saccharum cylindricum*.

162 i.e. *lūdrā*, derived from the bark of the tree *Symplocos racemosa*.

163 *Hingsta repens*.

164 The vegetable *Asparagus racemosus*, of medicinal value.

165 Perhaps the belleric myrobalan, *Terminalia berica*, one of three myrobalans used in the medicine *triphala*, to combat debility.

166 The medicinal leaves of the Chaste tree.

167 *Ocimum pilosum*.

168 i.e. *barma*, the plant *Tricosanthes incisae*, used medicinally.

169 Dragon's Blood: the bark extract is used in medicine.

170 *Vitex trifolia*.

171 Uncertain: in Platts (1965) it is (1) the pod of the Shami tree or (2) a kind of bean or (3) the fruit of the Jant tree.

172 Small lentil.

173 Obscure.

crushed *mūng* beans, date sugar, *lūh* broth,¹⁷⁴ sour-orange, *pāpar* shoots of citron, citron (*karna*), partridge broth, kedgere, coconut milk, skewered lamb or kid, rose and sugar water, figs, honey (*shahd*), salt, vinegar, *kaṛhī*, white ambergris, yellow wheat, rice, fruit of the jujube tree, cardamoms, chickpea pulse, *nāg-i kīsar*, ground pepper, *zarat*, potherbs, *kīyalī* (medlar), palm sugar, ground cloves, *dūgh*, rosewater, *barmī*,¹⁷⁵ camphor, lime and ghee. Other foods (*are listed below*) that should be eaten after sexual intercourse and to increase the flow of semen. All these things should be eaten regularly (*f.91b, with a miniature*) to create well-being and to repel phlegm from the body. Impotence is cured, desire returns, joy is bestowed on the heart, there are erections and semen flows. It is good to sleep out of doors and to be fanned by cool breezes. Wash the body, rub in perfumes, smell sweet-scented flowers, tell stories with pleasant words and play *sarūds*; drink palm-wine (*sīndhī*) that does (*f.92a*) not cause drunkenness, eat bananas, almonds, walnuts, pistachios, pine kernels, chironji kernels, wheat, barley, *lassi*, *laddū*, *sūr* fish, rice, sesame seeds, honey (*shahd*), potherbs, sugarcane, good food, *ghīvar* sweetmeats,¹⁷⁶ pulse *bara*, milk, water, broth, flavoured curds, *khīr*, and also cook *khīs* and *rābarī*

If the following are mixed with a cup of *dūgh*, then they become sherbet. The sherbet is as follows: water chestnut flour, almond flour, *zarat* flour, sugar, honey (*shahd*), walnut flour, water lily flour, parched grain flour, flour of unripe wheat or barley, *dūgh*, rice flour, potherbs, sweet vegetable oil, fresh ginger, onions, coriander seed, flour made from pine kernels, *mūng* flour, whey, asafoetida burnt in ghee, (*f.92b*) lime, perfume, *zarat* flour, rose and sugar water, burnt asafoetida oil, fenugreek, lovage, tamarind, asafoetida, roasted wild rice, roasted chickpeas, salt. Again, another lot [*of ingredients*] to use with *māst* which is called *guḥla*¹⁷⁷ It is as follows: fresh shoots of sour-orange, fresh shoots of lime, asafoetida, roast cumin seed, musk, vinegar, *dūgh*, congee, hogplum, vine shoots, purslane (*lūnīyā*), onion leaves, fresh shoots of ginger, camomile (*babūna*), garlic clove (*phārnak*) roast fenugreek, whey of *dūgh*, *bathala*,¹⁷⁸ whey of *māst*, white basil, lime juice, roast lovage, roast mustard seed, *chūlā* 'ī, red cabbage, baked rice, roast sesame seeds, salt, garlic, chickpea greens. Also put pipless sweet lime into potherbs. Also (*f.93a*) all these (*the following*) leaves have been written down: scatter *tanbūl* leaves with them, perfume them and (*then*) fold the *tanbūl*. The leaves are as follows: fresh shoots of the mango tree with small leaves, sour-orange leaves, *karna* leaves, lime leaves, sweet-orange leaves, *jāman* leaves, sacred basil leaves, screw pine (*kīyūra*) leaves, and whole flowers and perfume of every kind. Having collected all these leaves, perfume the leaves of betel (*tanbūl*) and betel nut (*fūfal*), use the perfume of every kind of scented flower. The scent is immediately absorbed by all the other leaves. Rub the scent of these flowers into betel leaf. Also use oil of aloes, sandal, frankincense, *salā khal* (?oilcake essence), *salā ras* and white sandal wood. (*f.93b*) Use

174 *Lūh*, a bird similar to a partridge or quail.

175 Medicinal plant, *Trichosanthes incisa*.

176 Of flour, milk, ghee, coconut and sugar.

177 Platts (1965): a lump or mass as of curd in milk or of flour in broth.

178 *Launaea nudicaulis*, 'used in sherbet'.

marhaṭṭī aloes and the other perfumes with *pān*, *fūfal*, *kāt* and *chūna*,¹⁷⁹ and also use the perfume of the peel of sour-orange and *karna* and lime and sweet-orange.

Again, with Ghiyath Shahi's *bīra*, the betel leaves are rubbed with camphor and rosewater. Eleven leaves are used to make one *bīra*. Make the lime yellow and boil the betel nut in extract of aloes oil, then rub it with musk scent and white ambergris and rosewater and make pungent perfume from flowers of the red rose. Another recipe for betel (*sapārī*): boil the betel nut in sandal juice, rub it with camphor and also with sandal (*f.94a*, with a miniature) and scatter rosewater on it. Make the *bīra* (chew) with twenty-five leaves and make a pungent extract of sandal. Mix the lime with saffron and rosewater. Make both these kinds of betel (*tanbūl*). In another *tanbūl* of Ghiyath Shahi, the *bīra* is made from fifty leaves and a little *chikanī betel* and also from a little *sapārī*.¹⁸⁰ Prepare (*f.94b*) pungent essence from a lot of musk and having put it in the *tanbūl* which should not be too thin nor, alternatively, too thick, beat it.

Put in pounded ingredients as follows: one *tūlcha* of cardamom, half a *tūlcha* of musk, two *tūlchas* of camphor and half a *tūlcha* of sandal. Sprinkle rosewater on them and add one *māsa* of white ambergris, then fan it vigorously with a damp straw fan to cool it and then chew it. The property of this *tanbūl* is that it shrinks the anus, prevents vomiting, repels the harmfulness of hot wind and feverishness, the excess of blood that comes from over-heating, (*f.95a*) and also heartburn. Another *tanbūl* of Ghiyath Shahi: varieties of betel nut (*fūfal*) are ground coarsely with rosewater. The method for sandal and its leaves is to grind it finely on a stone and, having also ground pungent musk, add them together and mix them with cooked camphor and chew the *tanbūl*. The benefit derived from this is that it relieves toothache, makes the tongue soft and the mouth sweet-smelling. Another *tanbūl* of Ghiyath Shahi: having roasted the betel nut (*fūfal*), grind it finely on a grinding stone. Mix *pān*, lime and perfume with it and wrap it up in soft leaves, folding it into a triangle, and perfume it.

(*f.95b*) Again, finely pound together *tanbūl*, *pān*, perfume, catechu essence and *sapdāri* and add the sap of cardamoms and the sap of cloves and pound it all into a paste.¹⁸¹ Another *tanbūl*: moisten *sapārī* in the juice of jackfruit or of wild fig or of pumpkin. Then put a quantity of this *sapārī* with *pān*, catechu essence, lime, date sugar and galingale so that it is not too sour. Put all these into leaves and pound the *tanbūl*. Another *tanbūl*: having roasted oily *chīval*¹⁸² and betel nut (*fūfal*), put together *pān*, catechu essence, musk and lime and pound them. Add essence of chanpa flowers, camphor, sesame oil, (*f.96a*) musk and saffron and pound them. Then sprinkle enough

179 *Pān*, the betel chew or quid, also here called *bīra*, *sapārī* and *tanbūl*, consists of the leaf (*tambūla*) of the climbing vine (*Piper betle*), the nut of the *Areca catechu* (here called *fūfal*, and sometimes *sapārī*), a smearing of *kattha* or *kāt*, the astringent thick liquid from the heartwood of the *Areca catechu*, and *chūna*, a dab of slaked lime from crushed shells. Perfumes and flavourings of many kinds can be added.

180 G. Watt's *Dictionary* (1889–93), vol. 1, p. 300, describes the different methods of preparing the betel nut, all of which have different names. *Chikanī* is a way of treating the unripe nut which toughens it up.

181 Here the normal words for the chews also seem to mean specific types of areca nuts, as in the next recipe.

182 Fruit of the Indian Butter tree, *Bassia butyracea*.