

"God Sends Meate but the Devill Sends Cookes":

Cooks Working in French and English Great Households, c.1350-c.1650

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Abstract

This dissertation analyzes newly uncovered archival data and printed primary-source material related to French and English cooks employed in great households between 1350 and 1650. I assert that medieval and early modern French and English great household kitchens operated on similar brigade-style kitchen management systems, and that their survival calls into question notions of “revolution” in pre-modern culinary styles.

In order to clarify the nature of French and English haute food-habit evolution across the *longue durée*, Part One opens with a new, quantitative analysis of medieval and early modern cookery collections. Data indicates that food habits were not static in either France or England before the mid-seventeenth-century, calling into question the degree to which shifts associated with the mid-seventeenth-century French “revolution in taste” represent a departure from the many culinary evolutions that were already ongoing before the alleged revolution. Part Two, building on cookery-collection findings, compares cookbook-data findings to data extracted from French and English household diet accounts. As the accounts show, great-household cooks did not confine themselves to the high-status ingredient corpora that cookbooks would lead us to believe, but instead specialized in cooking a range of higher- and lower-end dishes that combined all types of available ingredients. Part Three surveys management hierarchies of great household kitchens, and the relationship of great household cooks to local culinary guilds. Far from being invented by Georges Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935) as is often alleged, the brigade de cuisine was present as a management model in the kitchens of medieval and early modern great households.

The brigade de cuisine’s survival over the *longue durée* reflects its adaptability to a wide variety of professional circumstances, and supports a model of continuing, gradual incorporation of culinary innovation before and after the mid-seventeenth century.

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Introduction

It is a common prouerbe, God may sende a man good meate,
but the devyll may sende an euyll coke to dysttrue it.

Borde, *Dietary of Health*, 1542

“Each gentleman has his cook in the Queen's kitchens,
which cook only looks after his master.
There are usually eighteen kitchens in full blast,
and they seem veritable hells, such is the stir and bustle in them.”

Letter of a Spanish visitor at the English royal court, 17 August 1554

*...quand un homme voit d'autres hommes parfois
qui veulent dans sa soupe aller tremper leurs doigts,
il en montre aussitôt une colère extrême.*

Molière, *l'École des femmes*, 1662

Cooks are a strange bunch. Always straddling the line between the outside world and the inner sancta of their kitchens, they occupy a position that sees them draw on cultural mores, professional experience, networks, market systems, artistic skills, culinary knowhow, and resource management in order to decide on the most appropriate dishes to serve to diners. Navigating these pathways in the modern world can present any number of unforeseen predicaments. One need only scan historic literature to see that cooks—professionals and home cooks alike—were often thought to be wild, untrustworthy, and even prone to “*colère extrême*” by Molière’s assessment. Cooks, modern and historic, seem somewhat unknowable to the

uninitiated. Wild. Unpredictable. In so being, they provide endless fodder for scholars, television producers, and foodies, all of whom seek to add meaning and commentary to these strange ways.

This study systematizes evidence from a diverse body of cookbooks, household diet accounts, and guild bylaws in order to reconstruct the working arrangements of late medieval and early modern cooks. Indeed, in order to position cooks with any degree of historical context, one must also engage with recipe, ingredient, technological, legal, cultural, social, domestic, and architectural histories. Cooks were deeply woven into their local cultures and contexts so we must be careful to contextualize their work with the many elements of culture that shaped it. In the present analysis we will examine recipes and ingredient use – in detail – before moving on to examine cooks and their professional worlds. Because ingredient use and recipe evolution are such complex topics, more space has been devoted to their analysis than to cooks. This is partially due to the need to understand the nature of recipe composition and cookery methods as captured in recipes of the periods we are examining, but it is also due to the need to contextualize cooks within historiographical arguments concerning shifts in mid-seventeenth-century French culinary practices and cookery aesthetic. Cooks will remain present in the backgrounds of our ingredient and recipe studies, but analysis of their labour practices and guilds will not occur until later in this analysis.

The period between 1350 and 1650 represents the period leading up to the “revolution in taste”: an aesthetic shift in French haute cuisine that is thought to have swept France during and after the second half of the seventeenth century.¹ The revolution involved a shift away from

1 Susan Pinkard, “Refined Consumption, 1660–1735,” *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 123–154; Roy Strong, “A Culinary Revolution,” *Feast: A History of Grand Eating* (London: Cape, 2002) 224–230; Barbara Wheaton, “The Beginnings of Fine Cookery,” *Savouring the Past: The French Kitchen Table from 1300–1789* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983) 113–128; Jean-Louis Flandrin, “Différences et différenciation des goûts: réflexions sur quelques exemples européens entre le 14e et le 18e siècles”, *National & Regional Styles of Cookery: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on*

reliance on multi-layered, medieval seasoning combinations featuring ginger, cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, verjuice, vinegar and toward increased preference for herbs, sugar, and roux- and reduction-based thickening methods, among other innovations. Although many cookbooks have been cited as contributing to such a shift, most scholarship points to François Pierre de la Varenne's *Le cuisinier françois* (1651), its English translation, *The French Cook* (1653), as well as Nicolas de Bonnefons's *Le jardinier François* (1651), his *Les délices de la champagne* (1654), and François Massialot's *Nouveau cuisinier royal et bourgeois* (1691) and *Nouvelle instruction pour les confitures, les liqueurs et les fruits* (1692) as being the primary published cookbooks that set into motion and reinforced this revolutionary new culinary aesthetic.²

The evidence presented in this dissertation indicates that, rather than a seventeenth-century revolution, change in cookery styles and culinary preferences was ongoing throughout the period, in varying levels of intensity in both England and France long before most current historical discourse recognizes. Historiography concerning aesthetic shifts have proliferated in food historiography in recent decades, most of which suggest that medieval and early modern haute cuisine differed markedly in England and especially France.³ Although it is wise to be

Food and Cookery, ed. Alan Davidson (London: Prospect Books, 1981) 191-207; Jean-Louis Flandrin, "Dietary Choices and Culinary Technique, 1500–1800", *Food: A Culinary History*, originally published as *Histoire de l'alimentation*, ed. Massimo Montanari and Jean-Louis Flandrin, trans. Clarissa Botsford et al. (New York: Penguin Books, 1999) 403–417.

² Wheaton, 114-119, 149-156; 123-128; Pinkard, 95-122, 123-128; Jean-Louis Flandrin, "Dietary Choices", *Food*, 406-409.

³ Maria Dembinska, "Diet: a Comparison of Food Consumption Between some Eastern and Western Monasteries in the 4th-12th Centuries", *Byzantion: Revue Internationale des Etudes Byzantines* 55.2 (1985): 431–462; Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Rudolf Grewe, "Hispano-Arabic Cuisine in the Twelfth Century," *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1992) 141–148; Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*, trans. John and Doreen Weightman (New York: Harper and Row, 1969); Jean-Louis Flandrin, "Le Goût et la Nécessité: Sur l'usage des graisses dans les cuisines d'Europe occidentale (XIVe-XVIIIe siècle)," *Annales ESC: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 38.2 (1983): 369–401; Constance Hieatt, *Pain, Vin et Venaison: Un Livre de Cuisine Médiévale* (Montréal: L'Aurore, 1977); Barbara Santich, "Les Eléments Distinctifs de la Cuisine Médiévale

aware of differences in cookery-habit periodization, medieval vs. early modern culinary models risk obscuring many of the smaller, continuing evolutions that took place during the periods leading up to the seventeenth century. Timothy Tomasik and Ken Albala have recently challenged the revolutionary model by suggesting that some sixteenth-century French cookery collections, particularly the *Livre fort excellent de cuysine*, show that change was afoot in haute French kitchens long before the mid-seventeenth century.⁴

With so much attention focused on ingredients, I have chosen to assemble and analyze evidence relating to the role of cooks in facilitating culinary change during these critical periods. We will approach the question from the opposite temporal end, in closer alignment with Tomasik and Albala's recent approach in the *Livre fort*. As Tomasik and Albala also suggest, innovation seems present in many cookery manuals across the period.⁵ I will go further to suggest that although cookery manuals were important, cooks were highly practical in terms of their approaches to acquiring and using ingredients. Although cookery manuals clearly reflect some aspects of cookery style and contemporary approaches to ingredient use, some aspects of the working lives of great-household cooks are not represented. Only Maître Chiquart's *Du fait de cuysine* (France 1420) and Bartolomeo Scappi's *Opera* (Italy, 1570) offer substantial instructions regarding kitchen management. It seems that most cooks were illiterate, given their near-absolute textual silence in records of the period.

Late medieval and early modern professional cooks worked in a variety of settings, most

Méditerranéenne," *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1992) 133–139.

⁴ Timothy Tomasik and Ken Albala, "Introduction," *The Most Excellent Book of Cookery: An Edition and Translation of the Sixteenth-Century Livre fort excellent de Cuysine*, ed. Tomasik and Albala (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2014) 7–17.

⁵ Tomasik and Ken Albala, 7–17.

of which were regulated by guilds in larger cities and towns.⁶ Since the medieval period in London and Paris, cook shops, bakeries, grocers' shops and so on each maintained their own trade guilds. Charters indicate that almost all guild concerns focused on the public sale and commerce of food. The cooks and bakers of Paris, for example, prohibited sale of one trade group's victuals in the shops of another trade group; thus it was illegal for a cook to sell bread or a baker to sell soup.⁷ Moreover, the guilds maintained complex bureaucracies of masters, wardens, juries and so on, ready to be summoned at a moment's notice when offending shops were discovered to be selling prohibited victuals.⁸

As I argue here, great households of kings and nobles were very different work settings for cooks, and were not regulated by guilds throughout most of the era I am examining. The cooks and bakers of the French royal household, because they did not sell the victuals they produced or always ply their trades within the city limits, were not subject to workplace inspections by guild wardens. The great households discussed in this dissertation did not live in the same locale throughout the year, but all relied on the same domestic *familia* to move with and serve them in various residences. Although a small number of English great household and monastery cooks belonged to the Worshipful Company of Cooks of London, in Paris surviving guild charters indicate that great household cooks were excluded from membership until 1599. Overall, guild-regulated urban cooks and great household cooks experienced sharply distinct occupational worlds.

To speak of "great households" invites questions about definitions that are hard to answer with precise boundaries. Although social greatness could be acquired in many ways —wealth,

⁶ Alan Borg, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Cooks of London* (Lindley, Huddersfield, U.K.: Jeremy Mills Publishing, 2011), 19; Françoise Desportes, "Food Trades", *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Massimo Montanari and Jean-Louis Flandarin, trans. Albert Sonnenfeld (New York: Penguin, 2000) 275–286.

lifestyle, and political influence—I focus here on households that employed a kitchen staff large enough to call for the keeping of diet accounts and household ordinances.⁹ In *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, Christopher Woolgar adopted a similar approach.¹⁰ We will focus on groups of workers about whom good documentary evidence survives and extend the discussion to comparisons between French and English great households, and between medieval and early modern households.

Since cookbooks often overemphasize dishes and menus designed for exceptional feasting, we must turn to the archives to grapple with questions about the daily routines of great-household cooking. In England, from the National Archives and Lambeth Palace Archives, London, I collected household accounts, tool inventories, servant lists, and other manuscript materials related to great household cooks. Also, from the personal collection of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth House in Derbyshire, I gathered an unusually full set of sixteenth-century household diet accounts, servant lists, and tool inventories. In France I visited the Archives nationales and the Archives des Affaires étrangères, where I focused closely on locating the surviving *comptes de bouche* of the French royal court and other high nobles who lived in Paris. To my digitized archival holdings, and to the contemporary cookbook collections that we must necessarily consider, I have also included consideration of published primary sources, including many charters of the London and Paris cooks' guilds. Together, these documents allow more complete understanding of the human factor that animated culinary change throughout the evolutions that we are about to unpack.

7 Desportes, 279–280.

8 Borg, 27–29.

9 Strictly speaking, we are examining professional kitchen workers: Some cooked, some managed, some plucked poultry, but in general, I will refer to collectives of kitchen workers as *cooks*, increasing specificity in actual labour patterns as we move deeper into primary sources.

In order to systematize evidence, discussion is divided into three parts. Part One examines cookery-collection¹¹ historiography and develops a new comparative-quantitative analysis of seventeen cookbooks, most of them from France and England. To track how and where in recipes ingredients were used, Chapter One examines six French and English cookery collections, ranging in date between the 1250's and 1500. I have counted¹² mentions of ingredients and tabulated the types of recipe and the manner in which the ingredient was used. Where appropriate, I have integrated biographic information related to sources into the discussion, but ingredients and the strategies that authors deemed appropriate for dealing with them will be the focus of our analysis. Taking a similar approach to early modern cookery collections, Chapter Two draws ingredient data from eleven French, English, and Italian texts published between 1500 and 1650. Here we confront some of the historiographic narratives about a taste revolution that have come to dominate food history. The intensity of seventeenth-century changes in taste do not seem more remarkable, and scarcely revolutionary, than shifts introduced in previous centuries.

Part Two, undertakes a second comparative quantitative analysis of ingredients, this time based on household accounts of supplies acquired and delivered daily to the kitchen. In Chapter

10 Christopher Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) 1–7.

11 I will use the terms “cookery collection”, “recipe collection”, and “cookbook” interchangeably throughout this analysis because the modern term “cookbook” indicates that one would primarily find party and special-event recipes within. The collections examined here included recipes for the sick, recipes for cleaning agents, prayers, poems, comportment advice, occasionally kitchen and household-management advice, and on the very rare occasion, magical spells. Because I refer specifically to the culinary or household-management sections of these works, it is appropriate to refer to their “collections” of information so that the other important bodies of information are verbally separated from the culinary data that we will examine. When the work primarily presents culinary recipes, I use the term “cookbook.”

12 By combination of excel spreadsheet and analysis of some results gathered by permission from Mr. Daniel Myers's medieval ingredient database located at www.medievalcookery.com. I have used Mr Myer's database as an index, counting ingredient mentions (“doe” the animal and “doe” the pre-modern English spelling of the verb “do”, and other similar examples, demand that recipes must be manually examined and counted indexing recipes one must manually).

Three we will extract patterns of ingredient use from seven French and English great households between 1225 and c.1450. Unlike the method I have applied to recipe collections, I use, when available, financial values, weights, and counts of ingredients to give some sense of the quantities supplied. The data presented in Chapter Three will illuminate many of the likely uses of most of the ingredients listed in the diet accounts and, for the first time, offer comparative analysis of French and English great household victualling patterns based on actual records of daily consumption. Chapter Four performs a parallel analysis of eight French and English diet accounts, including accounts from royal and noble households from both regions, between 1500 and c.1665.¹³ After analyzing the shifts in ingredient delivery according to all these accounts, it becomes clear that between 1350 and 1650, no period witnessed a more dramatic revolution in taste than another.

None of these households, except for the English and French royal households, have been selected because they were particularly innovative in their food-management systems; our noble households simply offer a snapshot of day-to-day kitchen life in what were admittedly great, but economizing households. This allows us to test historiographic theories regarding revolutions in taste, highlighting the fact that many of the shifts that are linked to the Renaissance or seventeenth-century French innovations were in fact occurring at the day-to-day level of cookery earlier than they were being recorded in La Varenne's and other seventeenth-century French cookery publications. As well, keeping close track of French and English great household ingredient-use patterns will allow us to test the varying intensities¹⁴ through which culinary change presented itself.

¹³ All accounts examined in Chapter Four were located in the London, English Midlands, and Parisian archives.

Part Three harnesses what we have learned about great household ingredient use and applies it to kitchen-management systems. Since the craft of cookery was too diverse to examine as a monolith, Chapter Five examines cooks working in great French and English households alone, and Chapter Six reviews the histories of professional cooks' guilds in London and Paris between 1250-1650. Chapter Five draws on household ordinances and rulebooks of the French and English royal households and those of other nobles.¹⁵ The chapter also uses a highly mixed collection of what I call "servant lists." These lists appear in all manner of household document, including ordinances, household, diet, and livery accounts, travel itinerary, journals, and chronicles. These sources, assessed qualitatively, form the basis for the reconstruction of the varied compositions of the brigades de cuisines. The goal is to answer two primary questions: How did shifts in culinary aesthetic influence composition and structure of the brigade de cuisine in great households? Why do we argue that the brigade de cuisine is the descendant of kitchen-management systems developed by Escoffier during the early twentieth century when, in fact, the system was in use for centuries before in medieval and early modern great households? Much of the opacity surrounding these questions is due, I assert, to the fact that historiography has been relatively silent about what cooks were doing during these periods.

In Chapter Six we explore labour structures of professional cooks working in city food stalls, cook shops, taverns, inns, and other catering establishments, and by extension the differences with the experiences of cooks in great households. In this final analysis, we will examine surviving London cooks' guild charters, and some incidental mentions of cooks in the

14 I often refer to "intensity" as it relates to change. When we consider that notions of revolution usually refer to relatively short, intense shifts in perspective, the degree to which change permeated cuisine – or the "intensity" of change – is a central question that we examine here.

15 This analysis will focus closely on French and English royal household ordinances dating from between c.1280–c.1660, the majority of which are available in transcription, as well as some original royal and upper-aristocratic

Letter Books of the City of London. For Paris, there is rich documentation on the charters of the cookery guilds, assembled in Nicholas de La Mare's eighteenth-century treatise on the topic of Parisian guild bylaws.¹⁶ Chapter Six is organized chronologically with French and English comparisons made with attention to providing greater definition to differences between operational aspects of culinary guilds that reigned over their own unique culinary-economic microcosms.

As we shall see, cooks might be portrayed in medieval and early modern literature as untrustworthy, in ill health, sent from the devil, or prone to fits of anger, but their working lives offer a different view. In the great household context, cooks' hierarchies mimicked the social hierarchies of masters' circles: well defined and unilateral. Unlike our idealized notions of order in the medieval and early modern contexts, however, cooks made it their job to make do, adapt, and sometimes innovate. Whereas cookery collections present a relatively structured, finite world of cookery, we will see that cooks, the ingredients they used, and the management systems they developed were in a constant state of flux, always adapting to carry out their charge within whatever context presented itself.

ordinances for English great-household that I have located in the National Archives and Lambeth Place Archives, London.

¹⁶ Nicholas de La Mare, *Traité de la Police*, vol. I–VIII, (Paris: P. Cot, 1705–1710) (Google e-book).

Part One

Cooks in Cookbooks

Some scholars propose that a “revolution in taste” swept mid-seventeenth-century French culinary styles. By espousing modes of cuisine that relied more on herbs and accentuation of natural flavours than on the complex layers of spices and acids typical of medieval cookery, French cooks are thought to have eschewed elements of the old style and preferred a new aesthetic.

This notion of a fixed medieval food habits being radically transformed in the seventeenth century will be tested in Part One. Using newly generated quantitative data extracted from a select group of French and English culinary collections, Chapter One analyzes recipe collections assembled between 1350 and 1450 in order to analyze ingredient use. Rather than repeatedly reproducing the same culinary aesthetic, medieval French and English recipes indicate cooks' willingness to adapt available ingredients to suit varying circumstances. Chapter Two, examining recipe collections from between 1450 and 1660, shows that cooks continued to adapt, and even to innovate through the sixteenth and into the mid-seventeenth centuries.

Based on the data that I have generated from cookbooks, I argue that shifts reflected in early French and English cookbooks were no less important or remarkable than those of the mid-seventeenth-century French “revolution in taste.” Indeed, evolution appears a better model than “revolution.”

Chapter One
Medieval Cookbooks and Ingredients, 1350–1450.

Recipes are central texts to historiographic discussions of medieval and early modern European food habits. Over the past few decades, food historians have relied heavily on cookbooks and several other types of sources that include culinary recipes including household ordinances, domestic management manuals, and medical texts. In general, food historiography has evolved to distinguish two primary temporal periods between 1200-1700: a long “medieval” period before 1650, and a brief time of radical change between 1650 and 1700. In the second phase, a series of aesthetic shifts that are initially noticed in French cookbooks, appears to have spread across Europe and transformed haute cuisine. This concept of a “revolution in taste” is useful for highlighting developments in the later seventeenth century, but it tends to discount a rich, earlier history. The language of "revolution" has come to obscure important features of the *longue durée* between 1350-1650 when, not only in France, but also in England, recipes already evinced a high degree of dynamism, individuality, and evolution.

Medieval French and English elite cookery had much in common. After the Norman Conquest in 1066, the new English elites desired strongly to emulate the culinary styles of their French and even Italian counterparts.¹ Medieval French and English recipes alike showed an

¹ The habit of emulation of the domestic styles and habits of high royals and nobles among lesser nobles and bourgeoisie – especially among the medieval French, English, and Italian aristocracy – attracted much scholarly attention throughout the 1960’s and 1990’s. In terms of shared culinary habits, Stephen Mennell, noted that it was due to the great deal of copying of culinary manuscripts that occurred in France, especially of early Italian works, resulting in a body of medieval French and English culinary manuscripts that closely paralleled early Italian sources,

affinity for piquant use of cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, ginger and other spices, used in almost every type of recipe: roasts, soups, stews called “brewets”, meat pies, and in sweets and desserts.² Vinegar and verjuice - the juice of unripe fruits – were used regularly in soups, stews, and in many other dishes in order to provide sharpness and acidity to the final product.³ Vegetable recipes were few in most cookbooks, although some collections did include recipes for salad and a small number of other vegetable recipes quite haphazardly.⁴ Roasts of poultry, veal, and larger fish such as salmon and turbot were common among the wealthy, although some historians suggest that chicken recipes were quickly coming to dominate haute cookbooks to the point that nearly 25% of recipes called for chicken.⁵ In addition, many types of incidental recipes existed for jellies, broths, sauces and dips and many other delicious creations. In sum, medieval French and English haute cuisine used strong flavours, layering them in order to produce nuanced variation in taste. Some scholars have referred to this shared group of elite food habits as the “Late Gothic International” culinary style, although this term has fallen out of use in recent years.⁶

see Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985) 49-69.

² JeanLouis Flandrin, “Le Goût et la Nécessité: Sur l’usage des graisses dans les cuisines d’Europe occidentale (XIVeXVIIIe siècle)”, *Annales ESC: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 38.2 (1983): 369–401; Constance Hieatt, *Pain, Vin et Venaison: Un Livre de Cuisine Médiévale* (Montréal: L’Aurore, 1977); Barbara Santich, “Les Eléments Distinctifs de la Cuisine Médiévale Méditerranéenne”, *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1992) 133–139; Roy Strong, *Feast: a History of Grand Eating* (London: Pimlico, 2003) 78-87.

³ Constance Hieatt, “The ‘Poignant’ Flavour in Medieval Cooking”, *Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery* (London: Prospect Books, 1986) 103-105; Brenda Rose, “A Medieval Staple: Verjuice in France and England”, *Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery* (London: Prospect Books, 1989) 205-212.

⁴ Poorer families would certainly have relied on vegetables much more regularly than the wealthy, however almost all surviving cookbooks from the period come from the elite realms of society, Mennell, 49.

⁵ Melitta Weiss Adamson, “Chicken”, *Food in Medieval Times* (London: Greenwood, 2004) 33-34.

⁶ Phylis Pray Bober, “Late Gothic International Style,” in *Art, Culture, and Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1999) 219–266; Joop Witteveen, “On Swans, Cranes and Herons. Part 1: Swans,” *Petits Propos Culinaires* 24 (1986): 22–31; Joop Witteveen, “On Swans, Cranes and Herons. Part 3: Herons,” *Petits Propos Culinaires* 26 (1987): 65–73; Joop Witteveen, “The Great Birds: Part 5: Preparation of the Peacock for the Table”, *Petits Propos Culinaires* 36 (1990): 10–20.

By the mid-seventeenth century, new developments were reshaping haute cuisine. According to Jean-Louis Flandrin, Stephen Mennell, Susan Pinkard, Roy Strong, and subsequently many other food historians, around 1650 an abrupt, intense shift “revolutionized” French culinary aesthetics away from its medieval tastes and practices.⁷ Very rapidly, this new approach spread to noble tables in England and other regions of Europe. As the primary works that solidified this new French culinary aesthetic, most scholars point to François Pierre de la Varenne’s *Le cuisinier françois* (1651), and its quick translation into English as *The French Cook* (1653), Nicolas de Bonnefons’s *Le jardinier François* (1651), and his *Les délices de la champagne* (1654), and François Massialot’s *Nouveau cuisinier royal et bourgeois* (1691) and *Nouvelle instruction pour les confitures, les liqueurs et les fruits* (1692).⁸ The revolution’s markers included a movement away from layered medieval spices in favour of generally simplified flavours, augmented by salt, butter, and herbs.⁹ New thickening methods like the roux made possible “silky” sauces that played greater importance in dishes than had the older,

⁷ Jean-Louis Flandrin, “Différences et différenciation des goûts: réflexions sur quelques exemples européens entre le 14e et le 18e siècles”, *National & Regional Styles of Cookery: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery*, ed. Alan Davidson (London: Prospect Books, 1981) 191-207; Susan Pinkard, “Refined Consumption, 1660–1735”, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 123–154; Roy Strong, “A Culinary Revolution,” in *Feast: A History of Grand Eating* (London: Cape, 2002) 224–230; Barbara Wheaton, “Cookbooks and Cooking in the Sixteenth Century,” “The Beginnings of Fine Cookery,” in *Savouring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1983), 27–41, 113–128; Hans Teuteberg, “Periods and Turning Points in the History of the European Diet: A Preliminary Outline of Problems and Methods,” in *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisban (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1986) 11–23; Eszter Kisban, “Food Habits in Change: The example of Europe,” in *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisban (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1986) 2–10; Mennell, 71-73; Brian Cowan, “New Worlds, New Tastes: Food Fashions After the Renaissance,” in *Food: The History of Taste*, ed. Paul Freedman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) 197–231; Jeanne Allard, “Nola: Rupture ou Continuité?,” in *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1992) 149–161.

⁸ Wheaton, 114-119, 149-156; 123-128; Pinkard, 95-122, 123-128; Jean-Louis Flandrin, “Dietary Choices and Culinary Technique, 1500-1800,” *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Massimo Montanari & Jean-Louis Flandrin (New York: Penguin, 2000) 406-409.

⁹ Paul Freedman, “Classic French Cuisine and the End of the Reign of Spices”, *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination* (New Haven: Yale, 2008) 216-226; Pinkard, 123-126; Wheaton, 117; Flandrin, “Introduction: Early Modern”, *Food*, 359-362; Flandrin, “Difference”, *Oxford Symposium*, 191-194; Strong, 228.

chunkier, acidic medieval sauces thickened with breadcrumbs.¹⁰ Roasts, though still prominent, began to share some of their space with other methods of serving meats luxuriously: fricassees and ragouts.¹¹ Acids, vinegars, and verjuices began to lose prominence in the new cookbooks, supplanted by cream and butter, as haute cuisine adopted greater use of fats and liquids that are easily separated by acids.¹² Vegetable recipes increased significantly in prominence and presence on the table, with greater complexity to their preparations than had been the norm previously.¹³ Other scholars highlight different aspects of the revolution, but in general, it is usually thought of as a shift toward greater simplicity in seasoning profiles and greater overall delicacy in finished dishes.

The new French high cuisine quickly claimed the allegiance of many English elites. As vehicles that delivered the revolutionized aesthetic, Mennell commented on the seventeenth-century influx of French cooks to England, as well as a number of English cooks who went to France for training.¹⁴ Robert May's famous cookbook of 1660, *The Accomplisht Cook*, included a biographical sketch of the author that noted that his employer, Lady Dormer, sent him "over into France, where he continued five years, being in the Family of a noble Peer, and first President of Paris."¹⁵ Nevertheless, despite May's French influences, he kept the heavy spicing and other features of the medieval culinary aesthetic that remained popular in England throughout this time.¹⁶ Such was the presence of French, and Italian, influences in English

¹⁰ Pinkard, 111-113; Wheaton, 116, 127; Flandrin, "Dietary Choices", *Food*, 407, Mennell, 72.

¹¹ Strong, 229-230; Wheaton 118; Pinkard, 107-109; Mennell, 86.

¹² Pinkard, 101; Wheaton, 116-117; Flandrin, "Dietary Choices", *Food*, 408-409; Strong, 227-228.

¹³ Flandrin, "Dietary Choices", *Food*, 404; Strong, 224-225; Wheaton, 121-126; Pinkard 72-78.

¹⁴ Mennell, 89-90.

¹⁵ Robert May, *The Accomplisht Cook* (London: ?, 1660) f. 6v. This occurred in about 1660, judging from May's age and the other details of the biography.

¹⁶ Pinkard, 144-145.

cookbooks that, according to Joan Thirsk, these culinary tastes “were no longer actually recognized as foreign by the seventeenth century.”¹⁷

In order to track changing medieval and early modern culinary practices and to test notions of “revolutionized” tastes in the seventeenth century, in Chapters One and Two I undertake a quantitative assessment of the ingredients used in recipe collections spanning the *longue durée*. From samples of recipe collections I examine the frequency of appearance of six groups of ingredients: three protein-based categories are domestic livestock and game quadruped species, poultry and game fowl, and fish; three mineral-based categories are fruits, vegetables, and spices. This systematic, large-scale analysis shows that some assertions regarding consumption patterns or recipe composition have been overstated.

French and English Cookbook Authorship, 1300-1450

While medieval culinary collections offer rich data, scholars must attend to their provenance. Surviving texts from France, England, and even Italy come exclusively from the wealthier levels of society.¹⁸ Manuscripts were copied, re-copied, and added to, making cookbooks that survive the likely descendants of older collections that have not survived. In particular, Stephen Mennell noted that early Italian manuscripts, themselves codicologically interrelated, provided the foundation for later texts produced in France – the *Liber de coquinaria* (c.1300) and the *Tractatus de modo preparandi et condiendi omnia cibaria* (c.1300) – which subsequently either directly or indirectly influenced the earliest French vernacular manuscript,

¹⁷ Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500-1760* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007) 117.

¹⁸ Mennell, 49.

the *Enseignemen[ts] qui enseignent a apareillier toutes manieres de viands*.¹⁹ As Mennell noted, “Since the same and similar recipes turn up in manuscripts in various parts of Western Europe, it seems highly probable that the food of late medieval courts was similar throughout the continent.”²⁰ More recent codicological analyses of have tended to support Mennell’s assertion.²¹ Therefore, although I mention “French”, “Italian”, or “English” culinary manuscripts in this analysis, none are wholly English nor French, even when we consider the early modern manuscript group since they also borrowed from their predecessors.

The selection of medieval recipe collections for the quantitative analysis in Chapter One includes three French and two English texts. They are: from France, *Enseignemen[ts] qui enseignent a apareillier toutes manieres de viandes*²² (c.1300), *Le Viandier*²³ (c. 1380), *Le Ménagier de Paris*²⁴ (1393); and from England, *The Forme of Cury*²⁵ (1390), and the untitled *Arundel MS 334*²⁶ (c.1400). These manuscripts, many of them related or copied from the same sources, are not exceptional in content, but rather, standard examples from their times. According to Mennell, the *Enseignements* contained many recipes from the early Italian sources,

¹⁹ Mennell, 49.

²⁰ Mennell, 49.

²¹ Melitta Weiss-Amer, “The Role of Medieval Physicians in the Diffusion of Culinary Recipes and Cooking Practices”, *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1992) 69–80; Strong, 78-82;

²² [1300 c.] Anon., “Enseignements qui enseignent a apareillier toutes manieres de viandes, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 7131”, *La bataille de caresme et de charnage. Edition critique avec introduction et glossaire*, ed. Grégoire Lozinski (Paris: Unknown, 1933), also transcribed by Thomas Gloning at <http://www.unigiessen.de/gloning/tx/1300ens.htm>; trans. Mr. Daniel Myers, <http://www.medievalcoookery.com/notes/lessons.html>.

²³ [1380 c.] Guillaume Tirel, “Taillevent,” *Le Viandier de Taillevent. Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana MS Regina 776 (olim 233, 2159)*, ed. James Prescott (Eugene, Oregon: Alfarhaugr Publishing Society, 1989), hosted at <http://www.telusplanet.net/public/prescotj/data/viandier/viandier1.html>.

²⁴ [1393] Anon., *The Good Wife’s Guide (Le Ménagier de Paris): A Medieval Household Book*, trans. Gina L. Greco and Christine M. Rose (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2009).

²⁵ [c.1390] Anon., *Forme of Cury*, ed. Samuel Pegge (London: J. Nichols, 1780), also available at <http://www.medievalcoookery.com/notes/rylandsms7.txt>.

²⁶ [c.1400] Anon., “Ancient Cookery, Arundel MS 334,” in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary* (John Nichols: London Society of Antiquaries, 1790), 425–476 (Google ebooks).

and the *Viandier* and the *Menagier*, in turn drew on the *Enseignements*.²⁷ The *Viandier* is often attributed to Guillaume Tirel, known as “Taillevent,” cook to the French royal household under Charles VI; the edition we examine here is a later descendent that uses supplementary many seasonings and sauces and adds recipes.²⁸ The author of the *Menagier* almost certainly had access to the *Viandier* in one of its forms since many of the recipes are almost identical. We do not know the name of the *Menagier's* author. He was not a great noble but instead a relatively wealthy gentleman with a Parisian residence, and a country estate close to the city, and a wife with a noble lineage.²⁹ Notably, some of the most complex recipes from the *Viandier*, usually associated with the French royal household, appear in the *Menagier* simplified and adapted, or omitted altogether, in order to serve the smaller-scale household.

Although still descending from the early Italian and other works, the English recipe manuals selected for inclusion here offer relatively little insight into their provenance. Atypically, *The Forme of Cury* is one of the few early English collections to identify the authors; its opening lines report that it,

²⁷ Lambert suggests that it is an early French manuscript based on linguistic analysis, possibly southern French, but further identification is difficult, see Carol Lambert, “Astuces et flexibilité des recettes culinaires médiévales Françaises”, in *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1992) 218, 220, 224.

²⁸ Even the attribution to Tirel is debatable since it is possible that the oldest extant edition of the *Viandier*, *MS Arch. cant. de Valais, S. 108*, may have been written in the second half of the thirteenth century, making it the work of someone older than Tirel (c.1310–c.1395). Nevertheless, standard practice is to refer to the whole family of manuscripts as “*Le Viandier de Taillevent*,” with Terence Scully noting that “no single manuscript version of the *Viandier* is patently preferable to the others.” I have chosen [c.1380] *MS VAT Reg. 776 (olim 233 & 2159) ff. 48r–85r* because the additional ingredients included in this version are only minor additions to the original recipes and because it contains an additional section that lists sauce recipes referred to throughout the VAL MS. For more on the chronology of *Viandier* MS and the role of Tirel in their authorship see, Terence Scully, *The Viandier of Taillevent: An Edition of All Extant Manuscripts* (Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1988) 9–10.

²⁹ For more on the authorship of the *Ménagier* see Nicole Crossley-Holland’s efforts to identify the author in Nicole Crossley-Holland, “Research Leading to the *Ménagier's* Identification”, *Living and Dining in Medieval Paris: the Household of a Fourteenth Century Knight* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996) 185–211. Crossley-Holland suggested that the author was likely Guy de Montigny, based on correlations made between household records of the Dukes de Berry and references the author made to serving in the same household. I remain open to suggestion on the *Ménagier's* identity, although Crossley-Holland’s efforts have brought us the closest, so far, in identifying the *Ménagier*.

was compiled of the chef Maister Cokes of kyng Richard the Secunde kyng of nglond aftir the Conquest the which was accounted þe best and ryallest vyand of alle csten ynges and it was compiled by assent and avysement of Maisters and phisik and of philosophie þat dwellid in his court.³⁰

This manuscript seems to have been a collaborative effort within the royal household that drew upon experts from a variety of medicinal and culinary disciplines. Less is known about the authorship of *Arundel MS 334*.³¹ Originally bound with other items including a chronicle that ends in 1399, *Arundel MS 334* was seemingly written in the same hand as the culinary manuscript, the manuscript is thus assumed to date around 1400.

These sources have been accessed in translation from an online website³² that lists the full contents of historic European cookbooks from primary sources, with links to the original manuscripts that are mostly hosted on academic websites.³³ The sources used here were accessed in translation.³⁴ This allowed me to perform word searches within each of the specified recipe collections in order to extract the number of recipes that call for each ingredient. If the same ingredient appeared in a recipe more than once, it was only counted one time in order to prevent

³⁰ *Forme* (c.1390, England), *incipit*.

³¹ The manuscript was in the possession of the Earls of Arundel until the seventeenth century, before being donated to the Royal Society, and then moved to its current home at the British Library. Identification of hands was carried out by an individual (unknown) at the Royal Society. I have not seen the original. Further information can be found in “The Contents”, *Antiquitates Culinariae*, ed. Richard Warner (London: R. Blamire, 1791) 59-60.

³² <http://medievalcookery.com/search/search.html> has been compiled by Mr. Daniel Myers of Loveland, Ohio. Mr. Myers originally became interested in medieval recipes during the 1980s. After completing a B.A. in Anthropology (Miami University) and an M.Sc. in Computer Science (University South Carolina), Mr. Meyers began developing a computer database that was complex enough to accommodate medieval recipe analysis. The database includes recipe titles, ingredients, cooking methods, and source information for each entry. The database is currently in its third *edition*, with Mr. Myers having recently incorporated Personal Home Page [PHP] metaphone functionality in order to increase the database’s already considerable ability to accommodate spelling variants. Source data is stored on the server in flat text files, some configuration files, a file for equivalents, and separate files for each cookbook. The database currently holds the full contents of more than thirty cookbooks translated into English, ranging in date between the fourteenth and early seventeenth centuries..

³³ The website has not been used here for any purpose other than performing word searches.

³⁴ There is some variation in quality of these translations (some poultry, fowl, and fish varieties are translated differently by different authors), but for the purposes of a large-scale comparative indexing, minor variances in translation did not present significant obstacles in assembling statistics.

overrepresentation of the ingredient within the manuscript being analyzed.³⁵ From there, I calculated the number of recipes that mention each ingredient against the total number of recipes present in the manuscript, in order to arrive at a rough estimate of the percentage of recipes that call for a particular ingredient within a particular manuscript. Finally, I assembled the data into comparative graphs, which are presented in Chapters One and Two.

My approach is comparative in two dimensions: I investigate similarities and differences in French and English habits of ingredient use, but also study whether there was change over time. Chapter One examines the period between 1350 and 1450 and establishes a foundational pattern for medieval cookery practices, which were nonetheless quite varied. Then, turning to 1450-1660, Chapter Two reveals not only conservatism, but also dynamism.

Domestic Quadrupeds: Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Kid

Scholars note that late medieval European aristocrats consumed diets dominated by meat.³⁶ Within most of these treatments, scholars usually indicate that non-game quadruped species—beef, mutton, pork, and kid³⁷—occupied a place of lesser status and cost in comparison

³⁵ If onions, for example, appeared in the early portions of a recipe and were called for again later in the same recipe, that recipe was counted with only one mention of onions because I am using the total number of recipes in the manuscript as the base number from which to calculate mentions of ingredients. Therefore, the statistics represent the number of recipes that mention a specific ingredient in a manuscript, as opposed to representing a percentage of the total mentions of an ingredient. This prevents overrepresentation of some ingredients (onion, wine, verjuice, vinegar, spices etc.) which are called for two and three times in the same recipe.

³⁶ Lauriou, “Une Europe carnassière”, *Manger au Moyen Âge: Pratiques et Discours Alimentaires en Europe aux XI^e et XV^e Siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 2009) 72–74; Allen Grieco, “Food and Social Classes in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy”, *Food: A Culinary History* (Toronto: Penguin, 2000), 302–312; Dominique Michel, “Les viandes, volailles, abats,” in *Vatel et la naissance de la gastronomie* (Paris: Fayard, 1999) 261–264; C. M. Woolgar, “Group Diets in Late Medieval England”, *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 191–200; Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995) 29; Bruno Lauriou, “Table et Hiérarchie Sociale à la Fin du Moyen Âge”, *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1992) 87–108.

³⁷ Young goat.

to high-price, high-status items like poultry, game fowl, and quadruped game species.³⁸ Poultry and game were the stuff of elite tables, and while more humble quadruped species made irregular appearances, they played a more dominant role in peasant diets than they did at lords' tables.³⁹

In addition to these arguments, some scholars have suggested that by the fourteenth century, a trend of great household cooks only occasionally serving beef to their masters was occurring; instead of cheaper or more humble meats, poultry and game were the aristocratic meats of choice.⁴⁰ Flandrin did not cite this idea so it is impossible to know which collections he was discussing; however, quantitative analysis of our medieval cookery collection group reveals the opposite trend:⁴¹

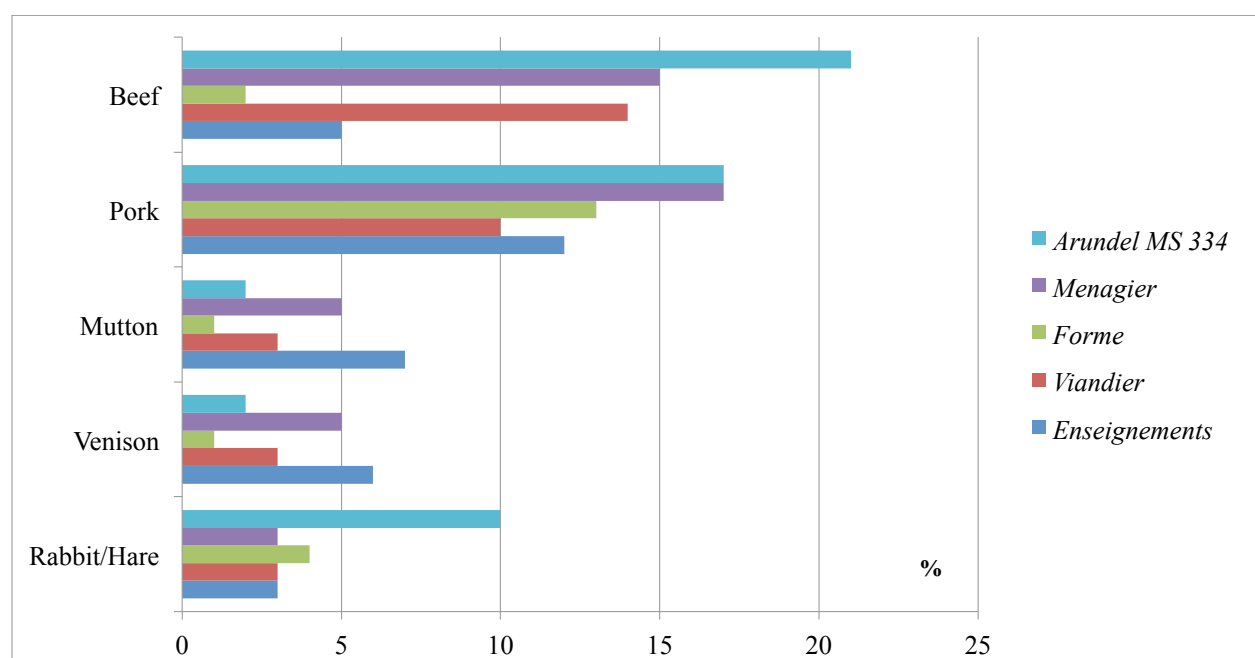


Figure 1. Recipes calling for quadruped meats.

When we examine frequency of occurrence of quadruped-species consumption in our medieval group of recipe collections, we can see that quadruped meats played an extremely important role

³⁸ Laurioux, “Table et Hiérarchie Sociale”, *Du Manuscrit*, 87–108.

³⁹ Susan Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 26.

⁴⁰ JeanLouis Flandrin, “Dietary Choices and Culinary Technique, 1500–1800”, *Food: A Culinary History*, originally published as *Histoire de l'alimentation*, ed. Massimo Montanari and JeanLouis Flandrin, trans. Clarissa Botsford *et al.* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999) 405.

⁴¹ Expressed as a percentage of all recipes included in each respective collection.

in upper-class victualling strategies, if we base our assumptions on cookery manuals alone.⁴² Beef,⁴³ for example, played an important role in most of our cookery collections. Although only two percent of recipes in the *Forme of Cury* and about five percent of recipes in the *Enseignements* called for beef, “fleshe” and “viande” were sometimes called for indicating that the exact choice of meat was sometimes a decision the cook or other interested party could make. Other times, however, collections did call for beef, specifically. The *Viandier* called for beef in fourteen percent of its recipes, the *Ménagier* called for it in fifteen percent of recipes, while *Arundel MS 334* contained a full twenty-one percent of recipes calling for beef.⁴⁴ The data suggests that, in earlier manuscripts, beef was in lower demand as an element of haut cuisine, while during the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century there is a quantitative spike in incidence of recipes calling for beef, at least in so far as our collections are concerned. This seems to counter Flandrin’s assertion that beef was declining in demand as an element of haute cuisine in either England or France.⁴⁵

To give a sense of the various ways with which beef and veal were prepared in our medieval recipe collection group, good contrast can be seen in the following two recipes, one only using beef in the form of broth:

Cinnamon Brewet. Break up your poultry or other meat and stew it in water, putting wine therewith, and [then] fry it; then take raw almonds in their shells unpeeled and great plenty of cinnamon and bray then very well and moisten them with your broth or with beef broth and boil them with your meat; then bray ginger, cloves and grains etc., and let it be thick and red.⁴⁶

As opposed to this actual beef recipe from *Arundel MS 334*:

⁴² We will examine annual victualling patterns in the great household context through analysis of household diet accounts in Chapters Three and Four.

⁴³ Veal could also be included here. Medieval cookbook authors rarely treated veal or beef as different so obtaining quantitative data that considers both independently would be misleading.

⁴⁴ See medieval quadruped graph above.

⁴⁵ Flandrin, “Dietary Choices”, *Food*, 405.

⁴⁶ *Ménagier*, v. 2, 163.

Stewet beef to potage. Take faire ribbes of beefs, or elles take other gode beef, and smyte hit on peces, and wash hit clene and do hit in a pot, and put therto a lytel watur, and a gode dele wyne; and take onyons ynogh, and mynce hom, and do therto, and gode herbes, cut hom smal and put therto; and take bred stepet in brothe, and draw hit thurgh a streynour, and do hit therto, and cover hit wel, and let hit wel sethe; and do therto powder of cloves and maces, and colour hit with saunders ; and in the settynge down do therto a lytel vynegur medelet wyth powder of canel, and serve hit forthe, and do therto raisynges of corance.⁴⁷

Therefore, not only was beef a fundamental element of cookery where beef broth was concerned, but also the great household cook's predilection for braising meats in wine spiced broths.

Like beef, pork—fresh or preserved in the form of bacon or ham—was immensely popular with fourteenth- and fifteenth-century great household cooks. Although regularly present in cookery collections, it sometimes escapes notice of historians working on great household cookery collections; or further, is noted as the lowest form of the already humble quadruped meats.⁴⁸ Outside the great-household context, pork has received some attention as an important foodstuff at the peasant-level of society.⁴⁹

Despite its small place in haute food historiography, recipes calling for pork comprised between ten and seventeen percent of the total number of recipes in our cookery collections: the *Enseignements* called for pork in twelve percent of its recipes, ten percent in *Viandiers* thirteen percent in *Forme of Cury*, and seventeen percent in both *Ménagier* and *Arundel MS 334*.⁵⁰

Pork usually appeared in recipes as fresh or preserved meat, and had special use as a stuffing. In *Forme of Cury*, fresh pork appeared in numerous ways, although pie filling was one

⁴⁷ *Arundel MS 334*, #306.

⁴⁸ Flandrin did not mention the increasing or decreasing presence of pork in great household victualling strategies, see Flandrin, "Dietary Choices," *Food*, 403–417; Grieco notes the role of pork as the lowest form of quadruped animal in the Great Chain of Being, see Grieco, "Food and Social Classes," *Food*, 308.

⁴⁹ U. Albarella, "Pig Husbandry and Pork Consumption in Medieval England," in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 72–87.

⁵⁰ See medieval quadruped graph above.

of its most standardized uses in the work. For example, meat pies frequently called for minced pork or pork gobbets,⁵¹ mixed with grated cheese, boiled egg, and seasoned with spices:

Mylates of pork. Hewe pork al to pecys & medle hit al with ayroun & chese y grated. do therto poudour fort. safroun & pynes with salt. make a crust in a traup, bake hit wel ther inne & serve hit forth.⁵²

Pork pie another way:

Flaumpeyns. Take fat pork y sode. pyke hyt clene. grynde hit smale. grynd chese & do ther to with sugur and gode poudours. make a coffyn of an ynche depe & do this fars ther inne. make a thynne foyle of gode past & kerve out ther of smale poyntes. fry hem in fars. and bake hit up, & serve hyt forth.⁵³

The habit of using pork as a base meat for stuffings and savoury pie fillings was not confined to our English sources. In a similar manner, *Viandier* and *Ménagier* contained recipes calling for minced pork to be mixed with ground cheese and egg as a base for stuffings.

Rissoles on a meat day: are seasonable from St. Remy's Day [October 1]. Take a pork thigh, and remove all the fat so that none is left, then put the lean meat in a pot with plenty of salt: and when it is almost cooked, take it out and have hard-cooked eggs, and chop the whites and yolks, and elsewhere chop up your meat very small, then mix eggs and meat together, and sprinkle powdered spices on it, then put in pastry and fry in its own grease. And note that this is a proper stuffing for pig; and any time the cooks shop at the butcher's for pig-stuffing : but always, when stuffing pigs, it is good to add old good cheese.⁵⁴

Pork could appear in any number of other ways: stewed, roasted, fried, or even boiled if we consider the peasant cookery habits. Although it is not a primary player in our narrative or in most narratives examining medieval haute cuisine, pork did play an important role across the period. The solid ten to seventeen percent pork-recipe inclusion rate in our medieval group of

⁵¹ Large-diced pork, similar in size to stewing beef.

⁵² *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, England), # 153.

⁵³ *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, England), # 182.

⁵⁴ *Ménagier*, v. 2, p.225–226.

cookery collections speaks to a strong and sustained popularity of pork among the upper classes of the period.

Like pork, mutton rarely appears in discussion of medieval haute cookery. Some authors have examined aspects of its domestic uses at both the peasant and great household levels, and while these approaches are important, they shed little light on the quantitative frequency with which mutton appeared in great-household cookery collections.⁵⁵ Although less frequently included in recipe collections, mutton and lamb had a presence in our medieval recipe group. *Enseignements* called for mutton in seven percent of its recipes, *Viandier* only called for mutton in three percent of its recipes, in *Forme of Cury* one percent of recipes included mutton, *Ménagier* included the second-highest rate of mutton recipes at five percent, while *Arundel MS 334* only included mutton in two percent of its recipes.⁵⁶ From this very narrow quantitative perspective, mutton was more popular among French cookery collections authors than it was among English authors. Almost certainly, however, mutton was more popular as a foodstuff in France and England than reflected in quantitative terms in haute cookery collections; cookery collections, after all, reflect recipes that were recorded in text, rather than representing the regularity of ingredient consumption.

Mutton, lamb, and kid joints would have inevitably appeared on tables boiled or roasted, but the French had developed a number of other tasty ways to serve them. The author of *Enseignements* recommended a combination of boiling and roasting.

For kid and lamb - Meats of kid and lamb are good roasted; But first you need to parboil them and then lard slightly. And they can be eaten with a

⁵⁵ The topic receives good coverage in N.J. Sykes, “From Cu and Sceap to Beffe and Motton,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 56–71.

⁵⁶ See medieval quadruped graph above; although mutton plays a strong quantitative role in the *Enseignements*, the manuscript only contains about fifty-two finite recipes, four of which are for lamb, mutton, or kid.

sauce of sour pepper, cooked and tempered with verjuice or wild apple juice, or with black pepper.⁵⁷

The *Ménagier*, careful to describe all relevant culinary information, noted that beef and mutton joints should be brined in June and July, likely to give added protection from decomposition,⁵⁸ also recommended a number of tasty and unexpected ways to prepare the joints. In addition to roasted joints,⁵⁹ both *Viandier* and the *Ménagier* included the following extraordinary recipe for *mutton haricot*: For *The Viandier*'s mutton haricot, “take raw mutton, cut it into small pieces, and fry it lightly in lard with some finely chopped onions. Steep it in beef broth, add some wine, verjuice, mace, hyssop and sage, and boil well together.”⁶⁰ In *Ménagier* the same recipe was far more complex:

Mutton Haricot: Cook in water and wine livers and giblets of poultry, or meat from veal, or from a leg of pork or mutton, then chop it very finely and fry in lard: then grind up ginger, cinnamon, clove, grains, wine, verjuice, beef bouillon or juices of whatever meat you are using, and lots of egg-yolks, and pour it over your meat, and put it on to boil well. Some add saffron, as it should be yellowish in colour, and others add burnt bread, ground and sieved, for it should be thickened and also eggs and bread, and it should be tart from the verjuice. And in serving, over each bowl, sprinkle powdered cinnamon.⁶¹

Mutton plays an almost imperceptible role in current medieval haute cuisine historiography, but the creativity with which cooks approached cooking it demonstrates that it was a meat worthy of showering in expensive spices.⁶² Despite its muted presence in

⁵⁷ *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 42–45.

⁵⁸ “*En Juin et en Juillet, beuf et mouton salé par pièces est bien cuit à l’eau et aux ciboules; salé du matin au vespre ou d’un jour au plus*,” *Ménagier* (1393, F.), v. 2, p.130.

⁵⁹ *Ménagier* (1393, France), v. 2, p.178.

⁶⁰ *The Viandier* (c.1380, France), #4.

⁶¹ *Ménagier* (1393, France), v. 2, p.148.

⁶² The topic receives good coverage in N.J. Sykes, “From Cu and Sceap to Beffe and Motton,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 56–71.

historiography and cookery collections, it was certainly a tool that could be dressed and deployed in great households when planning sumptuous menus.

Some scholarship has indicated that domestic quadruped species were declining in popularity after the fourteenth century. Our survey, however, indicates that authors were including quadruped-derived ingredients in substantial portions of recipes, at least in so far as the great-household context is concerned.⁶³ If it is true that beef, pork, and mutton were increasingly being eschewed to lower-status menus, it seems that the lower-status individuals we would be considering are servants; each of these collections were, after all, manuscripts produced within the great household context whose authors were not aware that their works would go on to be copied, transcribed, and later published. Considering that the original intent of most of these works was to provide culinary guidance appropriate to the households within which they were created, the bulk of lower-status individuals included in these contexts were servants. Either servants were demanding more imagination in their daily meals, which seems plausible to a small extent, or masters never eschewed beef, mutton, and pork from their menus in the first place. I suggest that it is the latter that is most likely. We will see in later chapters that household accounts show vast amounts of beef, mutton, and pork making its way through French and English great household kitchens, and on to masters' tables. It was beef-, pork-, and mutton-eating masters who demanded more imagination in the ways in which quadrupeds were served. By extension, the average great-household cook had a good deal of experience in dressing-up common domestic quadruped meats in order to make them pleasing to the most refined palates.

⁶³ Flandrin, "Dietary Choices", *Food*, 405; Pinkard, "Ancient Roots", *Revolution in Taste*, 26.

Game Quadrupeds: Roe Deer, Fallow Deer, Red Deer, Wild Boar, Rabbit & Hare

Game meats have always been closely associated with medieval lords' tables. The hunt was one of the most celebrated of noble pastimes, with the animals associated with the hunt — primarily venison and game fowl—becoming synonymous with noble households to the point that antlers still grace the rooms of many English stately homes and French châteaux.⁶⁴ Despite our tendency to associate venison with noble estates, the fourteenth-century *Letter Books of the City of London* demonstrate that urban populations continued to demand access to wild game meats, especially venison.⁶⁵ One could buy venison at cook shops in London, although the City of London had put in place a number of laws to govern its sale. *Ordinances of the Pastelers, or Piebakers, as to Pasties* (London, 1379), specified rules surrounding venison sale within the City of London:

Because that the Pastelers of the City of London have heretofore baked in pasties rabbits, geese, and garbage not befitting, and sometimes stinking, in deceit of the people; and also, have baked beef in pasties, and sold the same for venison, in deceit of the people; therefore, by assent of the four Master Pastelers, and at their prayer, it is ordered and assented to: In the first place, that no one of the said trade shall bake rabbits in pasties for sale, on pain of paying, the first time, if found guilty thereof, 6s. 8d., to the use of the Chamber, and of going bodily to prison, at the will of the Mayor; the second time, 13s. 4d. to the use of the Chamber, and of going etc.; and the third time, 20s. to the use of the Chamber, and of going etc.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ There are far too many examples of antlers used as decorations in noble households to cite a representative number of examples. Instead, notable collections that are displayed in stately dining rooms, specifically, include the collection in the dining room at the Château de Brissac; the collection in the dining room at the Château de Chantilly; the collection in the dining room at the Château de Bridoire; the collection in the great hall at Hampton Court Palace; the collection in the great hall (sometimes called the *entrance hall*) at Hardwick Hall; the collection in the great hall at Longleat; the collection in the great hall at Haddon Hall, and many others point to the close link between noble tables and game caught while hunting.

⁶⁵ See discussion of city victualing bylaws throughout Chapter Six.

⁶⁶ “Ordinances of the Pastelers, or Piebakers, as to pasties” [1379], *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: H*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London: John Edward, 1912) 438.

As was the case with Londoners, Parisians could buy venison at local game butchers, according to *Ménagier's* recommendations for his wife in cases when she needed to host important feasts.⁶⁷

Despite our popular perceptions of aristocratic tables overflowing with game meats and venison, which they certainly did at some feasts, game quadrupeds were called for infrequently in our cookery collections.⁶⁸ Venison—including roe deer, fallow deer, red deer—was mentioned in *Enseignements* in six percent of its recipes, *Viandier in* only three percent of its recipes, *Forme of Cury* in one percent of recipes, *Ménagier* included the second-highest rate of venison recipes at five percent while *Arundel MS 334* only included venison in two percent of its recipes.⁶⁹ Except for one percent difference between the amount of mutton and venison recipes included in the *Enseignements*, the exact same proportions of recipes were devoted to venison as were to mutton in each of our collections. This does not mean that the meats were equally important. Rather, it seems that mutton was irregularly consumed at elite levels while wild foods like venison and wild boar were increasingly reserved for noble land-owners throughout the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁷⁰

The types of recipes that existed for wild quadruped meats varied considerably. Some scholars have noted that game meats required highly spiced sauces in order to compete with its

⁶⁷ “*Au poullaillier, vint chappons, deux sols parisis la pièce; cinq chevriaux, quatre sols parisis; vint oisons, trois sols parisis pièce; cinquante poucins, douze deniers parisis pièce; c’est assavoir quarante rostis pour le disner, cinq pour la gelée et cinq au souper pour froide sauge. Cinquante lappereaux, c’est assavoir quarante pour le disner, lesquels seront en rost, et dix pour la gelée, et cousteront douze deniers parisis chascun. Un maigre cochon, pour la gelée, quatre sols parisis; douze paires de pigons pour le souper, dix deniers parisis la paire.—A luy convient enquérir de la venoison.*”, *Ménagier* (1393, F.), v. 2, p.110.

⁶⁸ Good contextual information can be found in Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004) 35–36.

⁶⁹ See medieval quadruped graph.

⁷⁰ J. Birrell, “Procuring, Preparing, and Serving Venison in Late Medieval England,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 176–190; Massimo Montanari, “Production Structures and Food Systems in the Early Middle Ages,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin & Massimo Montanari (New York: Penguin Books, 2009) 168–177.

wild nature under medieval medicinal and dietetic schemes.⁷¹ When we examine recipes calling for venison, this assertion does not hold universally true. *Enseignements* recommended the following, highly-seasoned preparation: “Roe Deer. The loin roasted or in pies, slightly larded, with hot pepper or with garlic sauce in winter, made of garlic and cinnamon and ginger, tempered with almond milk, the almonds tempered in warm water, and fried in grease or in bacon fat, and the sauce therein.”⁷² In *Forme of Cury*, however, frumenty was garnished with rendered venison or mutton fat—without spices—simply for the depth of its flavour:

For to make furmenty. Nym clene Wete and bray it in a mortar wel that the holys gon al of and seyt yt til it breste and nym yt up. and lat it kele and nym fayre fresch broth and swete mylk of Almandys or swete mylk of kyne and temper yt al. and nym the yolkyes of eyryn. boyle it a lityl and set yt adoun and messe yt forthe wyth fat venyson and fresh moton.⁷³

In fact, *Viandier* even recommended against over-spicing venison sauces in the recipe for soup of red deer testicles:

Soup of red deer testicles in deer hunting season: Scald and wash the red deer testicles very well in boiling water, cook them well, cool them, slice them into cubes (neither too large nor too small), and fry them in lard. To the same pan add some beef broth and leafy parsley. Add Fine Powder (in moderation so that it is not too spicy) steeped in one part of wine and two parts of verjuice (or gooseberries instead of verjuice). To give it liquid, you need to have a little Cameline [Sauce]⁷⁴; or take one or two chicken livers and a little white bread, [soak in beef broth], sieve, and add to your pot instead of Cameline [Sauce]. Throw in a bit of vinegar, and salt to taste.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Jean-Louis Flandrin, “Seasoning, Cooking, and Dietetics in the Late Middle,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin & Massimo Montanari (New York: Penguin Books, 2009) 323, this assertion is problematic. Flandrin noted that *hot sauce* was the condiment of choice for venison recipes, although I cannot find a recipe for any form of hot sauce that notes that it should be served with venison. Although it is not impossible that a dietetic manual may recommend such a combination, Flandrin did not cite this statement.

⁷² *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 93–96.

⁷³ *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, England), addendum, #1.

⁷⁴ Very common sauce throughout medieval Europe. Basic recipe: steep slices of bread in red wine and red wine vinegar or some other acid; strain into a sauce pan, add spices (cinnamon, ginger, cloves, nutmeg, sugar/honey, and saffron), bring to a moderate boil and remove from heat shortly after.

⁷⁵ *The Viandier* (c.1380, France.), # 176.

Flandrin's assertion that venison required heavily spiced condiments stands mostly true, but it is also important to note authors' recommendations against over-spicing and the use of less seasoned by-products like venison fat in adding flavour to other dishes.

Boar, however, was unlike venison meat. Boar was one of the meats that, as Flandrin suggested, typically called for a heavy hand in seasoning.⁷⁶ All of the recipes that called for wild boar, called for a variety of strong seasonings: wine, verjuice, vinegar, and spices. *Viandier's* *bourblier* of fresh boar noted that one should

[p]ut it into boiling water, remove it very soon, roast it, and baste it with a sauce made of spices (to wit, ginger, cassia, cloves, grains of paradise and some grilled bread soaked with wine, verjuice and vinegar). When it is cooked, [cut it into bits and boil] everything together. It should be clear and black.⁷⁷

Nearly the same recipe appeared in *Ménagier*.⁷⁸ *Viandier* recommended that *boar venison*⁷⁹ be served with mustard, cameline sauce, or pepper sauce.⁸⁰

The habit that favoured strongly seasoned boar recipes did not decrease across our medieval group of accounts. In fact, to spices, the English recipes sometimes called for addition of fruit, possibly to help flavours penetrate through fattier cuts. Two recipes from *Arundel MS 334* (c.1425, England), which are very similar in nature to the earlier French recipes for *bourblier* of boar, illustrate the English habit of adding fruits to existing recipes. The recipe for Boor in brasey instructed cooks to

Boor in brasey. Take the ribbes of a boor while thai byn fresh, and parboyl hem tyl thai byn half sothen; then take and roste hom, and when thai byn roasted, take and chop hom, and do hom in a pot, and do therto gode fresshe brothe of beef and wyn, and put therto clowes, maces and pynes, and raisynges of corance, and

⁷⁶ Flandrin, "Seasoning", *Food*, 323.

⁷⁷ *The Viandier* (c.1380, French), # 43.

⁷⁸ *Ménagier* (1393, France), v. 2, p.179.

⁷⁹ *The Viandier* (c.1380, France), #7. "venison", here, is used to mean "wild". The word "venison" technically means "wild game"; it does not refer to species of deer, exclusively.

⁸⁰ Pepper sauce is similar in method to cameline (see above), with all the same ingredients, but with the addition of ground peppercorns.

pouder of pepur; and take onyons and mynce hom grete, do hom in a panne with fresh grees, and fry hom, and do hom in the potte, and let hit wel sethe al togedur; and take brede stepet in brothe, and drawe hit up and do therto, and colour hit with sounders and saffron; and in the settinge doun put therto a lytel vynegur, medelet with pouder of canell; and then take other braune, and cut smal leches (flices) of two ynches of length, and cast into the pot, and dresle up the tone (one) with the tother, and serve hit forthe.⁸¹

“Boor in egredouce,” similar in nature to “boor in brasey” and “*bourblier* of boar”, relied on dates to add body to the dish:

Boor in egredouce. Take dates clene wafshen, and raifynges of corance, and boyle hom, and bray al ensemble (together), ande in the brayinge put therto clowes, and draw up al with vynegur, or clarre, or other swete wyne, and put hit in a faire pot, ande boyle hit wel; and put therto half a quartron of sugre, or elles hony, and half an unce of pouder of canel; and in the settinge doun take a lytel vynegur and medel therwith, and di. an unce of pouder of ginger, and a fewe saunders and saffron, and in the boylinge put therto ginger mynced, and put in the some pot; ande take fressh braune, and scthe hit, and then cut hit in thyn leches (Jlices), and lay three in a disshe, and then take di. Ib. of pynes, and frie hom in fressh grees, and cast therto the pynes, and when that byn thurgh hote take hom up with a skymmour, and let hom drie, and then cast hom into the same pot; and then put the syrip above the braune in the dysshes ; and serve hit forthe.⁸²

As we can see in the recipes above, very few variations existed in recorded boar recipes. The English seem to have included fruits out of preference and in order to accentuate acidic and tart ingredients in order to help flavours cut through boar fat. Although it could be seasoned with moderately strong condiments, less highly seasoned recipes were common and clearly an acceptable way to serve deer in haut cookery contexts. Flandrin suggested that spices were necessary to tame the wild nature of game meats, although our analysis here indicates that cooks and their diners had a more nuanced approach to cooking different types of game quadrupeds. Where spices were appropriate for fatty meats, meats with less fat, like deer, occasionally could be enjoyed with little accentuation from added seasonings.

⁸¹ *Arundel MS 334* (c.1400, England), # 315.

⁸² *Arundel MS 334* (c.1400, England), # 398.

Our final quadruped species—hare and rabbit—were especially popular in England. Each of our French collections— *Enseignements*, *Viandier*, and *Ménagier*—included three percent of recipes that called for rabbit or hare, while the English collections— *Forme of Cury Arundel MS 334*—called for rabbit or hare in four percent and ten percent of their recipes, respectively.⁸³

There were three primary methods of serving rabbit and hare: roasting, “coffin”⁸⁴, or by cooking and serving in sauce. Whereas authors were open to variations in preparation of rabbit, authors disagreed in their approaches to hare. *Enseignements* for example, noted that “[a]ll rabbits and all hares are good in pies. Roast rabbits with pepper hot or sour, roasted with all the feet. No hare is good roasted... .And then it's good in pies, slightly larded. Fresh venison, with hot pepper; Salted with mustard.”⁸⁵ *Viandier* however, was a little more open in terms of approaches to cooking hare:

Roast hares. Without washing it, lard it and roast it; eat it with Cameline [Sauce] or Saupiquet [Sauce] (to wit, add some finely chopped onions, wine, verjuice and a bit of vinegar to the drippings in the pan). Throw it on the hare when it is roasted, or put it in bowls. Some baste them when they are roasting with the same sauce as for a Bourblier of Boar. In a pie, parboil them in large pieces and lard them. Eat them with Cameline [Sauce].⁸⁶

Here, in the cookery collection most closely associated with the French royal court, the author did not find roasted hare distasteful if paired with the highly spicy bourblier sauce used on boars, or the less-spicy cameline sauce. From both perspectives, hare was a meat that could handle substantial amounts of seasoning, although approaches to cooking methods could vary.

For rabbits and younger hares, cooking and seasoning methods had fewer restrictions. *Viandier* preferred larding and roasting them: “Rabbits, young rabbits: Parboil them, lard them,

⁸³ See graph earlier in chapter.

⁸⁴ Baking in a pie shell

⁸⁵ *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 89–92.

⁸⁶ *The Viandier* (c.1380, France), # 42.

and roast them; eat them with Cameline [sauce]. In a pie, parboil them, lard them, add them whole or in large pieces, and add some Spice Powder. Eat them with Cameline [sauce] or verjuice.”⁸⁷ *Viandier* even included a rabbit bisque that called for the meat to be caramelized — either on the grill or on the spit—and to be garnished with a sauce thickened with burnt toast: “Hare or rabbit bisque. Brown them on the spit or on the grill, dismember them, and fry them in lard. Take grilled bread, beef broth and wine, sieve, and boil together. Take ginger, cassia, cloves and grains of paradise, and steep in verjuice. It should be dark brown and not too thick.”⁸⁸ The English took this style of rabbit recipe even further in the early fifteenth century, producing a highly sophisticated dish that contained a vast array of flavours:

Browet Browet of almayne. Take conynges and parboyle hom, and choppe hom on gobettus, and rybbes of porke or of kydde, and do hit in a pot, and fethe hit; then take almondes and grynde hom, and tempur hit up wyth broth of beef, and do hit in a pot; and take clowes, maces, pynes, ginger mynced, and rayfynges of corance ; and take onyons and boyle hom, then cut hom and do hom in the pot; and colour hit with saffron, and let hit boyle; and take the flesh oute from the brothe and caste therto; and take alkenet and frye hit, and do hit in the pot thurgh a streynour; and in the fettynge down put therto a lytel vynegar, and poudere of gynger medelet togedur, and serve hit forth.⁸⁹

Where some authors thought hare could only be served after pains had been taken to obscure its natural flavour, all authors had a more open approach to rabbit cookery. Rabbits could receive the strong flavours used in hare cookery or they could be larded and seasoned with less intensely-seasoned sauces such as cameline. Their treatment as a game meat was more akin to deer than it was to boar and hare.

Our survey of quadrupeds reveals a different level of complexity in decision-making and flavour pairing on the part of medieval cooks than modern historiography typically ascribes.

⁸⁷ *The Viandier* (c.1380, France), # 40.

⁸⁸ *The Viandier* (c.1380, France), # 40.

⁸⁹ *Arundel MS 334* (c.1400, E.), # 292.

Flandrin noted that game meats in general required warming under humoral dietetic principles, resulting in generally highly spiced condiments being paired with final dishes of game meat.⁹⁰ This was true for boar, and, in some cooks' perspectives, hare, but it was not universally true for all game quadrupeds. Deer, rabbit, and sometimes even hare were served with less intensely-seasoned sauces, according to the condition of the particular animals cooks were dealing with. Overall, game quadruped cookery was nuanced and a topic on which strong opinions existed; opinions that were not wholly united either among contemporary cooks or among modern historians.

Poultry and Game Fowl

Poultry and game fowl are two ingredient categories that are always closely associated with medieval French and English elites.⁹¹ Although all social levels in France and England kept some chickens for eggs and occasional meat, most scholars suggest that peasant families consumed poultry less frequently than nobles, and that consumption of juvenile birds and capons was more frequently associated with noble households or with special celebrations at the peasant level.⁹² Some scholarship suggests that cost was not necessarily the deciding factor in higher poultry-consumption levels at the elite level of society; rather, lighter poultry meats were thought to be pure and warm according to the humoral system.⁹³ Poultry was so important at the upper-

⁹⁰ Flandrin, "Seasoning" *Food*, 323.

⁹¹ Grieco, "Food and Social Classes," *Food*, 302–312; Antoni Riera-Melis, "Society, Food, and Feudalism," in *Food: A Culinary History*, originally published as *Histoire de l'alimentation*, ed. Massimo Montanari and Jean-Louis Flandrin, trans. Clarissa Botsford *et al.* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999): 251–267; Woolgar, "Group Diets," *Food in Medieval England*, 191–200.

⁹² D. Serjeantson, "Birds: Food and a Mark of Status," in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 131–147.

⁹³ Grieco, "Food and Social Classes", *Food*, 302-312.

level of society. In fact, Melitta Weiss Adamson suggests that “sometimes as much as a quarter of the dishes in a late medieval cookbook consisted of chicken recipes.”⁹⁴

Weiss Adamson did not cite or suggest a specific collection wherein twenty-five percent of the recipes are composed of chicken, and it is not impossible—I have not included German, Italian, or Iberian collections in the current analysis—but in so far as our medieval group of French and English cookery collections is concerned, poultry recipes accounted for relatively small portions of recipes:

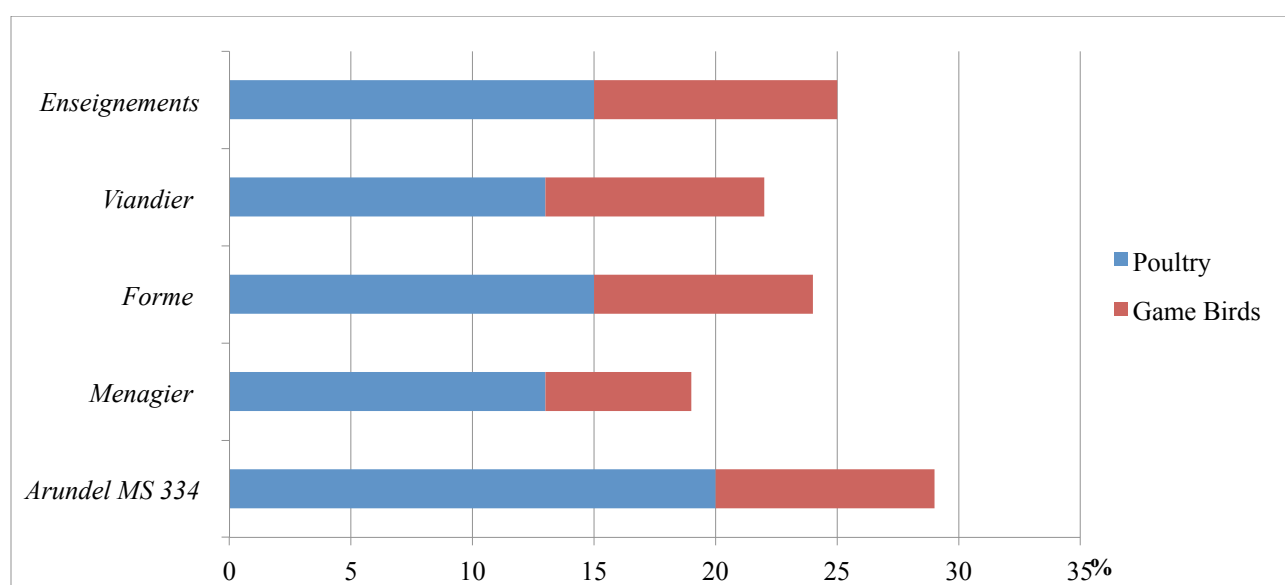


Figure 2. Recipes calling for poultry and game birds.

Our poultry category—including hen, chicken, capon, poussin, and also the “garbage” or innards of poultry—is more expansive than Weiss Adamson’s chicken category, but still poultry recipes only account for between twelve to twenty percent of recipes in our group; and more often between twelve to fifteen percent of recipes. *Enseignements* called for poultry in fourteen percent of its recipes, *Viandier* only called for poultry in twelve percent of its recipes, in *Forme of Cury* fourteen percent of recipes included poultry, *Ménagier* included poultry in twelve

⁹⁴ Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, 34.

percent of its recipes, while *Arundel MS 334* included poultry at the highest rate, twenty percent.⁹⁵

Game fowl—here including: small birds, game birds, crane, heron, swan, partridge, pheasant, plover, mallard, teal, dove, and lark—were included in cookery collections less frequently than poultry recipes. *Enseignements* called for game fowl in ten percent of its recipes, *Viandier* called for game fowl in ten percent of its recipes, in *Forme of Cury* fifteen percent of recipes included game fowl, *Ménagier* included game fowl in six percent of its recipes, while *Arundel MS 334* included game fowl at a rate of nine percent..⁹⁶ The consistency of this nine to ten percent of game fowl recipe-inclusion rate is striking, although it speaks less to importance of the ingredient, and more to the limited numbers of ways of approaching cookery of game fowl, limited, at least in relation to poultry.

When we consider the differences between chicken and beef inclusion rates, it should be noted that broth recipes seem to have preferred beef and mutton bones to poultry bones; this is something we will come back to in a minute, but for now we must keep in mind the forms in which poultry and beef were used in their raw forms before cooking: poultry was often served with the bone, while beef was often removed from the bone, as in the case of stewing meats; beef bones would have been common raw leftovers in great household kitchens, while poultry bones would have left the kitchen along with the dishes in which they were served.

Poultry recipes in our medieval group of cookery collections came in a wide variety of forms. Cooking methods like baking, roasting, blanching in water or on the fire, boiling, and braising were well represented among poultry recipes. When it came to cooking chicken or hens, for example, the author of the *Enseignements* offered the following general advice:

⁹⁵ See medieval poultry and game graph above.

⁹⁶ See medieval poultry and game graph above.

For capons and hens - Capons and hens are good roasted, with a sauce of wine in summer, in winter with aillie sauce made of garlic and cinnamon and ginger, tempered with almond milk or sheep's milk. Again, cook hens with fresh herbs and salt. Again, capons and hens in brouet made of cinnamon and ginger and other spices, and add yolks of beaten eggs and then cut the meat into pieces and fry in grease. But before grind bread and the saffron and other spices, and the liver, and temper with broth, and strain through a towel, and put to boil, and beaten eggs and saffron and spices tempered with good wine.⁹⁷

In essence, on meat days, chicken was a good all-rounder meat in the sense that it lent itself to most of the seasonings, aromatics, and cooking methods great household cooks typically had at their disposal. Beyond these basic recommendations, a host of cooking, seasoning, and garnishing methods could be used with poultry.

For the sick or those who required a dish that was warming according to humoral temperaments or for those simply looking for a good chicken pottage, one of the most universal and ancient of European recipes would suffice: blancmange.

For blanc mengier - If you want to make blanc mengier, take the wings and feet of hens and put to cook in water, and take a little rice and temper it with clear water, then the cook it over a small fire, and then shred the meat into small hairs and put it to cook with a little sugar. If you have no lac.⁹⁸ And if you want, then put to cook rice along with the broth of the hen or with let of almonds. Then it will not be reddened.⁹⁹

Blancmange was so favoured as a dish throughout medieval Europe that it was included in almost every recipe collection surveyed here. Variants included either meat- or fish-based foundations, but they almost always included rice, almonds, and a little spice. *Viandier's* version noted the following:

Capon white dish for an invalid. Cook it in water until it is well cooked. Crush well plenty of almonds with some capon dark meat, steep in your broth, strain everything through cheesecloth, boil until it is thick enough to slice, and pour into

⁹⁷ *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 89–92.

⁹⁸ “Milk.”

⁹⁹ *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 119–124.

a bowl. Brown half a dozen peeled almonds [in lard] and sit them on end on half your plate, with some pomegranate seeds on the other half. Sugar them all over.¹⁰⁰

English recipes replaced the French habit of garnishing with pomegranate seeds with a garnish of anise seeds enrobed in red-coloured sugar:¹⁰¹

Blank Maunger. XXXVI. Take Capouns and seeþ hem, þenne take hem up. take Almandes blaunched. grynd hem and alay hem up with the same broth. cast the mylk in a pot. waisshe rys and do þerto and lat it seeþ. þanne take brawn of Capouns teere it small and do þerto. take white grece suger and salt and cast þerinne. lat it seeþ. þenne messe it forth and florissch it with aneys in confyt rede oþer whyt. and with Almaundes fryed in oyle. and serue it forth.¹⁰²

Many other chicken-based soups were included in collections and called for all manner of seasoning and garnish: a cinnamon soup with chicken meat was included in the *Ménagier*.¹⁰³

Brewets, or braised-meat dishes, were another popular family of dishes in which chicken often appeared. *Enseignements* outlined a cinnamon brewet for capons of hens in the earlier quote, but the cumin-scented soup was nearly as popular as blancmange. Variations were included in *Enseignements*, *Viandier*, *Ménagier*, and *Forme of Cury*.¹⁰⁴ *Enseignements* called for a refined dish based on fried chicken pieces served in a sauce of red wine, cumin, ginger, saffron, and thickened with egg yolk.¹⁰⁵ One of the most finite examples of the recipe comes to us from the *Ménagier* (1393, F.):

Chicken Cominy. Put pieces in water and a little wine to cook then fry in fat, then take a little bread, moisten in your stock, and first take ginger and cumin, mixed with verjuice, grind and sift and put all together with meat or chicken

¹⁰⁰ *The Viandier* (c.1380, France), # 92.

¹⁰¹ The process of coating spice seeds in coloured sugar, much like what can be seen at Indian restaurants today, was performed by household pastry cooks and required a lengthy process of gradually toasting the seeds with small additions of sugar until the seeds were entirely coated. Once finished, these seeds were referred to as *confits* and were often served toward the end of feasts in order to warm the stomach and aid in digestion.

¹⁰² *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, England), #36.

¹⁰³ *Ménagier* (1393, France), v. 2, p.149–150.

¹⁰⁴ *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 101–104; *Viandier* (c.1380, France), # 12; *Ménagier* (1393, France), v. 2, p.161–162; *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, England), #39.

¹⁰⁵ *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 89–92.

stock, and then add color with saffron or eggs or egg-yolks strained and poured from above into the soup after it has been removed from the fire.¹⁰⁶

The cominy recipes offer an excellent example of the late medieval brewet at its most developed form: meat braised in a spiced sauce, thickened with breadcrumbs, and finished with egg yolks.

When it came to game fowl, cooking and seasoning methods contained similar diversity. White meat game fowl—partridge, wild hens, dove and the like—was often paired with moderately strong aromatics and larded. *Enseignements* offered the following advice when it came to light-meat game fowl:

Partridges, turtledoves, wild hens, cormorants, all slightly larded, roasted, with a sauce of cinnamon and ginger, without pepper, tempered with wine. Again, partridges, turtledoves in pie. Wild hens, in September and October, with sour pepper.¹⁰⁷

It seems that for most of the year, white meat game fowl could be enjoyed in much the same way as poultry. When fat buildup in migratory fowl was at its greatest volume and strongest flavour during the months leading up to winter migration, spicy and acidic sauces were used to cut through the fat and augment the natural flavour of the meat. Still, the overall flavour profile accorded to light-meat game meats was mild by medieval standards, especially in the case of a simple partridge pie.

Dark meat game fowl was not treated wholly differently from white meat game fowl, although presentation methods more frequently took advantage of vibrantly coloured dark-meat game bird plumage of game birds than it did of poultry. Swan was the most famous and royal of the dark meat game birds to be redressed in its plumage, although great household cooks also

¹⁰⁶ *Ménagier* (1393, France), v. 2, p.161–162.

¹⁰⁷ *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 76–79.

used peacock to the same ends.¹⁰⁸ Although there are recipes calling for the birds to be redressed, the earliest collections seem to exclude this step. *Enseignements* recommended treating both in the same manner:

All swans, peacocks. Firstly take out the blood by the heads all seen, after this cut thereunder the back near the shoulders and gut them, and then put them on a spit with the feet and the heads; Then grind saffron and white bread tempered with wine, and grind yolks of eggs and saffron, and paint on the birds with the feather, and cast with powder thereon, which is of all spices, strong zedoary and hart-wort. And when the swan and the peacock are cooked and pressed, then wrap them in a towel, and then take them to the tables after, and give to the lord the neck and head, and the wings and the thighs and everything else.¹⁰⁹

Later collections, however, almost unanimously called for the swan to be redressed. *Viandier* noted:

Subtlety of a swan re clothed in its skin including its plumage. Take the swan, inflate it between the shoulders, slit it along the belly, and remove the skin (including the neck cut close to the shoulders). Leave the feet attached to the body. Put it on the spit, bard it, and glaze it. When it is cooked, re clothe it in its skin, with the neck very upright on the plate. Eat it with Yellow Pepper [Sauce].¹¹⁰

Viandier paired yellow pepper sauce with the swan, as did *Ménagier*, when he included nearly the exact same recipe in his cookery collection.¹¹¹ English cookery collection authors, instead of redressing swans in the French manner, seem to have preferred complex dish called chawden:

CHAWDOWN FOR SWANNES XX.VII. III. Take þe lyuer and þe offall of the Swannes & do it to seeþ in gode broth. take it up. take out þe bonys. take & hewe the flessh smale. make a Lyour of crustes of brede & of þe blode of þe Swan ysoden. & do þerto powdour of clowes & of piper & of wyne & salt, & seeþ it & cast þe flessh þerto ihewed. and messe it forth with þe Swan.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Witteveen, “On Swans . . . , Part 1: Swans”, 22–31; Witteveen, “The Great Birds: Part 5, . . . Peacock for the Table”, 10–20.

¹⁰⁹ *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 80–88.

¹¹⁰ *The Viandier* (c.1380, France), # 67.

¹¹¹ *Ménagier* (1393, France), v. 2, p.184.

¹¹² *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, England), # xx.vii.iii.

In general, although dark meat game birds were used for added spectacle, it seems clear that the meat from these birds was consumed; at least often enough for cooks to have standard, heavy-handed seasoning profiles to pair with the meats.

Poultry and game fowl seem to hold a somewhat overstated place in medieval food historiography. Although they were associated with the great-household cookery context, the proportional weight of recipes, at least in our group of cookery collections, was always less than a quarter, and poultry recipes usually sat a less than twenty percent of the total number of recipes included in the collections, and more often around fifteen to seventeen percent. In addition, although highly spiced seasonings and condiments were recommended for some game fowl, this was usually the dark meat varieties; light meat game fowl was more often treated as poultry, at least in late medieval France and England. The significance of these findings does not rest with the fact that poultry consumption is overstated in some historiographical treatments, but rather that the quadruped findings examined earlier are often understated in favour of highlighting the role of poultry.

Game fowl and poultry had its uses, but great household cooks seem to have been required to be more practical in their approaches to meat cookery; although poultry and game fowl were tasty and welcome elements of noble menus, quadruped recipes played a more substantial role in medieval haute cookery than we usually attribute to them.

Recipes for Fish, Seafood, and Fasting

Medieval fish consumption is an area of diet that has received more attention than most fields of medieval food habits.¹¹³ Fish was an important area of cookery for great-household cooks, since late medieval religious practices favoured refraining from consumption of quadruped meats, poultry meats, and their by-products each Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, and throughout Lent.¹¹⁴ Loosely calculated, fast days consumed more than 140 days per year in France and England by the late Middle Ages.

What was meant by fasting? The nature of the fast varied. Let us consider monastic households briefly. In austere monastic Carthusian charter, houses, for example, vegetarian menus, and even raw-food vegetarian menus, were the order of the day—even on most feasts.¹¹⁵

The Carthusians, however, were not emulated widely among other monastic orders. Even St.

¹¹³ Bridget Ann Henisch, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (University Park, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976); Ewald Kislinger, “Christians of the East: Rules and Realities of the Byzantine Diet,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin & Massimo Montanari (New York: Penguin, 2000) 194–206; Roy Strong, “The Christian Table and the Birth of Manners,” in *Feast: A History of Grand Eating* (London: Johnathan Cape, 2002) 50–55; Terence Scully, “Religious Strictures” & “Religious Rules,” in *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995) 58–64, 124–126; Caroline Walker-Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Christopher Woolgar, “Fast and Feast: Conspicuous Consumption and the Diet of the Nobility in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Revolution and Consumption in Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2001) 7–25; Richard C. Hoffmann, “Aquaculture in Champagne before the Black Death of 1348–1350,” in *Archéologie du poisson. 30 ans d’archéo-ichtyologie au CNRS. Hommage aux travaux de Jean Desse et Nathalie Desse-Berset*, ed. P. Béarez, S. Grouard, and B. Clavel, (Antibes: Éditions APDCA, 2008) 67–82; Dominique Michel, “Les poissons,” in *Vatel et la naissance de la gastronomie* (Paris: Fayard, 1999) 256–261; D. Serjeantson and C. M. Woolgar, “Fish Consumption in Medieval England,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 102–130; Armelle Querrien, “Pêche et consommation du poisson en Berry au Moyen Age,” in *Pêche et pisciculture en eau douce: la rivière et l’étang au Moyen Age, Actes des 1^{es} rencontres internationales de Liessies, 27, 28 et 29 avril 1998*, ed. P. Benoît, F. Loridant, O. Matteoni (Lille: Conseil général du Nord, 2004) unpaginated; Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish that Changed the World* (Toronto: A.A. Knopf Canada, 1997); Alice Thomas Ellis, *Fish, Flesh and Good Red Herring* (London: Virago, 2004).

¹¹⁴ Weiss Adamson, *Food*, 187–189.

¹¹⁵ Irvn M. Resnick, *Marks of Distinctions: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2013) 146.

Benedict allowed for the consumption of fish and meat on the appropriate days.¹¹⁶ In secular households, similar notions of modesty in dietary choices prevailed on fish days. Scholars note the varying degrees to which secular households incorporated meat by-products—milk, butter, cheese, fat, suet, and broth—into fast-day cookery.¹¹⁷ Certainly the perennial almond milk could be used in place of broths and milk, and olive oil in place of butter, but fast-day cookery was dominated by fish cookery.

When we examine the frequencies of fish recipes in our medieval group of cookery collections, quantitative analysis can become more complicated. Some manuscripts included very few fish recipes, proportionally speaking, while others included a wide variety. Some authors included clauses like “or similar fish” or “for small fish,” making it impossible to conduct a finite comparative fish-recipe analysis from late medieval French and English cookery collections. To account for this, the chart below graphs some of the species mentioned in cookery collections, weighted as a percentage of the total fish recipes in the collection. These are not finite statistics but rather a quantitative analysis of the specified species:

¹¹⁶ *The Rule of St. Benedict*, used throughout medieval and early modern European monasteries, carefully laid out a diet regimen that complemented Christian theological notions concerning food. Chapter thirty-nine noted that monks should be served with two dishes but that “*qui ex illo non potuerit edere, ex alio reficiatur*” (“[so that] he who is not able to eat of this one, can dine on the other.”), *Regula Benedicti*, caput xxxix; Thus, monks were expected to consume no more than one type of meat, out of the two choices presented. If, however, a monk needed to work especially hard, or travel, he should be given a reasonable measure of food, *Regula Benedicti*, caput xxxix.

¹¹⁷ Scully, *Art of Cookery*, 58–62.

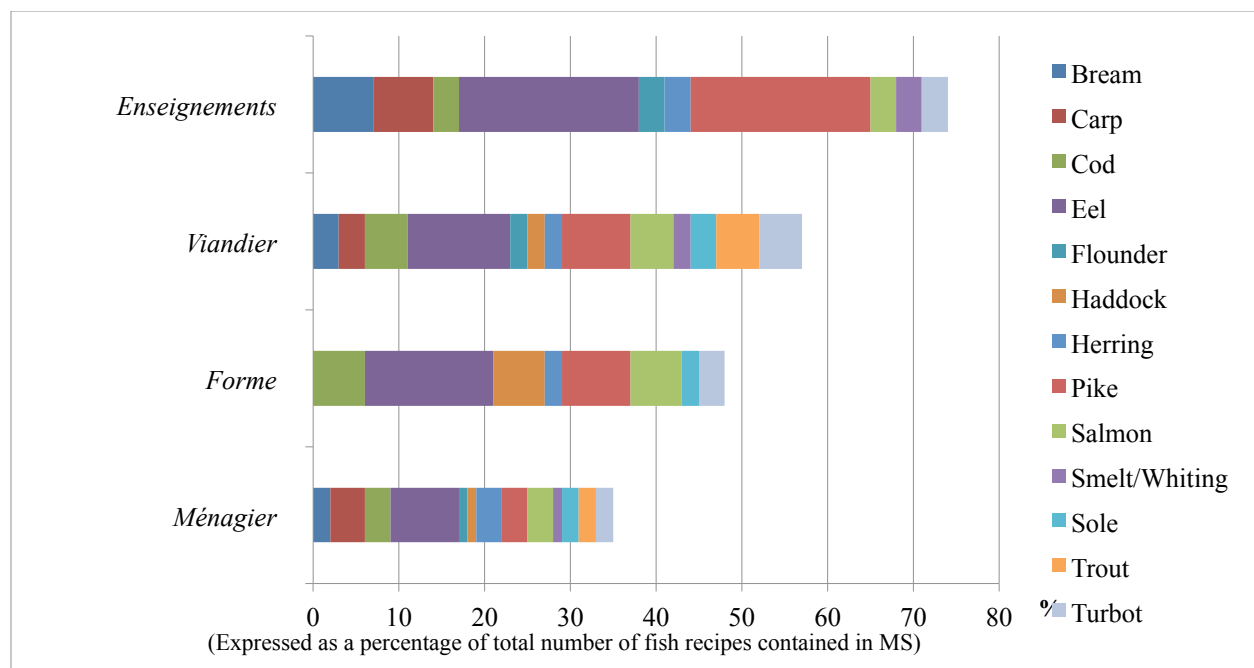


Figure 3. Recipes calling for selected species of fish.

Here we can see that, among the selected species, eel—mostly conger and freshwater varieties—was the most regularly included fish species among the fish-day recipes included in our medieval group of cookery collections. *Enseignements* called for some form of eel in twenty percent of its fish recipes, *Viandier* called for eel in fourteen percent of its fish recipes, *Forme of Cury* sixteen percent of fish recipes included eel, while *Ménagier* included eel in twelve percent of its fish recipes.¹¹⁸ Pike was similarly popular: *Enseignements* called for pike in twenty-two percent of its fish recipes, *Viandier* called for pike in nine percent of its fish recipes, *Forme of Cury* eight percent of fish recipes included pike, while *Ménagier* included pike in only six percent of its fish recipes.¹¹⁹ Other popular fish included freshwater varieties: bream, carp, trout. Saltwater varieties included haddock, flounder, and turbot. The anadromous salmon was also used. The proportions of these species present among the fish recipes of each cookery collection included here can be seen above.

¹¹⁸ See chart above.

¹¹⁹ See chart above.

Where fish-day ingredients may have differed somewhat from meat-day ingredient selections, cookery and seasoning methods remained quite consistent. The primary cooking methods used on fish species were boiling, roasting, grilling, and baking. In the case of hard preserved fish—salted eel and stockfish¹²⁰—recipes usually called for boiling for softening, and pairing with mustard. For example, when preparing salted eel, the author of *Enseignements* noted, “Eels in pies. Item, salted eels, cooked in water, with mustard.”¹²¹ When dealing with stockfish, *Ménagier* recommended that:

[s]tockfish must be cut into square pieces like a chequerboard, then soak for only one night, then take it out of the water, and put it to dry on a cloth; then put your oil on to boil, then fry your pieces of fish in a little oil, and eat with mustard or garlic sauce. Stockfish is made, apparently, from cod.¹²²

In the case of soft preserved fish—pickled (white) or smoked (red) herring—simple mustard or a sprinkling of verjuice was an appropriate condiment.¹²³

In the case of fresh fish, a wide variety of flavour profiles and cooking methods were matched with the flavours and textures of various species. Fresh round fish—pike, eel, salmon, and carp, for example—were often roasted, boiled, or poached in sauce. In fact, cooking methods were not always as important as seasoning methods. Many recipes left the cooking method open, but offered suggestion as to seasoning and condiments. With pike, the author of *Enseignements* noted: “If you want to make pike galantine, take pepper and cinnamon and ginger, and grind all together and temper it with strong vinegar and cook your fish and put therein.”¹²⁴ The cook could choose between boiling and roasting the pike. Sometimes, single recipes offered a variety of cooking methods. In the case of fresh salmon, *Viandier* noted:

¹²⁰ Dried unsalted fish

¹²¹ *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 187–189.

¹²² *Ménagier* (1393, France), v. 2, p.199.

¹²³ *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 216–217.

¹²⁴ *Enseignements* (c.1300, France), ln. 141–143.

Fresh salmon. Smoked (keep the chine for roasting), cut into steaks, and then cooked in water; [add] some wine and salt while cooking; eaten with Yellow Pepper [Sauce] or Cameline [Sauce]. Some dry it again (for eating) on the grill. In a pie (if you wish) powdered with spices; eaten with Cameline [Sauce]. If it is salted: cooked in water without salt; eaten with wine and chopped scallion.¹²⁵

In other cases, where the cooking and seasoning methods were more finite, the selection of species could be left more open. *Forme of Cury* offered a recipe for Lenten fish balls that noted:

For to make noumbles in lent. c. xiiii. Take the blode of pykes oþer of conger and nyme the paunches of pykes. of conger and of grete code lyng, & boile hem tendre & mynce hem smale & do hem in þat blode. take crustes of white brede & strayne it thurgh a cloth. þenne take oynouns iboiled and mynced. take peper and safroun. wyne. vynegur aysell oþer alegur & do þerto & serue forth.¹²⁶

Therefore, if we are to summarize cooking methods for fish as utilized by our medieval group of cookery collections, most of the same cooking methods, aromatics, and serving styles were adapted from meat-day recipes. Some recipes were specific to fish—a simple dish of fried whiting, for example—but most were simply adaptations of the same cooking methods and seasonings used for other meats. Roasting or simmering and seasoning with spices and acids were very prevalent methods used with fish recipes, indicating that fish was largely prepared according to the same cooking methods and seasoning aesthetics used on meat days.

Beyond fish, we should consider the role of eggs in fast-day cookery. Many secular households consumed eggs and dairy on fast days, making eggs, in tandem with fish, a staple of fast-day cookery. *Forme of Cury* recommended a complex dish of poached eggs could be prepared for the fast-day menu of any noble table:

xxxviii - for to make a penche of egges. Tak water and do it in a panne to the fyre and lat yt sethe and after tak eggs and brek hem and cast hem in the water and after tak a chese and kerf yt on fowr partins and cast in the water and wanne the chese and the eggys ben wel sodyn tak hem owt of the water and wasch hem

¹²⁵ *Viandier* (c.1380, France), 119.

¹²⁶ *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, England), cx.

in clene water and tak wastel breed and temper yt wyth mylk of a kow. and after do yt over the fyre and after forsy yt wyth gyngener and wyth comyn and colour yt wyth safroun and lye yt wyth eggys and oyle the sewe wyth Boter and kep wel the chese owt and dresse the sewe and dymo eggys thereon al ful and kerf thy chese in lytyl schyms and do hem in the sewe wyth eggys and serve yt forthe.¹²⁷

In other cases, eggs could simply be fried and served with a refined sauce as suggested in

Viandier:

Egg stew. Poach them in oil. Fry onions sliced into rounds in oil, boil with some wine, verjuice and vinegar, and boil everything together. When you set out your broth, set it out on your eggs. It should not be thick. Then make some Mustard Sops as above.¹²⁸

Various other egg recipes existed, and many more undoubtedly existed but escaped textual notation. Given the complexity of the above recipes, we can be certain that our modern favourites—scrambled, fried, boiled, and poached—would have existed, though were too simple to warrant recording.

Overall, fast-day cookery was highly complex. Fresh fish, preserved fish, and eggs were each put into service in noble households in order to provide diversity to menus whose restrictions could sometimes lead to monotony. Fish has been examined to a great degree by historians, although most focus within the great household context is on fresh fish. As we can see here, fresh varieties of fish were important, but so, too, were preserved varieties and also eggs. Fast-day cookery required great household cooks to be versatile in their use of ingredients, although they clearly devised numerous tasty and refined dishes based on eggs and preserved fish as well.

¹²⁷ *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, England), xxxviii.

¹²⁸ *The Viandier* (c.1380, France), 81.

Root & Stem Vegetables

Vegetables were not always considered to be a staple of the medieval diet and this is due, in part, to the limitations of cookery manuals as sources.¹²⁹ The simplest preparations for vegetables—boiling and tossing with salt and butter—were not recorded in medieval cookbooks, nor were they usually recorded in modern cookery collections. Medieval cookbook authors, much like modern-day authors, use the space accorded them in their texts to detail complex recipes or to outline condiment recommendations. Likewise, the apple or pear enjoyed in its natural state will not appear as a recipe in any modern or medieval cookery collection, a point Terence Scully makes pains to remind readers in *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages*.¹³⁰ Therefore, relying on cookbooks for an accurate reflection of the fruits and vegetables individuals consumed will produce unreliable results.

It is, however, not without merit to examine the vegetables that authors did regularly include. Even though these do not represent the actual selections consumed on a daily basis, they do represent a selection of the vegetables authors simply could not do without. Of the vegetables that do appear in medieval cookery collections, some scholars have noted the importance of root vegetables, although we do not understand the nature of their proportional distribution in recipes.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Ken Albala, “Fruits and Vegetables,” in *The Banquet: Dining in the Great Courts of Late Renaissance Europe* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2007) 73–89; Susan Campbell, *Charleston Kidding: A History of Kitchen Gardening* (London: Ebury Press, 1996); Katarina Frost, et al. “The Royal Kitchen Garden at Strömsholm Castle: Evaluating Archaeological Methods,” *Garden History* 32.2 (Winter, 2004): 261–271; Christopher Dyer, “Gardens and Garden Produce in Later Medieval England,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 27–40; Sylvia Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

¹³⁰ Scully, *Art of Cookery*, 70–71.

¹³¹ Wheaton, *Savoring*, 30–31.

In terms of root vegetables that were consumed as the primary ingredient of dishes, none dominated any of our cookery collections. Turnip was the most frequently mentioned root vegetable among our cookery collections, despite its low quantitative weight. The *Viandier* called for turnip in one percent of its recipes, *Forme of Cury* one percent of recipes included turnip, while *Ménagier* called for turnip in one percent of its recipes.¹³³ Few other root vegetables appeared in more than one cookery collection. The *Viandier* called for shallots and scallions in one percent of its recipes.¹³⁴ *Ménagier* called for beets in three percent of its recipes, and radishes and carrots in one percent.¹³⁵ In *Forme of Cury* one percent of its recipes included radishes and skirret.¹³⁶

Cooking methods in most root vegetable recipes called for boiling or frying, or a combination of both. *Forme of Cury* noted that turnips and skirret could be treated in the same manner when the author noted:

Rapes in potage. V. Take rapus and make hem clene and waiss hem clene. quare hem. parboile hem. take hem up. cast hem in a gode broth and seep hem. mynce Oynouns and cast þerto Safroun and salt and messe it forth with powdour douce. the wise make of Pasturnakes and skyrwates.¹³⁷

At other times, a turnip and apple fritter was appropriate:

Frytour of pasternakes of apples. Take skyrwater and pasternakes and apples, & parboile hem, make a batour of flour and ayrenn, cast þerto ale. safroun & salt. wete hem in þe batour and frye hem in oile or in grece. do þerto Almaund Mylk. & serue it forth.¹³⁸

¹³³ See chart above.

¹³⁴ See chart above.

¹³⁵ See chart above.

¹³⁶ Skirret is an umbelliferous vegetable that was under common cultivation in Britain since the Roman period, see “Skirret,” in *Penguin Companion to Food*, ed. Alan Davidson (New York: Penguin, 2002) 870.

¹³⁷ *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, England), # v.

¹³⁸ *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, E.), xx.vii. ix.

Since root vegetables required boiling before serving or further preparation, most finishing methods added variation in texture—as in the case of fritters—or in flavour—as in the case of the powder douce,¹³⁹ saffron, salt, and other spices called for in recipes. Although limited in number, root vegetable recipes demonstrate that great-household cooks had numerous creative ways of transforming humble ingredients into an exciting accompaniment to main dishes.

Stem vegetables seem to have been preferred among our medieval cookery collection authors. Garden peas (*Pisum sativum*) were one of the most regularly mentioned vegetables across our group of cookery collections. *Viandier* called for peas in six percent of its recipes, in *Forme of Cury* one percent of recipes included peas, while *Ménagier* called for peas in six percent of its recipes.¹⁴⁰ Leek was included in most collections, with one percent of recipes in *Viandier* calling for it, one percent of recipes in *Forme of Cury*, and three percent of recipes in *Ménagier*.¹⁴¹ Additionally, cabbage was popular—relatively speaking—in the collections: *Viandier* called for cabbage in one percent of its recipes, in *Forme of Cury* one percent of recipes included cabbage, while *Ménagier* called for cabbage in two percent of its recipes.¹⁴² Other vegetables included at a rate of one to two percent in each of the collections included lettuce and scallions in *Viandier*, beans, chickpeas, mushrooms, gourds and olive in *Forme of Cury*, and celery, cress, endive, gourd, cucumbers, lettuces, and spinach in *Ménagier*.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ “Powder douce,” “fine powder,” or “duke’s powder” was a mixture of warming spices that could vary from cook to cook (variations in composition similar to modern “Cajun seasoning” or “curry powder”). *Ménagier* described his personal preference for the powder’s composition in a recipe for spiced wine, or hippocras: “Take a quarter-ounce of very fine cinnamon, hand-picked by tasting it, an ounce of very fine meche ginger and an ounce of grains of paradise, a sixth of an ounce of nutmeg and galingale together, and pound it all together. And when you want to make hippocras, take a good half-ounce or more of this powder and two quarter-ounces of sugar, and mix them together, and a quart of wine as measured in Paris. And note that the powder and the sugar mixed together make “duke’s powder.”, *Ménagier* (1393, France), v. 2, p.248.

¹⁴⁰ See chart above.

¹⁴¹ See chart above.

¹⁴² See chart above.

¹⁴³ See chart above.

When it comes to cooking methods, raw and cooked variations appear in the collections.

Raw preparations were largely limited to recipes for salad, as listed in *Forme of Cury*:

Take parsel, sawge, garlec, chybollus¹⁴⁴, oynons, lek, borage, myntes, porrettes, fenels and cressis rewe¹⁴⁵ rosmarye, purslary¹⁴⁶, lauen and waische hem clene pyke hem pluk hem small wiþ þyne hond and mynge hem wel wiþ rawe oyle. lay on vyneger and salt and surve hem forth.¹⁴⁷

As well, *Ménagier* even noted that he enjoyed eating Brussels sprouts raw if he had only a small number.¹⁴⁸ Other times, *Ménagier* clearly used vegetables to give cooks variety in their menus at any time of year. The recipe for leeks, for example, offered cooks a wide variety of options:

White soup is so-called because it is made from the white part of the leeks, with backbone, with sausages, and with ham, in the seasons of autumn and winter, on meat days; and know that no other fat than that of pork is good with it. And first you clean, wash, and mince them, and blanch them, that is in summer when the leeks are young: but in winter, when the leeks are older and tougher, they should be parboiled instead of blanched, and if it is a fish day, after the above you must put them in a pot with hot water and so cook them, and also cook minced onions, then fry the onions, and then fry the leeks with the onions which have already been fried; then put all to cook in a pot with cow's milk, if it is a fish day not in Lent; and if it is Lent, use milk of almonds. And if it is a meat day, when the leeks are blanched, or winter leeks are parboiled as told above, put them in a pot to cook in salted water, with pork and bacon in it.¹⁴⁹

A wide variety of other vegetables appeared in most of the text books, even if they always comprised a very small portion of the overall number of recipes included in each text. Medieval cooks and diners seem to have been attracted to their colour and flavours, especially given the comparatively light hand with which many of the dishes were seasoned. Salad and other vegetable dishes could be paired with a variety of strong-tasting herbs and vegetables in order to offset the piquant flavours that we have already examined in main course dishes. Although root

¹⁴⁴ Chives.

¹⁴⁵ Rue.

¹⁴⁶ Purslane.

¹⁴⁷ *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, England), xx.iii. xvi.

¹⁴⁸ *Ménagier* (1393, France), v. 2, pp. 142–145.

¹⁴⁹ *Ménagier* (1393, France), v. 2, p.139–140.

vegetables dominate the proportional weight of vegetables in cookery manuals, stem vegetables clearly played an important role in medieval haute cookery as well.

Our findings provide deeper insight into historiographical narratives surrounding vegetable cookery. Scully asserted that medieval individuals must have consumed fruits—and occasionally some vegetables—raw, although cookbooks do not offer much evidence of this.¹⁵⁰ Certainly Scully was aware of the *Forme*'s recipe for salad, but the *Ménagier*'s recipe notes that Brussels sprouts could be enjoyed raw if just a few were had indicates that the high and low of society were not adverse to eating at least some raw fruit and vegetables. Additionally, although turnip, onion and other root vegetables were among the most popular vegetables included in medieval cookery manuals, wider varieties of stem vegetables were included in lower frequency across more cookery collections. While Wheaton is correct to say that root vegetables were included with relatively high frequency in cookery collections, a good variety of stem vegetables were clearly enjoyed as well. This is not to say that medieval cookery was dominated by vegetable cookery, especially within the great household context, but rather that almost every vegetable had the potential to reach great-household tables once adequately prepared by professionals versed in fine cookery.

¹⁵⁰ Scully, *Art of Cookery*, 70–71.

Fruit

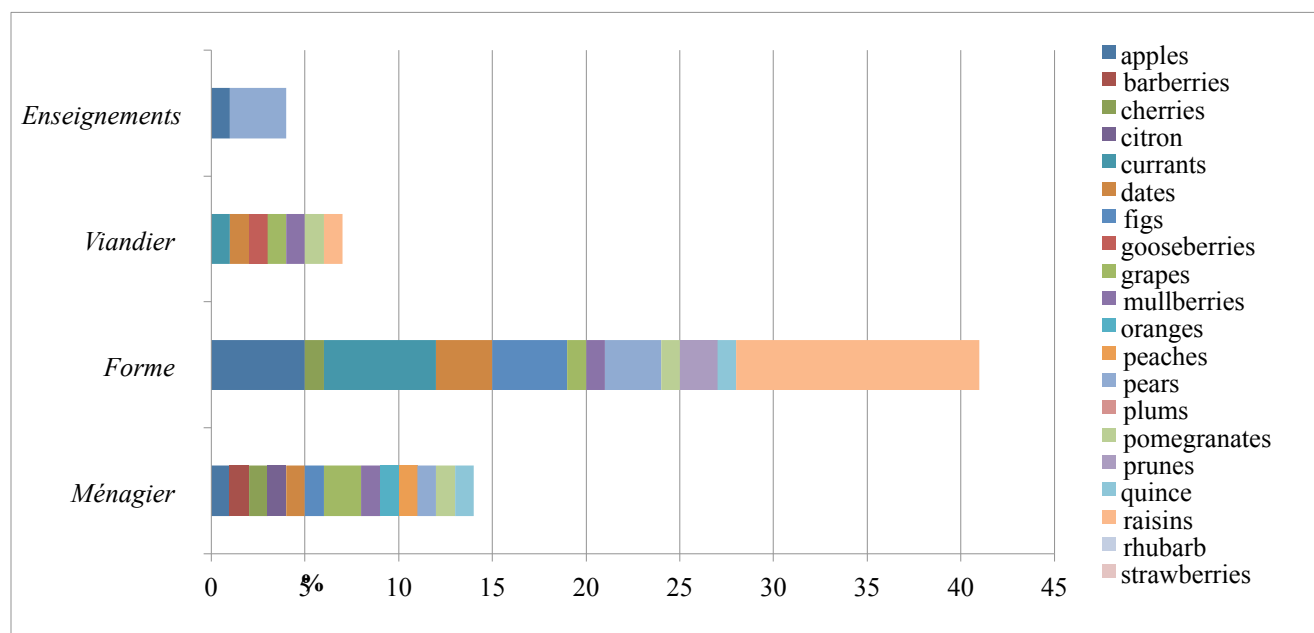


Figure 5. Recipes calling for fruit.

As we have already noted, Scully has asserted, rightly, that cookery collections naturally offer us little information about the consumption of raw fruits and vegetables.¹⁵¹ Scholars do note that fruits were important elements of the medieval diet, especially at the peasant level, but it is certain that medieval elites would have enjoyed raw fruits.¹⁵² I am inclined to agree with other scholars on the topic: The tart flavours present in most fruits are similar to the tart flavours elites incorporated into their cookery. Where there might be some historiographical speculation about the habit of consuming raw fruits, cooked dishes that called for fruits have long been noted by historians.

If we examine specific proportions of fruits included in our cookery-collection group, no single species stands out as dominating fruit consumption, as was the case with onions in our vegetable survey. Among large, fresh fruits, apples, were mentioned in *Enseignements* one

¹⁵¹ Scully, *Art of Cookery*, 70–71.

¹⁵² Albala, “Fruits and Vegetables”, *The Banquet*, 73–89; Scully, *Art of Cookery*, 70–71; Weiss Adamson, *Food*, 6–10.

percent of recipes, in five percent of recipes in *Forme of Cury*, and in one percent of recipes in *Ménagier*.¹⁵³ Apples were not, however, mentioned in *Viandier*.¹⁵⁴ Likewise, pears were not mentioned in *Viandier*, but they were listed in three percent of recipes in *Enseignements*, three percent of recipes in *Forme of Cury*, and in one percent of recipes in *Ménagier*.¹⁵⁵ No other fruits were called for in *Enseignements*. In *Forme of Cury*, one percent of recipes included pomegranate and quince; one percent of recipes in *Viandier* called for pomegranate, while the author of *Ménagier* included lemon, orange, peach, pear, quince, and pomegranate in one percent of the collection's recipes.¹⁵⁶

Smaller fresh fruits, especially berries, were more frequently called for among the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century collections. Although *Viandier* did not call for apples and pears, it did include currants, grapes, mulberry, gooseberries in one percent of recipes.¹⁵⁷ In *Forme of Cury* one percent of recipes called for cherries, grapes, and mulberries, while six percent of recipes called for currants.¹⁵⁸ *Ménagier* included, at a rate of one percent, barberries, cherries, grapes, and mulberries.¹⁵⁹

Dried fruits were also mentioned in all sources. While we have already noted the presence of currants—which could be used either in their dried or fresh forms—other fruits that are included in the chart above either certainly or most likely were bought and used in their preserved forms. Raisins were called for in one percent of recipes in *Viandier*, while *Forme of Cury* called for raisins in a remarkable thirteen percent of recipes.¹⁶⁰ Other ingredients were normally grown in regions outside northern France and England, so we can reasonably assume

¹⁵³ See chart above.

¹⁵⁴ See chart above.

¹⁵⁵ See chart above.

¹⁵⁶ See chart above.

¹⁵⁷ See chart above.

¹⁵⁸ Either fresh or dried. See chart above.

¹⁵⁹ See chart above.

¹⁶⁰ See chart above.

that authors were referring to the preserved forms; this is especially true of figs¹⁶¹ and dates.¹⁶² Figs appeared in four percent of recipes in *Forme of Cury* and one percent of recipes in *Ménagier*.¹⁶³ Dates appeared in one percent of recipes in *Viandier*, in three percent of recipes in *Forme of Cury*, and in one percent of recipes in *Ménagier*.¹⁶⁴

In terms of fruits' uses in recipes, a wide variety of recipes and cooking methods called for them, although usually as a garnish. *Viandier* included currants in a forcemeat that was boiled inside dumplings of chicken skin¹⁶⁵ as well as in a mutton shoulder that was stuffed with a stuffing made from mutton or pork leg meat, diced omelette, pine nut paste, currants, and cheese.¹⁶⁶ Some recipes combined fruits and vegetables. We saw this earlier in the recipe for turnip and apple fritters,¹⁶⁷ but the true whimsy of medieval great-household fruit and vegetable cookery comes out in *Forme of Cury*'s recipe for compote:

Compost. Take rote of parsel. pasternak of rasenns. scrape hem waisthe hem clene. take rapes & caboches ypared and icorne. take an erthen panne with clene water & set it on the fire. cast all þise þerinne. whan þey both boiled cast þerto peeres & parboile hem wel. take þise thynges up & lat it kele on a fair cloth, do þerto salt whan it is colde in a vessel take vineger & powdour & safroun & do þerto. & lat alle þise thinges lye þerin al nyzt oþer al day, take wyne greke and hony clarified togider lumbarde mustard & raisouns corance al hool. & grynde powdour of canel powdour douce. & aneys hole. & fenell seed. take alle þise thynges & cast togyder in a pot of erthe. and take þerof whan þou wilt & serue forth.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹ The fig was widely cultivated in Italy by the 11th century, and Davidson asserts that crossbreeding provided more robust plants that were able to survive in more northern climates, although Davidson is unclear on French and English production, see Patricia Skinner, *Health and Medicine in Early Medieval Southern Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 6–10; Davidson, “Fig”, *Food*, 355–357.

¹⁶² Davidson notes that S. Spain is the northernmost limit of the plant's ability to be cultivated, see Davidson, “Date”, *Food*, 292–294.

¹⁶³ See chart above.

¹⁶⁴ See chart above.

¹⁶⁵ *Viandier* (c.1380, France), 178.

¹⁶⁶ *Viandier* (c.1380, France), 197–198.

¹⁶⁷ *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, England), xx.vii. ix.

¹⁶⁸ *Forme of Cury* (c.1390, E.), c.

Fruits, and for that matter, vegetables, were certainly important in great household dietary regimes. Some authors recorded highly creative ways of using them and incorporating their sweet, tart flavours into a wide variety of sweet and savoury preparations. It is difficult to conceive of why some cookery collection authors did not include apples and pears, for example the author of *Viandier*, although it is impossible to imagine that apples and pears were not being used in the French royal kitchens while Taillevent was the master cook. While Scully is correct to note that cookery collections yield little in the way of information about consumption of fruits in their raw forms, the present survey highlights Albala's arguments in favour of the importance of fruits and vegetables in medieval great-household dietary regimens. While Albala focused on Italy, our survey highlights the importance of fruits and vegetables in French and English great households. Clearly English cookery collection authors were more inclined to include fruits in recipes than French authors, but both, still, valued their unique flavours. The exact reason for this is, however, unclear.

Spices and Seasoning Profiles

If one element of cookery could define late International Gothic culinary modes,¹⁶⁹ it was its use of spices and piquant seasonings. Fourteenth-century elite cookery, in both France and England, relied on complex, multi-layered seasoning profiles. Spices helped cooks create these flavours while imbuing dishes with a sense of refinement and exoticism.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Some scholars are weary of the term late International Gothic cuisine as a catchall phrase for describing the many similarities that existed between medieval European cuisine, its use of piquant seasonings and acids, recipes that were shared among cookery collection authors of most regions, notably blancmange, mawmene, frumenty, mortrew, fritters, roasts, sops and so on. I am comfortable using this term to describe the larger similarities that existed between French and English cuisine during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, but criticisms about the term's over-extension into too many regions and periods of cookery are valid. See Pray Bober, "Late Gothic International Style," in *Art, Culture, and Cuisine*, 219–266.

¹⁷⁰ Eliyahu Ashtor, "Spice Prices in the Near East in the Fifteenth Century," in *Studies on the Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages: Collected Essays of Eliyahu Ashtor*, ed. Eliyahu Ashtor (London: Variorum, 1978) 26–41; Eliyahu

It is not enough to simply note that spices were popular additions to recipes during the late Middle Ages. Spices were active elements in the humoral system that dominated some aspects of medieval medicinal philosophies.¹⁷¹ Ginger, cloves, and cinnamon, especially—three of the most regularly mentioned spices that we have seen in the recipes listed earlier—were particularly universal in sweet and savoury recipes across Europe.¹⁷² These and other spices were understood to hold the power to warm the stomach, aid in digestion, assist food in moving through the bowels, and, in the right balances, harmonize the liquids and humours of the body.¹⁷³ This is the likely reason that Richard II's physicians took part in authorship of *Forme of Cury*.¹⁷⁴ Spices were tasty, most were from exotic lands, they held the power to heal, and they were fixtures in the medieval imagination. As Paul Freedman noted:

Spices were used in cookery and in medicine, but their popularity and importance went beyond utility. They were marvellous and mysterious—aspects of the world's secrets and miracles along with saints, strange animals, extraordinary natural events like earthquakes, or mythical natural phenomena including rivers of stones or lands of darkness. The quest to discover the lands where spices grew was practical in an economic sense, but also part of the medieval desire to fathom the secrets of the earth.¹⁷⁵

Certainly, cookery collections are the primary sources historians have pointed to in order to illustrate the well-seasoned nature of medieval French and English cookery. When we examine out medieval cookery collection group, we can see that many spices were used in similar proportion across many of the texts. The chart below represents a relatively small sample

Ashtor, "The Volume of Mediaeval Spice Trade," *Journal of European Economic History* 9.3 (1980) 753–763; Paul Freedman, "Commercial Fraud and Vice: The Cultural Value of Spices" Lecture at the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, October 20, 2006; Nicole Crossley-Holland, "Sugar and Spice," in *Living and Dining in Medieval Paris: The Household of a Fourteenth-Century Knight* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996) 105–112.

¹⁷¹ Freedman, "Medicine: Spice as Drugs," *Out of the East*, 50–75.

¹⁷² Freedman, "Spices and Medieval Cuisine," *Out of the East*, 19–49.

¹⁷³ Freedman, "Medicine: Spice as Drugs," *Out of the East*, 51–52.

¹⁷⁴ See discussion of source authorship in introduction to this chapter.

¹⁷⁵ Freedman, "Spices: A Global Commodity," *Out of the East*, 17–18.

of the spices that appeared in our cookery collection group, although those included were the ones that appeared with greatest frequency across our cookery collection:

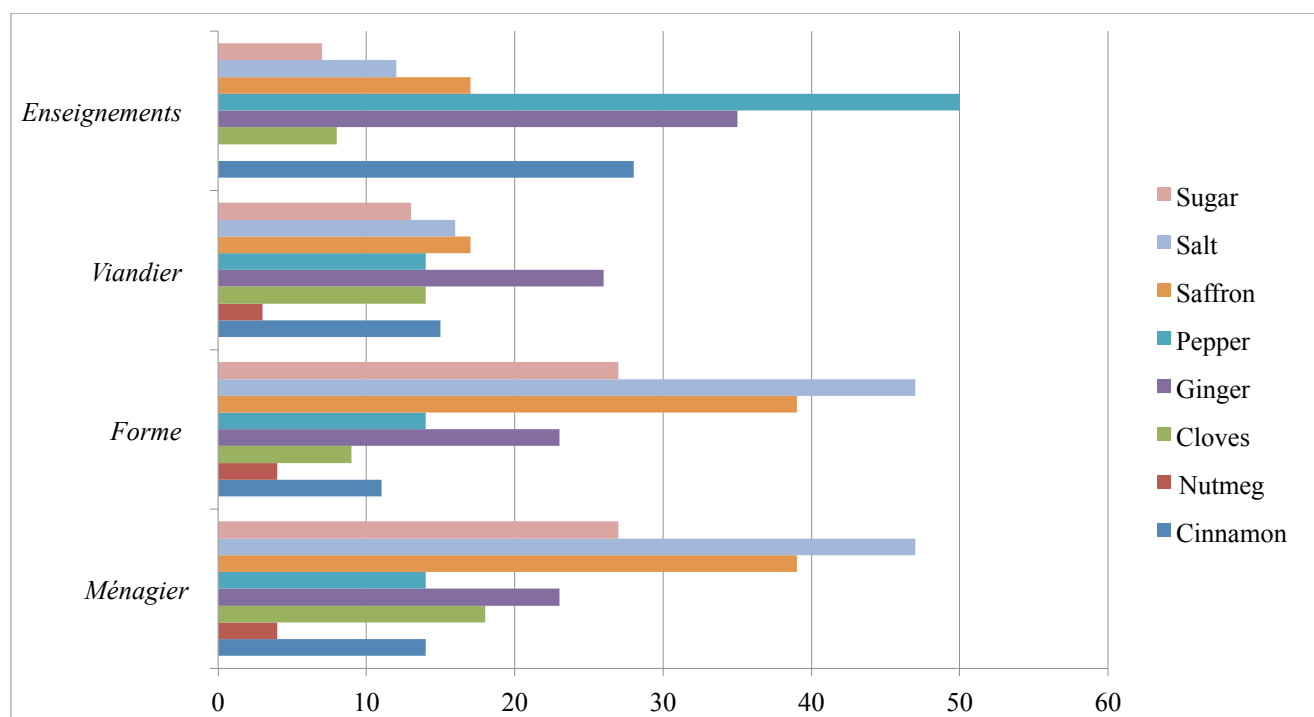


Figure 6. Recipes calling for spice.

Salt¹⁷⁶ and pepper were two of the most regularly mentioned seasonings across our collections. Pepper was called for in *Enseignements* in fifty percent of recipes, in *Viandier* in ten percent of recipes, in *Forme of Cury* in fourteen percent of recipes, and in *Ménagier* in five percent of recipes.¹⁷⁷ Salt was called for in *Enseignements* in forty-seven percent of recipes, in *Viandier* in fifteen percent of recipes, in *Forme of Cury* in fourteen percent of recipes, and in *Ménagier* in fifteen percent of recipes.¹⁷⁸

Other spices were called for in varying frequencies. Ginger was frequently required, with *Enseignements* calling for thirty-five percent of recipes, in *Viandier* in twenty-six percent of recipes, in *Forme of Cury* in twenty-three percent of recipes, and in *Ménagier* in fifteen percent

¹⁷⁶ Salt was often classified as a spice and sold by spicers during the medieval period.

¹⁷⁷ See chart above.

¹⁷⁸ See chart above.

of recipes.¹⁷⁹ Saffron appeared less frequently, with *Enseignements* calling for saffron in seventeen percent of recipes, in *Viandier* in seventeen percent of recipes, in *Forme of Cury* in thirty-nine percent of recipes, and in *Ménagier* in ten percent of recipes.¹⁸⁰ Surprisingly, cinnamon was called for even less. *Enseignements* called for cinnamon in twenty-eight percent of recipes, in *Viandier* in fifteen percent of recipes, in *Forme of Cury* in eleven percent of recipes, and in *Ménagier* (1393, F.) in fourteen percent of recipes.¹⁸¹

Of the spices included in the present analysis, spices appearing with less frequency included sugar,¹⁸² cloves, and nutmeg. Sugar appeared in *Enseignements* in seven percent of recipes, in *Viandier* in thirteen percent of recipes, in *Forme of Cury* in twenty-seven percent of recipes, and in *Ménagier* in five percent of recipes.¹⁸³ Cloves appeared in *Enseignements* in eight percent of recipes, in *Viandier* in fourteen percent of recipes, in *Forme of Cury* in nine percent of recipes, and in *Ménagier* in nine percent of recipes.¹⁸⁴ Nutmeg appeared relatively rarely: *Enseignements* called for nutmeg in none of its recipes, in *Viandier* in one percent of recipes, in *Forme of Cury* in two percent of recipes, and in *Ménagier* in one percent of recipes.¹⁸⁵

Since spices were used in all types of recipes, a survey of the recipes calling for spice will not be necessary here; instead, our quantitative analysis reveals an interesting look at the mechanisms of the aromatic profiles associated with the late International Gothic culinary style. Cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, and ginger have often been highlighted as central elements of medieval French and English seasoning aesthetics. While they were important, we can see that the most regularly mentioned spices were salt, pepper, saffron, ginger, and cinnamon. Of these

¹⁷⁹ See chart above.

¹⁸⁰ See chart above.

¹⁸¹ See chart above.

¹⁸² Sugar was often classified as a spice and sold by spicers during the medieval period.

¹⁸³ See chart above.

¹⁸⁴ See chart above.

¹⁸⁵ See chart above.

spices, ginger, cinnamon, and the various peppers (round pepper, long pepper, cubeb) have the most pungent aromas and, if we are to believe the numbers, played the most important role in building flavour foundations. Ginger and cinnamon played a secondary role in augmenting flavour profiles, while nutmeg and cloves played a tertiary role in further augmenting flavours. Other spices—salt and sugar—had a strong presence in cookery collections, but did not play a central role in forming the aromatic profiles associated with the late International Gothic culinary aesthetic.

While our spice and aromatic numbers reveal a picture of the importance of spice that complements arguments put forth indicating that spice was important to medieval cookery, another pattern is present in the above chart as well: many recipes did not require much in the way of seasoning. *Ménagier*, for example, included around 286 finite recipes, including variations on those recipes, but only about fifteen percent called for pepper or cinnamon: two of the most important seasonings in the late International Gothic culinary aesthetic. In fact, of the spices included in this analysis, saffron, salt, and sugar were relied upon regularly by the *Ménagier*, while the fundamentals of the late International Gothic seasoning aesthetic—cinnamon, ginger, pepper, cloves, nutmeg—appeared in about fifteen percent of recipes. Now, this is not to say that spice was not important—*Ménagier* clearly included many more spices as well as herbs that I have not included in the present chart¹⁸⁶—but rather, that general use of strong flavours was an essential element of the large majority of medieval dishes served within the great household context. It was not, in reality, dominated by a single group of spices.

Medieval cooks were crafty in terms of modifying flavours through textural transformations of ingredients, cooking method, and by being open-minded to using local herbs

¹⁸⁶ Ginger, salt, saffron, cloves, parsley, cinnamon, pepper, sage, mustard, grains of paradise, garlic, nutmeg, galingale, sorrel, mace, hyssop, marjoram, fennel, mint, rosemary, anise, coriander, chervil, cubeb, juniper, tansy, alexander, camomile, caraway, cumin, pennyroyal, rue, savory.

as flavour builders, along with moderate amounts of spice. The news, here, is less about spice—scholars such as Freedman have taken great strides in illuminating the sociocultural importance of spices—instead, our news is more about cooks’ skills in using many other elements of their environments and skill sets to build flavour and imbue dishes with seasoning. While spices were important, the cooks’ skill in conceptualizing the dish to fit a specific flavour profile, even before approaching the stove, speaks to a group of highly organized, skilled individuals that sometimes used spices and other times used their skills in order to excite the taste buds of diners.

Cookery Liquids

Since medieval cuisine relied on a variety of liquids, it is worth briefly outlining their uses. Broth—usually made from beef, mutton, or fish trimmings—was a popular element of cookery on meat and fish days. Broth sometimes provided a base for soups, however, many pottages and braised dishes in our sources only called for the addition of water, wine, verjuice, and vinegar— not broth—indicating that the necessary broth for the dish was created using the ingredients in the recipe, rather than requiring a ready-made broth.

While fish broth was the only acceptable type of broth for a fish day, almond milk was an acceptable substitution for some preparations, and it was also used in many meat dishes as well. Since almonds thicken naturally when exposed to heat, almond milk was a universally acceptable cooking liquid for fish and meat days.

Broths and cooking liquids are one element of cookery that do not lend themselves to quantitative analysis since it is impossible to know whether cooks finished some dishes listed here with a little broth to moisten, or some almond milk to thicken, before sending the dish out

the serving hatch. Despite this, it is undeniable that seasoned, specially prepared cooking liquors were a foundation to medieval cookery just as they are to modern western cookery styles.

Conclusion: What is New in Quantitative Analysis?

Our analysis of French and English cookery manuals has provided some new and compelling perspectives of medieval cookery. This is the first, large-scale, comparative analysis that has examined ingredient use through numbers drawn from a variety of ingredient categories across a number of cookery manuals.

The quantitative analysis provided here has revealed an altered understanding of medieval haute cookery habits than currently exists in historiography. Some scholars have asserted that, in the typical fourteenth- and fifteenth-century cookery manual, up to twenty-five percent were for chicken.¹⁸⁷ Others have asserted that chicken and game meats were so important that, by the fourteenth century, great-household cooks only “occasionally” served beef and mutton.¹⁸⁸ Numerically, however, beef, pork, and mutton usually appeared in about twenty-five percent of cookery manual recipes in our fourteenth- and fifteenth-century cookery collection group, while chicken recipes—even when including poussin, capon, hen, and chicken in the definition—usually accounted for between fifteen to eighteen percent of recipes. Pepper, salt, sugar, and saffron were regularly called for across our cookery collections, but cinnamon, cloves, and nutmeg were numerically infrequent given the degree to which they have been celebrated in historiography, casting light on the wide number of other seasonings and cooking methods that imbued flavour to dishes. Even the humble onion has a new lease on historiographic life when

¹⁸⁷ Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, 34.

¹⁸⁸ Flandrin, “Dietary Choices,” *Food*, 405; Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, 34.

approached numerically: it appeared in up to fifteen percent of recipes in our cookery collections, making it a very important element of great-household cookery.

What has been the cause of this discrepancy in terms of over representing some ingredients in historiography? A lack of computer-assisted analysis. Having all of the recipes entered into a computer database, as in my own excel database and the larger database compiled by Mr. Myers, allows for analysis of all appearances of ingredients. Therefore, if we use pork as an example, this method includes recipes where pork is the primary ingredient, but also recipes where pork is used as stuffing. Beef recipes were common, but beef broth is often overlooked; this method includes recipes where beef is used as a primary ingredient, like roasts of beef, and as a secondary ingredient as in the case of beef broth.

Sustained ingredient analysis of our medieval collections has shown great household cooks to be wily in terms of marshalling refined and humble ingredients into dishes that pleased elite palates. The news here is not that beef was more regularly called for in cookery collections than poultry recipes, but rather, that cooks were able to apply cooking and seasoning methods to all categories of ingredients that elevated them beyond the ordinary. Our great-household cooks were not delicate souls that relied on fine ingredients to continually present themselves. They were able masters in detecting and augmenting the best attributes of even the most humble ingredients. Fruits, vegetables, spices, and all sorts of terrestrial, aquatic, and avian animals found their way into great household kitchens, and ended up in tasty and refined dishes.

Chapter Two

Culinary Dynamism and Conservatism, 1450–1660

“In number of dishes and change of meat the nobility of England (whose cooks are for the most part musical-headed Frenchmen and strangers) do most exceed, sith there is no day in manner that passeth over their heads wherein they have not only beef, mutton, veal, lamb, kid, pork, cony, capon, pig, or so many of these as the season yieldeth, but also some portion of the red or fallow deer, beside great variety of fish and wild fowl, and thereto sundry other delicates wherein the sweet hand of the seafaring Portugal is not wanting”

Rev. William Harrison,
Description Of Elizabethan England, 1577

“Howsoever, the French by their Insinuations, not without enough of Ignorance, have bewitcht some of the Gallants of our Nation with Epigram Dishes, smoakt rather than drest, so strangely to captivate the Gusto, their Mushroom’d Experiences for Sauce rather than Diet, for the generality howsoever called A-la-mode, not worthy of being taken notice on. As I live in France, and had the Language and have been an eye-witness of their Cookeries as well, as a Peruser of their Manuscripts, and Printed Authors whatsoever I found good in them, I have inserted in this Volume. I do acknowledg my self not to be a little beholding to the Italian and Spanish Treatises”

Robert May,
Th’ Accomplisht Cook, 1660

When Rev. William Harrison (1534-1593) and the French-trained Englishman cook Robert May (1588-1664) penned the lines above, they described a style of English cuisine that was absorbing influences from France, Italy, and the Iberian Peninsula. English food habits and, one would suspect, the food of many other regions, were changing, evolving, and adding new dishes to accompany old favourites. Interestingly, however, both Harrison and May seem to have considered French influences – coming from “musical-headed¹ Frenchmen” employed in the

¹ Flighty.

houses of the aristocracy – as “bewitch[ing]” normal English food habits with fantasies about “Sauce rather than Diet”.²

Harrison’s and May’s comments cut deeply into the heart of the arguments presented in Chapter One, and into those presented in this chapter, which are: with the degree of dynamism present in fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and early seventeenth-century English recipes, and with all of the many influences that Harrison and May point out as entering English cuisine from abroad, why do we still isolate the shifts of the mid-seventeenth century “revolution in taste” as the most important group of culinary changes to have shaped European cuisine during the late medieval and early modern periods? Certainly the “revolution in taste” narratives that I will outline below make some important and insightful observations about the manner in which pre-modern Europeans evolved in regards to their cookery styles, but the “revolutionary” aspect of this narrative is the one that I argue against here. Change was occurring in French and English cuisine long before the mid-seventeenth century, and the results of these changes were no more and no less significant than the shifts outlined in the “revolution in taste” narratives.

The “revolution in taste” is a mode of historiographical discussion present in food history that has grown in popularity in recent decades. Susan Pinkard’s 2009 work, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine*, is certainly the most fully developed narrative on the topic, but many scholars have made use of the idea for more than thirty years.³ Barbara Wheaton outlined the shifts typically associated with the “revolution” in taste, noting that:

² Robert May, *Th’ Accomplisht Cook* (London: Obadiah Balgrave, 1660) 4v. (Google Books); Rev. William Harrison, “Of the Food and Diet of the English”, *Description Of Elizabethan England* (London: unknown, 1577) 6 (Google Books).

³ Jean-Louis Flandrin, “Différences et différenciation des goûts: réflexions sur quelques exemples européens entre le 14e et le 18e siècles”, *National & Regional Styles of Cookery: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery*, ed. Alan Davidson (London: Prospect Books, 1981) 191-207; Susan Pinkard, “Refined Consumption, 1660–1735”, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 123–154; Roy Strong, “A Culinary Revolution,” in *Feast: A History of Grand Eating* (London: Cape, 2002) 224–230; Barbara Wheaton, “Cookbooks and Cooking in the Sixteenth Century,” “The Beginnings of Fine Cookery,” in

This new approach to the art of cookery was practiced both in the large and small kitchens described in the last chapter, though the differences in scale led to different styles of cooking. In all cases the manner of working was strongly marked by the spirit of organization that was to become the hallmark of classic French cuisine. This cuisine resulted, in part, from the techniques employed, such as the main ways of binding sauces [roux, reduction] or the use of vegetable mixtures as flavourings and of forcemeats as adjuncts to roasts and ragouts, and in part from systematic organization of dishes of varying scale and complexity in a patterned array set out on the table.⁴

Most scholars agree that a few key works - including François Pierre de la Varenne's *Le cuisinier françois* (1651), its English translation, *The French Cook* (1653), as well as Nicolas de Bonnefons's *Le jardinier François* (1651), his *Les délices de la champagne* (1654), and François Massialot's *Nouveau cuisinier royal et bourgeois* (1691) and *Nouvelle instruction pour les confitures, les liqueurs et les fruits* (1692) - set into motion and reinforced this shift.⁵

In two important works on the topic, Jean-Louis Flandrin produced a statistical analysis of European cookbooks produced between the 1300's and 1700's, strongly suggesting that the cookbooks of La Varenne, Massialot, Bonnefons, and others of the post-1650 period, set a series of radical changes in motion that altered European food habits away from the norms that were present in medieval cookbooks toward a new, "revolutionized" aesthetic.⁶ "Spices still figured in 60-70% of all recipes; however, a proportion just as high as the Middle Ages," although "[t]he

Savouring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1983), 27–41, 113–128; Hans Teuteberg, "Periods and Turning Points in the History of the European Diet: A Preliminary Outline of Problems and Methods," in *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisban (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1986) 11–23; Eszter Kisban, "Food Habits in Change: The example of Europe," in *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisban (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1986) 2–10; Mennell, 71-73; Brian Cowan, "New Worlds, New Tastes: Food Fashions After the Renaissance," in *Food: The History of Taste*, ed. Paul Freedman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) 197–231; Jeanne Allard, "Nola: Rupture ou Continuité?," in *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1992) 149–161.

⁴ Wheaton, *Savouring*, 113.

⁵ Wheaton, 114-119, 149-156; 123-128; Pinkard, 95-122, 123-128; Jean-Louis Flandrin, "Dietary Choices and Culinary Technique, 1500-1800," *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Massimo Montanari & Jean-Louis Flandrin (New York: Penguin, 2000) 406-409.

⁶ Flandrin, "Dietary Choices," *Food*, 404; Jean-Louis Flandrin, "Différences et différenciation des goûts: réflexions sur quelques exemples européens entre le 14e et le 18e siècles," *National & Regional Styles of Cookery: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery*, ed. Alan Davidson (London: Prospect Books, 1981) 191-207.

only spices that continued in regular use were pepper, cloves, and nutmeg, and these were much more widely used than before,”⁷ and that,

[T]he number of animal species served on the better tables decreased...Between 1500 and 1650, cormorant, stork, swan, crane, bittern, spoonbill, heron, and peacock—large birds once featured at aristocratic feasts but deemed inedible today—vanished from cookbooks and markets. So did marine animals and their by-products, ranging from whale blubber, once considered indispensable during Lent, to porpoise and seal. Of the amphibious species classified as “fish” by the church, only the scoter, a kind of diving duck that no one eats today, survived as a dish for meatless days until the end of the eighteenth century.⁸

There is some variation in scholars’ assessments of the impact and intensity of the mid-seventeenth-century French culinary shift, to be sure, but the concept has come to dominate the field of European food historiography.⁹

As in Chapter One, here I conduct a quantitative analysis of the frequency of mention of groups of ingredients in a sample of cookbooks produced between 1450-1660. I use the same six categories of ingredients - quadrupeds, poultry and game fowl, fish, fruits, vegetables, and spices – that were used in Chapter One, counting the number of recipes in each collection that mention

⁷ Flandrin, “Dietary Choices,” *Food*, 408.

⁸ Flandrin, “Dietary Choices,” *Food*, 404.

⁹ Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985) 49-69; Philip and Mary Hyman, “Les Livres de Cuisine et le Commerce des Recettes en France aux XVe et XVIe Siècles,” in *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1992) 59–68; Carole Lambert, “Medieval France: The South,” in *Regional Cuisines of Medieval Europe: A Book of Essays*, ed. Melitta Weiss Adamson (New York: Routledge, 2002) 67–84; Hazel Forsyth, “Sixteenth-Century,” in *London Eats Out: Five Hundred Years of Capital Dining*, ed. Edwina Ehrman et al. (London: Museum of London, 1999) 12–27; Hazel Forsyth, “Seventeenth-Century,” in *London Eats Out: Five Hundred Years of Capital Dining*, ed. Edwina Ehrman et al. (London: Museum of London, 1999) 30–47; Jean-Louis Flandrin, “Structure des Menus Français et Anglais aux XIVE et XVe Siècles,” in *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1992) 173–192; Peter Brears, “Seventeenth-Century Britain,” in *A Taste of History: 10,000 Years of Food in Britain*, ed. Peter Brears et al. (London: British Heritage and British Museum Press, 1993) 180–215; Peter Brears, “Tudor Britain,” in *A Taste of History: 10,000 Years of Food in Britain*, ed. Peter Brears et al. (London: British Heritage and British Museum Press, 1993) 139–177; Jean-Robert Pitte, *French Gastronomy: The History and Geography of a Passion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Cathy Ross, “Introduction: Five Centuries of City Food,” in *London Eats Out: Five Hundred Years of Capital Dining*, ed. Edwina Ehrman (London: Museum of London, 1999) 8–11; Terrance Scully, “Medieval France: The North,” in *Regional Cuisines of Medieval Europe: A Book of Essays*, ed. Melitta Weiss Adamson (New York: Routledge, 2002) 47–66.

each ingredient, in order to describe frequency with which specific ingredients are called for throughout the sample of cookbooks. As this method reveals, change was already strongly present in the cookbooks of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and mid-seventeenth centuries, and in many of the same categories of ingredient use that are usually associated with the “revolution in taste”.

For the 1450-1660 sample I have chosen eleven French, English, and Italian cookery collections. In chronological order these are: *Du fait de cuisine*¹⁰ (1420, France); *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery Books*¹¹ (1430/50, England); *The Neapolitan Recipe Collection*¹² (c.1450, Italy), *Libro de arte coquinaria*¹³ (1465, Italy); *Le Recueil de Riom*¹⁴ (1466, France); *A Noble Booke off Cookry*¹⁵ (1468, England); *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye*¹⁶ (1550, England); *A Book of Cookrye*¹⁷ (1591, England); *The Good Housewife's Jewell*¹⁸ (1596, England); the *Ouverture de Cuisine*¹⁹ (1604, France); and *Le Cuisinier françois*²⁰ (1651, France). I have again

¹⁰ [1420] Maître Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine*, ed. Florence Bouas and Frédéric Vivas (Arles: Actes Sud, 2008).

¹¹ [1430–1450] Anon., *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks*, ed. Thomas Austin & Early English Texts Society, (London: N. Trübner, 1888), also available at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;cc=cme;view=toc;idno=CookBk>.

¹² [1450] Anon., *The Neapolitan Recipe Collection (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Bühler, 19)*, ed. Terence Scully (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Libraries, 2005), also available at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=genpub;idno=4120161.0001.001>.

¹³ [1465] Maestro Martino, “Libro de arte coquinaria,” in *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book*, ed. Luigi Ballerini, trans. Jeremy Parzen (Berkeley: University of California P., 2005) 49–114.

¹⁴ [1466] Anon., *Le recueil de Riom et la manière de hentre soutillement (BnF MS Lat., 6707)*, ed. Carol Lambert (Montreal: Revue d'études linguistiques et littéraires, 1987), also available at <http://www.ermespot.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/01/le-recueil-de-riom.pdf>.

¹⁵ [c.1468] Anon., *A Noble Boke Off Cookry Ffor a Prynce Houssolde or Eny Other Estately Houssolde: Reprinted Verbatim from a Rare MS. in the Holkham Collection*, ed. Mrs. Alexander Napier (London: Elliot Stock, 1882), also available at <http://www.medievalcookery.com/notes/napier.txt>.

¹⁶ [1557] Anon., *A Proper Newe Booke of Cokerye*, ed. Catherine Frances Frere (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1913), also available at <http://www.staff.uni-giessE.de/gloning/tx/bookecok.htm>.

¹⁷ [1591] A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (London: Edward Allde, 1591), available at <http://jducoeur.org/Cookbook/Cookrye.html>.

¹⁸ [1596] G. Steevens, *The Good Housewife's Jewell* (London: Edward White, 1596), also available at <http://www.medievalcookery.com/notes/ghj1596.txt>.

¹⁹ [1604] Lancelot de Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine*, ed. Léo Moulin, available in the original French at <http://www.staff.uni-giessE.de/gloning/tx/ouv3.htm>, English translation: Mr. Daniel Myers <http://www.medievalcookery.com/notes/ouverture.html>.

²⁰ [1651] François Pierre La Varenne, *Le cuisinier françois*, ed. Terence Scully (Totnes, U.K.: Prospect Books, 2006).

used material from Myers's recipe database,²¹ augmented with two additional sources: Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* (1465, Italy) and François Pierre La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France).²² These cookbooks were selected because they included a large number of recipes and represented a range of periods and regions. Almost all of these sources were associated with wealthier households of noble or upper bourgeois rank.²³ *Du fait de cuisine* was written by Maître Chiquart, an early fifteenth-century master cook to the ducal household of Savoy, with the help of a clerk to whom Chiquart dictated the recipes.²⁴ *Libro de arte coquinaria* was written by Maestro Martino, master cook to the Roman, curial household of Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan (1401–1465), through which he came into contact with Platina, the future papal librarian and author of *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* (1465, Italy).²⁵ Even the *Noble Booke off Cookry* included its association with noble households as an advertising feature in the title. But it was not until we come to our early modern group of cookery collections that authorship is more frequently specified. The frontispiece of *A Book of Cookrye* attributes authorship to "A.W.," although no further information is known about the author. Likewise, the frontispiece of *The Good Housewife's Jewell* attributed authorship to the otherwise unknown "G. Steevens." Alternatively, the frontispiece of *Ouverture de Cuisine* attributes authorship to Lancelot de Casteau, master cook to the household of the prince-bishops of Liège. Finally, the frontispiece of *Cuisinier françois* attributes authorship to the celebrated François Pierre de la

²¹ See discussion of methodologies in chapter one.

²² [1465] Martino da Como, *Libro de arte coquinaria* ed. Luigi Ballerini, et al. (Milan: Tommasi, 2001); François Pierre La Varenne, *La Varenne's Cookery: The French Cook; The French Pastry Chef; The French Confectioner, A Modern English Translation and Commentary*, ed. Terence Scully (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2006).

²³ Unfortunately, due to difficulty in accessing sixteenth-century French collections, few are present in this sample. Still, we have enough French collections from other periods collections from a wide enough geographic range that it is possible to analyze any changes in ingredient use and compare change with the frequencies that were extracted from the medieval analysis in chapter one.

²⁴ Chiquart mentions Jehan de Dudens, a notary from Annecy, explicitly, in the introduction and in a short poem at the end of the work, Chiquart, *Du fait*, 55, 158.

²⁵ Platina was a member of another Roman curial household, that of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483), see Luigi Ballerini, "Maestro Martino: The Carneades of Cooks," in *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book*, ed. Luigi Ballerini, trans. Jeremy Parzen (Berkeley: University of California P., 2005) 1–31.

Varenne, master cook to the household of Louis Chalon du Blé, Marquis of Uxelles (1619–1658).

By examining the nature of how quantitative, proportional ingredient composition of cookery collections changed by ingredient group between 1450 and 1660 in France and England, we will be able to examine the nature of the “revolution in taste” and test the degree to which these changes were revolutionary in altering fundamental aspects of cookery, or exceptional in that they appeared rarely and without causing major change in proportional ingredient representation within collections.

Quadruped Use in Cookery Manuals: 1450–1660

When we examine food historiography surrounding increasing or decreasing consumption of beef in early modern Europe, a confusing picture presents itself. Some suggest that quadruped consumption declined abruptly in the great household context, except in the case of veal and some types of offal.²⁶ While beef may have remained popular in England throughout this period, it is alleged that its status within the Great Chain of Being was “rehabilitated” in France, and that prices simultaneously rose during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²⁷ Ideas like this are often attributed to works like Florentin Thierrat’s *Discours de la preference de la noblesse* (c.1608, France), which suggested that consumption of pheasant and light poultry led to greater intelligence and sensibility than did beef, mutton, or pork.²⁸ Although these arguments definitely existed at an intellectual level in Renaissance society, it remains to be seen whether

²⁶ Flandrin, “Dietary Choices,” *Food*, 405; Pinkard, 46.

²⁷ Flandrin, “Dietary Choices,” *Food*, 404; Strong, “A Culinary Revolution,” *Feast*, 224.

²⁸ About The Great Chain of Being and its relation to food see, Allen Grieco, “Food and Social Classes in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy,” in *Food: A Culinary History* (New York: Penguin, 2000) 302–312.

they played out in the form of decreasing quadrupled proportions within contemporaneous cookery collections, especially since scholars have lately asserted that humanist currents of thought had little to do with influencing the types of recipes that appeared in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century French and English cookery collections.

Roy Strong drew links between the rediscovery of Martial's *Epigrams*, which occasionally mentioned food; records of Persian-influenced Greek banquets in Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae*; and the fourth-century Roman cookery text *De re coquinaria*, attributed to *Apicius* (*Apicius* was likely a *nomen nescio* for a conglomerate of ancient authors whose work is represented in *De re*)²⁹. Other scholars assert that rediscovery of ancient texts had little to do with inspiring change, even in fifteenth-century Roman cookery, despite the fact that change was occurring in Italian cuisine at the time. As Ballerini noted,

It is necessary to warn against the frequently encountered, but erroneous, hypothesis that Martino was influenced by Apicius. While the rediscovery of Apicius during the Renaissance elicited a lively discussion among philologists, his work had little if any impact on the philosophy of gastronomy and culinary practices of Martino, or on the writers inspired by his example.³⁰

Although Apicius's influence may have been minimal in terms of ingredient combinations, he did influence Renaissance culinary authors in providing a methodical framework for listing recipes. Ballerini and Millham note that Maestro Martino—one of Renaissance Rome's most famous cooks, who was employed by Cardinal Trevisan, and the author of *Libro de arte coquinaria*—divided his cookery collection in the same manner as the Apician cookery collection, indicating he was aware of it, but the recipes themselves were unique, not explicitly based on Apicius, and not necessarily bound by some of the strictures

²⁹ Strong asserts that he “taught haute cuisine” somewhere in Italy, see Roy Strong, *Feast: A History of Grand Eating* (London: Pimlico, 2003) 22, 138.

³⁰ Ballerini, “Carneades of Cooks,” *The Art of Cooking*, 13–22.

suggested above.³¹ Martino's recipes were copied—almost in their entirety—by Platina in *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* (1466, Italy), as were some from the Apician cookery collection, both thereby entering humanist culinary corpora at around the same time.³² Martino, on the other hand, seems to have been influenced by two elements: partially by classical cookery through his contact with humanist ideas while working in one of the premier Roman curial households, but also by an urge to innovate with food that took seriously the mission to explore flavours, textures, and cooking methods regardless of the presence of new ingredients or currents of intellectual thought.

When we turn to beef and veal recipes in our mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth-century cookery collections, it is clear that some authors found many uses for humble meats like beef and veal just as often, or more, than their medieval predecessors.

³¹ Mary Ella Milham, "New Aspects of *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*," in *Bartolomeo Sacchi il Platina: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi per il V centenario*, eds. Augusto Campana and Paola Medioli Masotti (Bartolomeo Sacchi, or Platina: Proceedings of the International Congress of Studies for the Fifth Centenary) (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1986) 92; Ballerini, "Carneades of Cooks," *The Art of Cooking*, 13–22.

³² Strong, *Feast*, 138–139; Alberto Capatti & Massimo Montanari, "The Humanists, Antiquity, and "Modernity," in *Italian Cuisine: A Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003) 98–100.

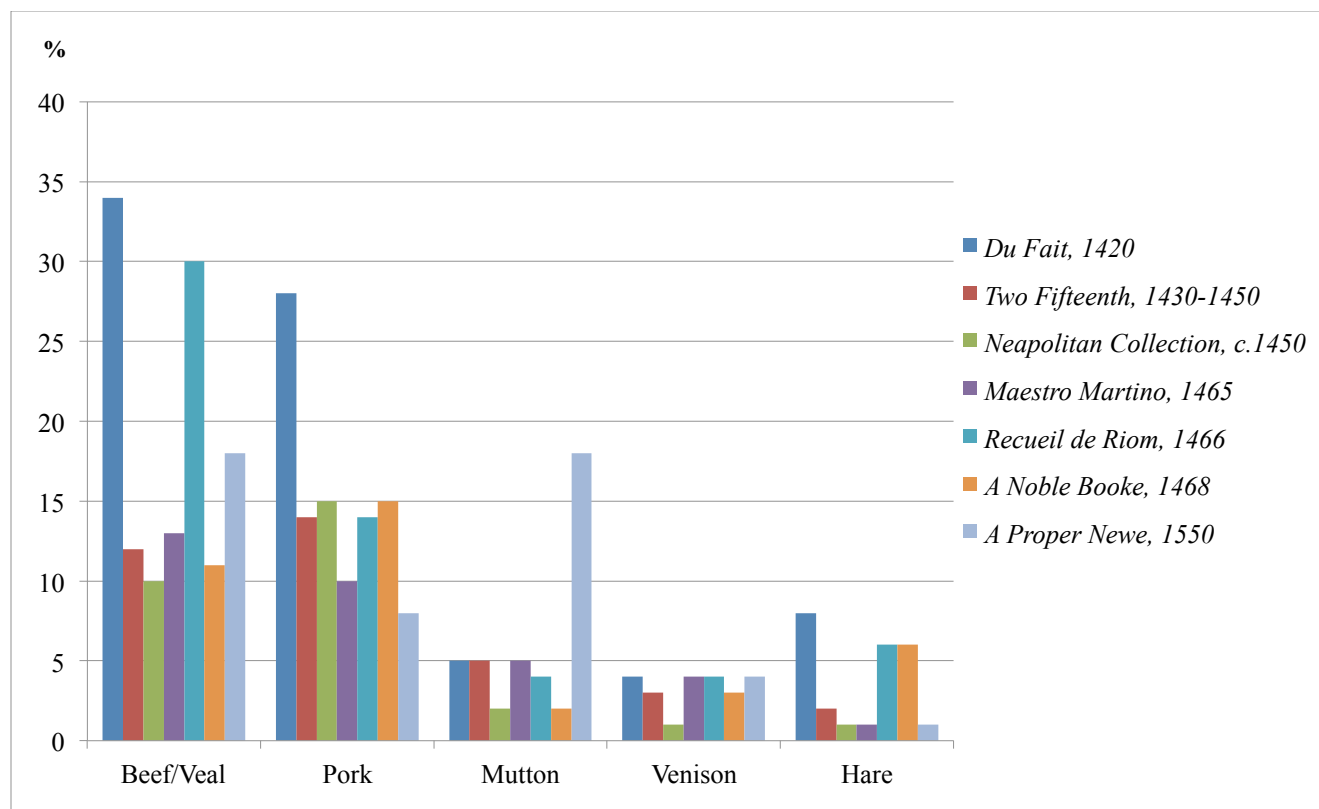


Figure 1. Recipes calling for quadruped species, c.1450-1550.

Du fait de cuisine called for beef or veal—either meat, marrow, broth, or in some other form—in at least thirty-four percent of recipes, while *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks* called for beef or veal variants in twelve percent of its recipes, in *Neapolitan Recipe Collection* ten percent of recipes called for beef or veal, thirteen percent in *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*, thirty percent in the *Recueil de Riom*, eleven percent in *A Noble Booke off Cookry*, and eighteen percent in *A Proper Newe Booke of Cokerye*.³³

In terms of the types of cuts of beef, offal was extremely popular. When Chiquart wanted to impress Duke Amadeus with bone marrow, he prepared a most extravagant tart:

And to know what is and of what things is made and should be made the cocade pasty and how, take beef and the fair fat from beef kidneys and let this be chopped very small, and let him take care that when the beef is dismembered he has all of the marrow, and then put it in his pasty; and then let him take his spices well and

³³ See Chart.

properly, that is ginger, grains of paradise, saffron, and salt, and all these things in measure.³⁴

Other types of offal appear with regularity, too. Liver and caul fat, for example, found highly refined applications in Chiquart's brand of cookery:

To give understanding to him who will make the mortoexes let him take the livers of kids and of veal and wash and clean them very well and put them to cook cleanly in fair water and, being sufficiently cooked, let him take them out onto fair and clean boards and drain them well and then chop them very small; and, being well chopped, put in herbs, that is sage and hyssop—and these in measure—and marjoram also and parsley also a great deal which should previously be picked over, cleaned, and washed, and chop them very well in with the liver, and also very good cheese and not too much, and also salt and spices: white ginger, grains of paradise, pepper and not too much, and saffron to give it color; and then take eggs and put them in. And mix all this together and then, when it boils, make the mortoexes: arrange that you have the caul of kids and veal—and if there are not enough take the caul of sheep—and be careful that they are fair and clean, then spread them on fair and clean boards and when they are spread take eggs and rub them on top; and, this being done, take the filling and put some on top and make your mortoeses just like raviolis; wrap them in the caul and then put them to cook on the grill.³⁵

While these dishes were highly refined, unique uses of beef in terms of their composition, seasoning, and cooking methods, the importance of beef offal was increasing just before this period outside of Italy.

Forme of Cury and *Liber Cure Cocorum* (c.1430, England), both Middle English texts written long before popularization of the works of Apicius, Martino, or Platina, called for all manner of offal to be added to pies or even roasted and enjoyed on their own. An old recipe for beef tongue, for example, tells the cook to

[l]ange de beof. //Take þo ox tonge and schalle hit wele, // Sethe hit, broche hit in larde yche dele, // With cloves of gelofer hit broch þou shalle, // Þen do hit to fyre and rost hit alle. // With 3olkes of eyren enbene hit ay // Whille þat hit rostes, as I þe say. // Þen take blode, þat is so lefe, // Welle hit in fresshe brothe of þe befe, //

³⁴ Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine* (1420, F.) # 41.

³⁵ Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine* (1420, F.), # 56.

Bray hit fulle wele in on mortere, // Do in fayre grece, þat is so clere. // Fors hit with spicys ry3t gode with alle, And sythun, serve hit in to þe halle.³⁶

In *Noble Boke off Cookry* the same recipe appears as follows:

To mak longe de bef, tak ox tungen and scrape them and wesche them then lesk them thyn then tak dates small mynced and yolks cromyd onyons mynced smalle raissins of corran parsly, ysope, tyme sandrey a quantite of saige and a quantite of pouder marchand pouder of pepper and salt then stuff your lesks and rolle them to gedure and boile them in swet brothe till it be boiled in then mak a cerip with wyne and of the same stuf and boile it upe and colour it with saffron and put ther to a quantite of venyger and salt it and serue it.³⁷

The suggested seventeenth-century trend toward including offal in some elements of elite cookery was less a trend than an ever-present element of European haute cuisine, one that is sometimes erroneously associated with the humanists rather than the curiosity of cooks and willingness of masters to enjoy such delicacies across our period.³⁸

As Flandrin suggested, while beef references remained proportionally high in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English cookery collections, data from contemporaneous French cookery collections showed a rise in beef and veal recipe proportionality.

³⁶ Anon., *Liber Cure Cocorum* (c.1430, E.), 26–27.

³⁷ Anon., *A Noble Boke off Cookry* (1468, E.), 30.

³⁸ Pinkard, 46; Flandrin, *Dietary Choices*, *Food*, 405–406.

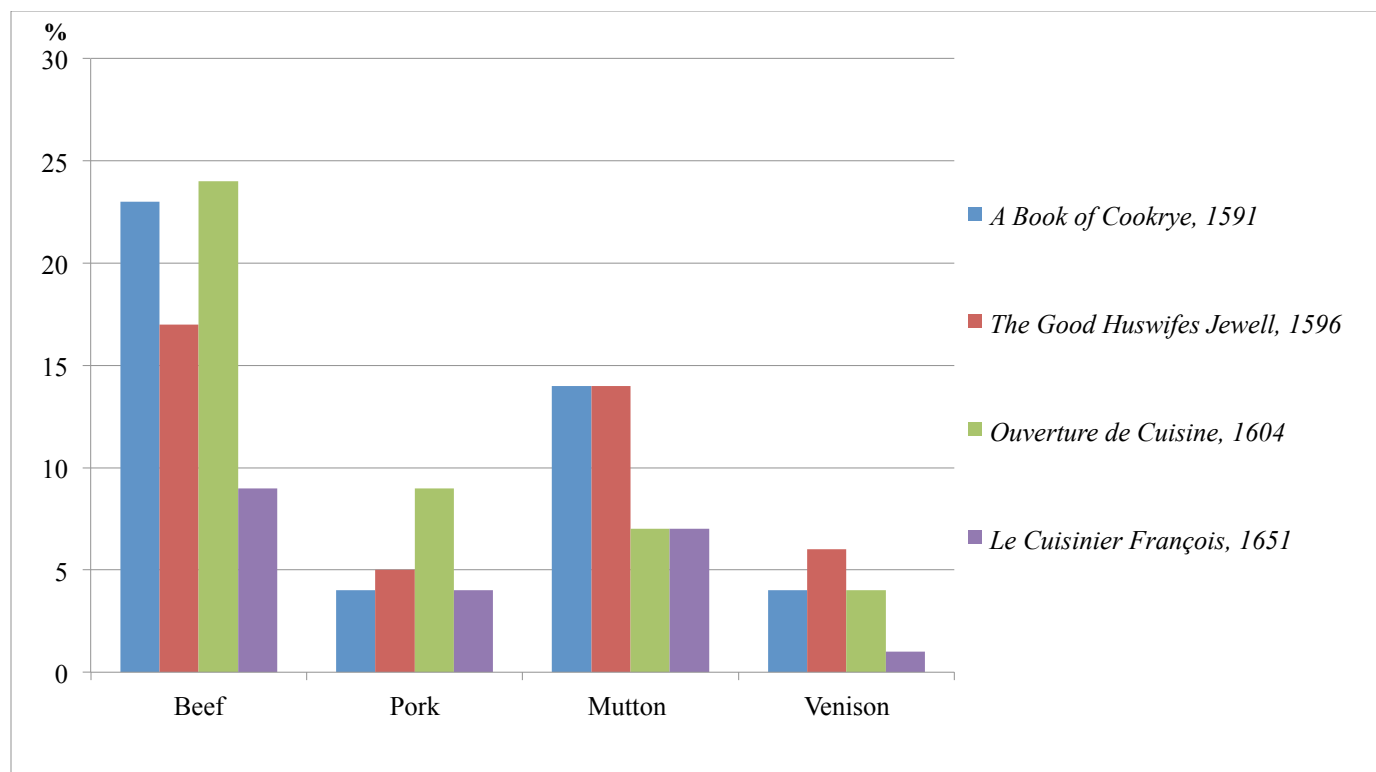


Figure 2. Recipes calling for quadruped species, 1550-1651.

When we turn to beef recipes in our mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth-century group of cookery collections, we can see that overall percentages of beef recipes increase, on average, over the medieval and fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century precedent. Whereas medieval collections called for beef in a range of about five to fifteen percent of recipes with little regional difference between French and English collections,³⁹ its proportionality increases on average in our early seventeenth-century collections to between about ten to twenty percent on average: *A Book of Cookrye* called for beef variants in twenty-three percent of recipes, while *The Good Housewife's Jewell* called for beef variants in seventeen percent of recipes, the *Ouverture de Cuisine* in twenty-four percent of recipes, and *Le Cuisinier françois* in nine percent of recipes.⁴⁰

³⁹ See discussion in previous chapter.

⁴⁰ See chart.

How were the beef recipes of the 1550s–1660s different from their medieval and sixteenth-century counterparts? Two primary areas of change developed: La Varenne’s broth became primarily flavoured with beef instead of mutton or other flavours, and more cuts of meat (non-offal) were described by cookery collection authors.⁴¹ In the French and English sources, before the fifteenth century, broth could be made either by adding water to the primary meat in the dish during the cooking process or by boiling cuts of beef, mutton, poultry, game, vegetables, trimmings, and lard together to make a stand-alone broth. By the mid fifteenth-century, both English and French sources were more frequently calling for broths that were comprised of specific categories of meat.

When La Varenne approached the topic of broth in the 1650s, however, he called for a liquid dominated by the flavour of beef. The very first sentence of *Le Cuisinier françois* told the cook to “get hind leg and rump of beef, a little mutton, and a few fowl, depending on the amount of bouillon you want, use that amount of meat, then cook it well with a bouquet of parsley, chives, and thyme bundled together, and some cloves.”⁴² Broth was still made with a mixture of bones, but now it was coming to take on the dominant flavour of beef in the case of La Varenne’s all-purpose broth. Still, we should be clear: La Varenne required a great many cooking liquids. Some included broths made by adding water, wine, and vinegar to meats before braising⁴³ as well as almond milk⁴⁴, veal jus⁴⁵, capons⁴⁶, even “tidbits.”⁴⁷ The point is not that all broth were made from beef; rather, broths were becoming increasingly more specific in the scope

⁴¹ This last consideration has been examined by Lauriou, “Table et Hiérarchie”, *Du Manuscrit*, 87–108; Flandrin, “Dietary Choices”, *Food*, 406.

⁴² La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, Fr.), II.I.

⁴³ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, Fr.), III.IX, this is only one example.

⁴⁴ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, Fr.), III.XI.

⁴⁵ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, Fr.), III.VII.

⁴⁶ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, Fr.), III.II.

⁴⁷ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, Fr.), III.XIX Scully notes that this could include any tidbits from around the kitchen: meat trimmings, cockscombs, truffles, pistachios, vegetables, etc.

of ingredients they used, with beef coming to dominate La Varenne's meat-broth recipe. This was not a shift seen in the English cookery collections included in our 1550s–1660s group. Stronger tasting mutton broth or simply broth were still the generic terms used by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English cookery collection authors, indicating that the cook was expected to know how to make broths already. The trend toward standardizing the flavour of generic broths may be unique to La Varenne, or more broadly, his contemporaries working in the noble household of early seventeenth-century France.

The second innovation—the trend toward being more specific about cuts of beef being called for in recipes—has been noted by Flandrin and Lauriou.⁴⁸ It is certainly present as a trend in our French sources, such as *Ouverture de Cuisine* and *Le Cuisinier françois*. It was still true of our fifteenth-century group as well. Names of beef cuts included in the *Ouverture*, for example, included thigh of veal, loin, breast, udder, liver, tongue, head, brains and others.⁴⁹ Our English sources also followed this trend, earlier than the French sources, but using less variety. Between both of the *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks*, similar groups of offal appeared as well as breast of veal, buttes or hips of veal, “calfes fete”, and “gobettys”, or diced beef. Cooking and seasoning methods changed somewhat, with noticeably fewer spices incorporated into savoury recipes in La Varenne, but all authors continued to prepare these cuts in the time-honoured manners of spit-roasting, boiling, sautéing, and baking. More cuts of beef were receiving greater attention from recipe-collection authors, but the composition of these recipes sat within a spectrum that saw most authors persist with medieval culinary principles, while some authors like Casteau and La Varenne included fewer spices but largely persisted with medieval-style, two-stage recipes.

⁴⁸ Lauriou, “Table et Hiérarchie”, *Du Manuscrit*, 87–108; Flandrin, “Dietary Choices,” *Food*, 406.

⁴⁹ All taken from Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, F.).

What can we say about changes in beef cookery c.1450–1550 and 1550–1660? How do those periods of beef cookery compare to the medieval French and English precedent? It is very difficult to associate trends such as an increasing proportion of offal recipes or a trend toward being increasingly specific about cuts of beef with the Roman humanists or with the mid-seventeenth-century French revolution in taste. It is clear that cooks were already being specific about the cuts of beef or veal necessary for their recipes during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries, and that offal dishes were present in the earlier centuries in a great number of varieties. Some scholars say “With the exception of the *Ménagier de Paris* (1493), fourteenth- and fifteenth-century cookbooks had usually been content to call for beef, veal, and so forth without indicating any specific cut,”⁵⁰ but this does not bear out under more intense analysis. As we have now see in our medieval and early modern analyses, as far as beef and veal were concerned, a great many recipes specified all kinds of cuts of beef across the period, although it is true that this trend intensified by the mid-seventeenth century.

If beef-use intensified, something had to move to the sidelines. By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, pork was the meat that was increasingly playing a background role in haute cookery manuals. In the case of pork, a much different trend presents itself than in the case of our expanding beef profile.

Pork, and here we can include pork meat, offal, bones, and prepared items like ham and bacon, seems to have been subject to increasingly more suspicion as an unhealthy meat, even by cooks. Maestro Martino noted, “Although pork meat is not healthful—no matter how you cook it—the chine should be roasted with onions, and when roasted, pork meat should be salted to

⁵⁰ Flandrin, “Dietary Choices,” *Food*, 406.

taste.”⁵¹ In much the same way that modern physicians advise against high consumption of bacon, diners find it difficult to resist, the same seems to have been true in Martino’s day. In fact, despite these concerns, pork still maintained healthy representation in our cookery collections, even if its reputation was sliding. If we examine our cookery collections ranging between 1450 and 1550, we can see that recipes calling for pork nearly mirror the medieval precedent: *Du fait de cuisine* called for pork variants in at least twenty-eight percent of recipes, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks* called for pork variants in fourteen percent of its recipes, in *Neapolitan Recipe Collection* fifteen percent of recipes called for pork, ten percent in *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*, fourteen percent in the *Recueil de Riom*, fifteen percent in *Noble Boke off Cookry*, and ten percent in *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye*.⁵² However, when we examine the early seventeenth-century group we can see that authors were including pork far less; within an average range of four to nine percent. *A Book of Cookrye* called for pork variants in four percent of recipes, while *The Good Housewife's Jewell* called for pork variants in five percent of recipes, *Ouverture de Cuisine* in nine percent of recipes, and *Le Cuisinier françois* in four percent of recipes.⁵³ This is a remarkable shift, indeed, and has received little attention in historiography. Grieco noted that pork ranked at the lowest end of quadruped animals within the Great Chain of Being in the opinions of authors of Renaissance medical treatises, but the data above contains the first quantitative examination of the trend.⁵⁴ Notable, too, is that the trend happened abruptly in both England and France.

Despite Martino citing health and Grieco outlining the place of pork within the Great Chain of Being, I am reluctant to attribute the trend of proportionally fewer recipes calling for

⁵¹ Martino, *Libro de Arte Coquinaria* (1465, Italy), 49.

⁵² See Chart.

⁵³ See chart.

⁵⁴ Grieco, “Food and Social Classes”, *Food*, 302–312.

pork to health alone. As we will see shortly, pork meat still found numerous culinary uses, including in stuffings as in the medieval precedent, and bacon and ham seem to have been served more regularly as stand-alone dishes. As we will see in Chapter Three, bacon rashers, or “collops”, were being served in the Midlands household of gentleman Sir William de Mountford (d.1452), according to the 1434 diet account, while ham and Westphalian gammon were regularly being received into the kitchens of the early seventeenth-century London gourmand Lionel Cranfield, 1st Earl of Middlesex (1575–1645), as listed in the 1622 diet account.⁵⁵ We will see in Chapters Three and Four that cookery collections can sometimes be unreliable sources in terms of uncovering what ingredients were actually being served in noble households on a daily base. It seems likely that items like bacon and ham were dropped from cookery manuals at a higher rate than they were dropped from noble tables, but this argument relies on analysis of diet accounts and must necessarily be left for chapters three and four.

Among the recipes that do exist, and here we will consider boar meat and suckling pig as well, we can see that early fifteenth-century Savoyard-style cuisine made much use of pork, as recorded in Chiquart’s *Du fait de cuisine*. In it, he directed Duke Amadeus’s cooks to ensure that, when holding feasts, “there should be served large roasts put by themselves, that is: a whole kid, a whole piglet, a large loin of veal, a large loin of pork, and shoulders of mutton put on a great platter of gold ... And one should pay attention to the sauce for the said roast: that is, for ... piglets, and conies, cameline; and for ... fat pork, sauce piquant ...”⁵⁶ These were Chiquart’s general instructions, clearly coloured by a medieval flair for seasoning, especially in the case of

⁵⁵ See discussions in Chapters Three and Four.

⁵⁶ Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine* (1420, France), # 5.

the ever-popular sauce cameline.⁵⁷ Other times, Chiquart used pork bones and chine to offer more subtle seasoning to vegetable dishes. His recipe for Leeks noted:

To make white leeks, he who is in charge of them should arrange that he has his leeks and slice them small and wash them very well and put them to boil. And take a good piece of salt chine of pork, and clean it very well and put it to boil therewith; and when they are well boiled take them out onto fair and clean tables, and let them save the broth in which they were boiled; and let there be a good mortar-full of blanched almonds, and then take the broth in which the said leeks have boiled and draw up the almonds with it, and if there is not enough of the said broth take beef or mutton broth—and take care that it is not too salty; and then afterward put your bruet to boil in a fair and clean pot. And then take two fair and clean knives and chop your leeks, and then take them and bray them in a mortar; and, being brayed, put them into your broth, of almonds as much as water, to boil. And, the leeks being boiled, when it comes to the sideboard put your meat on fair serving dishes and then the said broth of the said leeks put on top.⁵⁸

Other recipes were more medieval in nature. The Bruet Almayn, which also appeared in the *Forme of Cur,y* and Chiquart's contemporaneous English *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks*, appeared in Chiquart as the following:

Again, a bruet of Almayn: and to give understanding to him who will make it, according to the quantity which he should make, take these capons and dress them cleanly, and cut them in quarters; according to the quantity of the said potage which is given into his charge, let him take meat in proportion to the said poultry according as it is left over from the other potage, either pork or lamb, kid or veal, and such meat should be cut up in proportion to the quantity of the said poultry; and for this take onions according to the quantity of the meat which you are making and chop them very small, and take some bacon fat and melt it thoroughly; and put your meat either in cauldrons or in fair and clean pots, according to the quantity which you have, and then put your onions and the lard in with your meat and fry it all together; and, according to the quantity of your meat, take almonds and have them cleaned so that there are no shells and have them very well washed in good hot water, and then have them very well brayed without blanching and have them moistened with beef broth; and then take a fair cornue and strain them with the beef broth according to the quantity which you want to make, and take heed that it is not too salty; and then take good white wine and verjuice according to the quantity of the broth and put in, and white ginger, grain of paradise, pepper and not too much, nutmeg, and all minor spices

⁵⁷ Red wine, thickened with breadcrumb, seasoned with vinegar and spices.

⁵⁸ Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine* (1420, F.), # 16.

such as cloves and mace, and saffron to give it color—and all these spices put in in moderation; and, these being ground, put them into your broth; and this broth in with your sautéed meat, and sugar therein in great quantity according to the quantity of the broth. And when all of this is together, taste it to see that there is nothing of which it has too much or too little so that you can correct it, and check the salt; and check that the meat is not overcooked, because the kid and veal are more tender than the poultry. And when your meat is cooked to the right point and one wants to arrange it for serving, put your meat separately and put it on serving dishes and then put the said broth on top.⁵⁹

The recipe is useful in illustrating Chiquart's willingness to use pork more often than his contemporaries. The authors of the *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks* called, simply, for the cook to “[t]ak Partrichys rostynd and checonys and qualys rostynd and larkys ywol and demembre the other and mak a god cawdel and dresse the flesch in a dysch and strawe powder of galentyn therupon. styk upon clowys of gelofre and serve yt forthe.”⁶⁰ Therefore, without outlining all of Chiquart's pork dishes, it is fair to say that he found many ways to use it, he clearly enjoyed the flavour items like bacon imbued to dishes, and his master was not moved by the same health concerns that Maestro Martino would cite only forty-odd years later.

Later authors, ones who made less use of pork, still did not shy away from items like trotters and heads. A.W.'s *Book of Cookrye* called for trotters to be cooked with livers and eyes:

How to boyle Pigges Petitoes. Take your Pigs feet, and the Liver and Lightes, and cut them in small peeces, then take a little mutton broth and apples sliced, Corance, sweet butter, vergious and grated bread, put them altogither in a little pipkin with salt and Pepper, perboyle your petitoes or ever you put them in your Pipkin, then when they be ready, serve them upon sippets.⁶¹

The Good Housewife's Jewell copied nearly the exact same recipe shortly after, ensuring that trotters were not simply the whim of an eccentric cookery collection author.⁶² Less complicated

⁵⁹ Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine* (1420, F.), # 2.

⁶⁰ *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks* (1430–1450, E.), XXXI, “for to make bruet of almayne.”

⁶¹ A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (England, 1591), np.

⁶² G.Steevens, *The Good Housewife's Jewell* (1596, E.), ff8v-r.

recipes existed that, especially in England, held true to the medieval tradition of seasoning meats with spice and baking in a pastry. The recipe for baked pig in *A Book of Cookrye*, for example, makes this plainly obvious:

To bake a Pigge. Take your Pig and flea it, and draw out all that clean which is in his bellye, and wash him clean, and perboyle him, season it with Cloves, mace, nutmegs, pepper & salt, and so lay him in the paste with good store of Butter, then set it in the Oven till it be baked inough.⁶³

Still, proportionally speaking, pork was decreasing in our early seventeenth-century English selection as an item of inclusion in cookery collections.

In France, despite the fact that some early seventeenth-century cookery-collection authors did not include standalone recipes for pork, others continued to do so. Lancelot de Casteau's *Ouverture de Cuisine* did not include any purpose-made recipes for pork, but he did use caul fat, pork lard, intestines and so on in a small number of dishes.⁶⁴ La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier françois* was similarly restrained in devising recipes using pork meat or variants, although a small number of recipes offer an idea as to how La Varenne prepared it. Salt pork with peas managed to make its way into the *Cuisinier*,⁶⁵ as did tongue-of-pork with a sauce Robert made from vinegar, verjuice, drippings scented with sage and an onion,⁶⁶ and even a recipe for domestic pork. In the final recipe, La Varenne offered us his approach to cooking both boar and pork at once: "You can present ordinary pork in somewhat the same way as wild boar—that is, after having pounded it you coat it in blood; right after that, you lard it and mount it on a spit, not forgetting to coat its

⁶³ A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (England, 1591), np.

⁶⁴ About ten or eleven of Casteau's nearly two hundred recipes used pork, none called for bacon.

⁶⁵ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), III.XXIX.

⁶⁶ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), V.LVI.

legs before it is roasted.”⁶⁷ La Varenne recommended pairing boar or boar with either sauce Robert or pepper sauce.⁶⁸

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cookery-collection authors found fewer ways to make use of pork in their recipes, although as we will see later, cookery accounts indicate that ham and bacon were still making their way into great household kitchens.⁶⁹ It seems that, despite the existence of a good number of variations in ways of cooking and seasoning pork, and its popularity in stuffings from earlier centuries, greater portions of cookbooks were given over to recipes that included beef, veal, and other recipes. Since we know that the trend in that case was toward increasing portions of recipes calling for beef, use of some ingredients necessarily declined. Pork was one of those ingredients.

The final group of domestic quadrupeds to consider are mutton and lamb. The overall trend in this case, was toward a general increase in recipes calling for mutton, but the nature of its use did not remain consistent over time between English and French sources. In our medieval survey, mutton-recipe frequencies ranged between two and seven percent of total collections, with no notable regional difference between the two language groups. In later sources, dating from between 1450 and 1550, recipes calling for mutton increased at proportionally greater levels in English sources than they did in French sources. *Du fait de cuisine* called for mutton variants in at least five percent of recipes, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks* called for mutton variants in five percent of its recipes, in the *Neapolitan Recipe Collection* two percent of recipes called for mutton, five percent in *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*, four percent in *Recueil de Riom*, two percent in *A Noble Booke off Cookry*, and eighteen percent in *A Proper Newe Booke of*

⁶⁷ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), VI.VL.

⁶⁸ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), VI.VII.

⁶⁹ See discussion in Chapter Four.

Cokerye.⁷⁰ In the case of *A Proper Newe Booke*, the author specified mutton broth instead of broth, something we know was declining as a primary ingredient in French generic broth, as we know from the composition of La Varenne's beef-dominated broth that only contained hints of mutton. However, when we examine the early seventeenth-century group, we can see that authors were including mutton within an average range of four to nine percent. *A Book of Cookrye* called for mutton variants in fourteen percent of recipes, the closely copied *Good Housewife's Jewell* also called for mutton variants in fourteen percent of recipes, while the French sources were showing some proportional increase with *Ouverture de Cuisine* calling for mutton in nine percent of recipes, and *Le Cuisinier françois* also in nine percent of recipes.⁷¹ In the case of our latter temporal category, it was becoming more common for authors to specify lamb or mutton. Although there was some increase over the long term, it was not what one would describe as revolutionary. Recipes calling for mutton and lamb variants increased somewhat, seemingly at the expense of pork, but their proportional shifts were not revolutionary in one way or the other.

How were mutton and lamb used in French and English aristocratic kitchens between 1450 and 1650? One of mutton's primary uses in the kitchen was in making broth, especially in English kitchens. As noted above, the eighteen percent mutton inclusion rate in *A Proper Newe Booke of* was related to recipes specifying mutton broth, but this was not only true of the later English collections; fifteenth-century collections also often called for mutton broth. Chiquart's recipe for leeks that we examined above called for "mutton or beef broth" to be added to the leeks in cooking. Innumerable other recipes use mutton broth in this manner: as a flavoured cooking liquid that can be added to quadruped, poultry, game, or vegetable dishes to moisten,

⁷⁰ See Chart.

⁷¹ See chart.

coat, or bind the ingredients of stews, fricassées, sauces, pottage, and so on.⁷² Even in the later period, English sources used mutton broth to moisten and flavour many of the more delicate, vegetable-, poultry-, and herb-based dishes that are associated with the revolution in taste. The recipe for poached chicken parcels wrapped in lettuce from A.W.'s *Book of Cookrye* called for mutton meat and bone to be added and then discarded to the broth before preparing the chicken parcels:

To seeth chickins in Lettice. Take a neck of Mutton with a marow bone, and so let it seethe, and scum it clean and let it boyle well together, and when it is enough: then take out some of it and straine it, and put in your Chickins. Then take a good many Letuce and wash them clean and put them in. Then take a little white Bread and straine it and put it into the pot to thicke it withal. Then put a little whole mace to season it with Pepper and Vergious, and a little sugar, and cut sops and lay them on, and put on the marow and so serve them.⁷³

In France, although mutton use was declining in the later portion of our period, mutton broth was still a necessary item in the great household sector of cookery. In Lancelot de Casteau's *Ouverture de Cuisine*, he did use broth without calling, specifically, for mutton broth. For example, his "oylla Podrida", an important recipe that we will return to throughout this chapter, was a broth seasoned with so many different meats that the mutton legs Casteau included would have been imperceptible to diners:

To make a potpourri called "Oylla podrida" in Spanish. Take a piece of beef of two sides, put it to boil in a large pot, & put with a capon or chicken: have it boil a half hour, put a little leg of mutton therein, then put a duck also into the pot: then little legs of veal redressed two stuffed pigeons, two partridges, two little stuffed cabbages, two begasses, two Bologna sausages, and two partly cooked mortadellas to put thereon, the drippings from a ham of Mayence also partly cooked, the feet and ears of a pig also partly cooked: then put the little sausages also into the pot, salted lemons cut into quarters, four entrail sausages, four yellow roots, that are stuffed with veal meat redressed, four stomachs of sheep that are stuffed with good herbs & good fat cheese, with a fried onion & raw eggs, like stuffings are made, & fry it in butter: & put into the pot a handful of marjoram and mint together, cauliflower in two parts: then you have little pots there, or put in

⁷² Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine* (1420, France), # 16.

⁷³ A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (England, 1591), np.

stewed potatoes like is said above, again another pot with capers of Maiorcque well washed & boiled with good broth, & white wine, a little pepper: then another pot put pine nuts & pistachios that are washed: then make green raviolis, like written above: then the other little raviolis filled with almonds & ground, & quince candied with sugar & cinnamon, two egg yolks therein, & fry the raviolis in butter, & keep so on a plate: then take peeled chestnuts, and put in the pot, & let stew well together, put therein half an ounce of ground nutmeg: have another little pot, and put therein large peas, and Roman beans that are well cooked together: then look well in the pot that it will not be cooked too much: that when it is cooked enough remove, & put into separate plates: take a very large plate, & dress the meats between the ones with the others: then the hams of Mayence that you have put into the plate, the one here the other there, & the boiled raviolis must be moistened with fat broth, & sprinkled thereon cinnamon & parmesan, & put them in the plates here & there: the other raviolis similarly: then that which you have in the little pot put each sort separately in the plate, the Bologna sausages also here & there: then have a little turkey roasted & well larded, a dozen little birds also roasted, & put in the middle of the plate thereon, & look well the placing you choose that one can see them, then take a dozen feet of sheep well washed to put all around the plate: then take a pound of dates cooked in wine & sugar, & put them with a spoon, & put them between the sheep feet, after take the broth from your pot, chafe it very hot, & cast thereon & without it moistening the roast, & raviolis: & serve so.⁷⁴

Largely, however, the recipes of French collections ranging in date between 1550 and 1650 were tending to exclude references to mutton when it came to broth. Despite the complex recipe above, Casteau did not specify mutton broth or even addition of a leg or chine of mutton to his other pottage recipes. Further, despite the fact that La Varenne mentioned mutton jus, it is also true to say, literally, that La Varenne had little use for it. As we saw in La Varenne's main recipe for broth, mutton played a very small part in adding flavour to the finished product.⁷⁵ Otherwise, La Varenne used mutton jus and broth in an extremely limited number of recipes.⁷⁶

Beyond broth, mutton meat received numerous refined treatments by cookery collections authors; some so refined that they call into question the "humble" nature of mutton's status

⁷⁴ Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, F.), 101–106.

⁷⁵ *Bouillon to Enrich any Pot*: "get hind leg and rump of beef, a little mutton, and a few fowl, depending on the amount of bouillon you want, use that amount of meat, then cook it well with a bouquet of parsley, chives, and thyme bundled together, and some cloves.", La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), II.I.

⁷⁶ La Varenne called for mutton jus or broth in about twenty-eight recipes, most of which were recipes whose primary protein was a variant of mutton.

according to Grieco's assessment of the Renaissance dietary Great Chain of Being.⁷⁷ Chiquart's *Du fait de cuisine* called for mutton shoulders to be split, roasted, and then finished in a sauce made from beef broth and wine:

Again, to eat shoulders of young mutton with the blood of the shoulder: to give understanding to him who will make it let him take the shoulders in front and wash them and spit them on well-cleaned spits; and he will be well advised if in the morning when the cattle are dismembered he saves the marrow bones for putting to boil in a fair, large, and clean pot; and when his shoulders are set at the fire and drained of the water which was on them, let them arrange that they have fair silver dishes—or fair and clean pans in default of the said dishes—and put them underneath, and put a little beef broth therein so that they catch the blood of the shoulders; and when they are cooked take your dishes and put that which is within together and strain it through a fair strainer. And then take your spices: cinnamon according to the quantity of it which one is making, ginger, grains of paradise and cloves, and take wine and a little vinegar to give it taste, and sugar, and salt in reason, and boil all this together. And then put your shoulders on fair dishes and the said sauce on top.⁷⁸

The English, as well included all manner of roasted and braised mutton dishes. A.W.'s *Book of Cookrye* included many recipes for braised lamb, some including increasingly popular items like sugar and fruit:

To boyle a Leg of Mutton with Lemmons. When your mutton is half boyled, take it up, cut it in small peeces, put it into a Pipkin and cover it close, and put therto the best of the broth, as much as shall cover your Mutton, your Lemmons being sliced very thin and quartered and corance: put in pepper groce beaten, and so let them boile together, and when they be well boyled, seson it with a little vergious, Sugar, Pepper groce beaten, and a little sanders, so lay it in fine dishes upon sops, it wil make iv messe for the table.⁷⁹

Certainly these recipes were descended from medieval approaches to mutton cookery, but they included items like sugar and lemon; items that we would often associate with Renaissance cookery styles or even with the mid-seventeenth-century revolution in taste. It must, however, be

⁷⁷ Grieco, "Food and Social Classes," *Food*, 302–312.

⁷⁸ Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine* (1420, France), # 16.

⁷⁹ A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (1591, England), np.

noted that some new elements of cookery do not indicate a revolution. One of the most unique quadruped recipes contained in the present survey is the following recipes for a leg of mutton redressed on the bone:

A leg of mutton redressed & boiled. Peel the skin away from the meat, and take all the meat away from the bone, and chop it very finely with a little beef fat, and a salted lemon cut into pieces, wash well, and take with it a little chopped mint, then put therein nutmeg and pepper, a little salt, a half reumer of white wine, and three raw eggs, and chop well all together, and mix it well, and after return the meat around the bone, and make it in the shape of the leg like it was: then take a caul of pork: that you have beaten egg yolks: then rub the same caul with the egg yolks, and after wrapping the caul all around the leg, that it is well covered, then tie it well lengthwise and across, that nothing comes out, & put it to boil until its is well cooked: then a half of white bread, & temper it with the broth, & pass it with four ounces ground blanched almonds & pass through a strainer: then put with the leg to boil briefly & a little ground nutmeg, & white wine, & let it stew well.⁸⁰

This recipe was unique, but also very medieval in its whimsical approach to presentation: the mutton meat was removed from the leg, diced, seasoned, and bound with caul, and presented in a similar shape to its natural appearance; similar to the poultry recipes, noted in the first chapter, that instructed cooks to redress game fowl in their feathers. Therefore, it must be noted that even in the early seventeenth-century in France, while some change was certainly afoot, cooks still gravitated to traditional modes of preparation, interspersing the novel with the traditional at almost imperceptible rates in many cases.

In terms of lamb recipes, they did increase in regularity in the early seventeenth century, but even cooks like La Varenne included very few recipes for lamb, finding many more uses for mutton instead.⁸¹ In addition, as we noted with veal, it is certainly possible that lamb was consumed during the Middle Ages with authors simply not calling juvenile sheep lamb or

⁸⁰ Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, F.), 111–113.

⁸¹ La Varenne only included about ten recipes that specified use of lamb over mutton. By contrast, La Varenne included more than fifty recipes that called for some form of mutton.

anything other than mutton. Using recipe collections as a guide to the consumption of juvenile animals should be avoided.

Overall, a complex picture of mutton and lamb consumption emerges from our recipe collections produced 1450–1660. Certainly English cooks were including mentions of mutton more frequently than their French counterparts, but this does not seem to have indicated that mutton was losing status or was thought to be too inferior to grace aristocratic tables; certainly the mutton leg that was de-boned and then redressed to resemble a mutton leg in its normal shape, emphasizing the creative approaches to mutton cookery that aristocratic cookery encouraged and the species of animal from which it came. Therefore, although there are some arguments that mutton, like all quadrupeds, declined in status among aristocratic cooks during the period, many factors indicate that this was not the case. Certainly the English had an open approach to mutton cookery.

Despite many of the assumptions made about the low status of quadruped meats among French and English noble kitchens from the fifteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, cooks had many ways of using almost all parts of the animals. Yes, increasing portions of vegetables and sugar were making their ways into recipes, but traditional approaches to cooking and serving quadruped meats seem never to have gone out of fashion, at least in so far as France and England went between 1450 and 1660.

To this point, our survey has only examined the role of domestic quadruped meats from fourteenth- to mid-seventeenth-century French and English cookery collections; we have not examined the two species of wild quadruped that we examined in the first chapter: hare and venison. Neither of these types of game played a significant quantitative role in any period we are considering. In the case of venison—here we are considering only fallow, roe, and red deer—

their quantitative weights ranked low in our medieval collections, ranging between two and six percent. In our Renaissance and early modern sources, frequencies of including venison in recipes ranged between one and four percent in our 1450–1550 collections, and between one and six percent in our sources ranging in date between 1550 and 1660. *Du fait de cuisine* called for venison variants in at least four percent of recipes, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks* called for venison variants in three percent of its recipes, in the *Neapolitan Recipe Collection* one percent of recipes called for venison, four percent in *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*, four percent in *Recueil de Riom*, three percent in *A Noble Boke off Cookry*, and four percent in *A Proper Newe Booke of Cokerye*.⁸² When we examine the early seventeenth-century group, we can see that the authors were including venison with similar proportionality: *A Book of Cookrye* called for venison variants in four percent of its recipes, *The Good Housewife's Jewell* called for venison variants in six percent of its recipes, *Ouverture de Cuisine* called for venison in four percent of its recipes, and *Le Cuisinier françois* in one percent of its recipes.⁸³

Did the manner in which venison was cooked undergo a revolution? Not quite. We noted in the medieval analysis that venison was sometimes served laden with spices and sometimes it was served with very little in the way of seasoning.⁸⁴ This remained true throughout the rest of the period that we are considering. In the recipe for “Chyvrolee” of venison, Chiquart’s *Du fait de cuisine* offered the following advice:

To give understanding to him who will make it, let him take his deer and cut it up into fair pieces and wash it very well and put to cook in a fair cauldron full of clean water; and when it boils skim it cleanly and, as soon as you have skimmed it, take it out and put it into fair fresh water in a small cask and wash it very well immediately, and then put it to drain on fair boards or in fair small casks. And then afterward take a great deal of good lard and lard all your pieces well and properly with it; and then, when they are all larded, put them back to cook in a fair, clean,

⁸² See chart.

⁸³ See chart.

⁸⁴ See discussion in chapter one.

and large cauldron or pot according to the quantity of it which you have; and then take beef or mutton broth and put into the said cauldron or pot up to the middle of the said cauldron or pot, and then take very good wine and put therewith. And then take your spices, white ginger, grains of paradise, cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg, mace, and cloves, and put in your broth, and everything in good proportion; and then take sage, parsley, hyssop and marjoram and clean them well and properly, and make of them a good bunch and put to cook in your broth and see that it tastes well of verjuice and spices. And then take to your sideboard.⁸⁵

In this recipe we can see the medieval propensity for spicing game recipes, noted by Flandrin in his assessment of medieval spice use.⁸⁶ Just as in our survey of medieval venison recipes, the later cookery manuals indicate that it was still acceptable to sometimes serve venison without heavy seasoning. Take for example the venison broth from the *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks*:

xxij - Venyson in Broth. Take Rybbys of Venysoun, and wasshe hem clene in fayre water, an strayne the same water thorw a straynoure in-to a potte, an caste ther-to Venysoun, also Percely, Sawge, powder Pepyr, Clowys, Maces, Vynegre, and a lytyl Red wyne caste there-to; an thanne latte it boyle tyl it be y-now, and serue forth.⁸⁷

Despite the addition of pepper, cloves, and mace, one would certainly not describe this dish as spicy. Instead, the broth would have been full bodied with wine and the broth created from braising the ribs, and scented with fresh herbs; the addition of spices served an aromatic function rather than serving to make the dish spicy. Similarly, the highly complex, layered flavours produced in the recipe for baked red deer in the *The Good Housewife's Jewell* relied more on herbs and the cooking method itself to create flavour and spices to pique the final flavour profile of the dish:

⁸⁵ Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine* (1420, France), # 13.

⁸⁶ Jean-Louis Flandrin, "Seasoning, Cooking, and Dietetics in the Late Middle," in *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin & Massimo Montanari (New York: Penguin Books, 2009) 323.

⁸⁷ *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks* (1430–1450, England), XXII, "Venyson in Broth."

To bake a Red deare. Take a handfull of Time, and a handfull of rosemarye, a handfull of winter sauerye, a handfull of Bay leaues, and a handfull of fennel, and when your liquor seethe that you perboyle your Venison in, put in your hearbes also, and perboyle your venison vntill it be halfe enough, then take it out and lay it vpon a faire boorde that the water may runne out from it, then take a knife and pricke it full of holes, and while it is warme, haue a faire Traye with vineger therein, and so put your Venison therein from morning vntill night, and euer now, and then turne it vpside downe, and then at night haue your coffin ready, and this done season it with synamon, ginger, and Nutmegges, Pepper and salte, and when you haue seasoned it, put it into your coffin, and put a good quantity of sweete Butter into it, and then put it into the Ouen at hight, when you goe to bedde, and in the morning draw it forth, and put in a saucer full of vineger into your Pye, at a hole aboue in the tope of it, so that the vineger may runne into eueryplace of it, and then stop the hole againe, and turne the bottome vpward, and so serue it in.⁸⁸

Again, although there were spices in the dish, the final product certainly was not spicy. Instead, the spices augmented the natural aromatic profile of the dish. In fact, if anything, an acidic flavour would have been dominant in the dish due to the final addition of a large amount of vinegar that was funneled into the crust before serving.

This is not to say that some venison dishes were not piquant with spice; and here we can bring boar into consideration, for which only one to two percent of recipes in our collections ever mentioned. When sources called for boar, and occasionally with venison recipes as well, stronger flavours were paired with the meats in order to cut through fat or simply to excite the taste buds. Casteau's *Ouverture de Cuisine* included a now familiar preparation for use with either deer or boar:

Venison hodgepodge. For venison hodgepodge, which is wild boar or red deer, take burned bread, & work pepper through a strainer, & put therein nutmeg, pepper, cloves & powder, sugar, cinnamon, red wine, two or three finely chopped onions, fry in butter, & boil them together well until it is thick.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ G. Steevens, *The Good Housewife's Jewell* (1596, England), ff14v-15r.

⁸⁹ Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, France), 14.

Also listed in *Viandier*, *Ménagier*, and *Du fait de cuisine* as the “bourbelier”, and also recommended for use with deer or boar in those sources, the recipe gives us an excellent indication that medieval approaches to cooking game quadrupeds still permeated the kitchens of early seventeenth-century French nobility.

If we turn to La Varenne’s treatment of boar, we can see that burnt toast was omitted in his treatments of boar, but wine and onion took precedence in providing body to the accompanying sauce:

For the loin of wild boar: bard it with coarse lard and sauté it in a pan in clarified lard and flour, then cook it in bouillon and water in a large terrine or a kettle; season it well. When it is almost done, add in a sauce, you can serve it under the shoulder. Alternatively, if you wish to serve it dry, it has to be of sharper taste.⁹⁰

Now, within the context of La Varenne’s mid-seventeenth-century French noble world of cookery, this approach does stand out: the medieval French precedent was to serve boar with highly spiced sauces. Using the *longue durée* perspective that we are taking here in Chapters One and Two, it is clear that, at least in the English context, less piquant boar dishes did have a precedent in England during the Middle Ages. A good example comes from *MS Arundel 334* (c. 1424):

Bor in counsett. Take felittes of braune and let hom lye in mersaus (insoak) an houre, and then parboyle hom, and roste hom, and do in a pot clarifiet honey, and honey and wyn togedur; and put therto poudere of pepur, and of clowes, and stere hit faste tyl hit be thyk, and in the thikkyng do the rosted felettes therto, that al the scwe (liquor) may cleve to hom; and qwhen the sawse is bounden to the felettes, then take hom out of the pot, and lay hom on a bourde to kele, and when thai ben colde, dresie hom forthe three in a dyssh, and beside hom barres of silver, and in the mydward a barre of golde, and serve hit forth.⁹¹

In a similar manner to La Varenne’s approach to boar cookery, the author of *MS Arundel 334* deemed boar fit to serve without the strong accompanying flavour of burnt toast or a myriad of

⁹⁰ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), VI.VL

⁹¹ Anon., *BL Arundel 334*, np.

spices. Honey, pepper, cloves, and wine were plenty of body to offer the boar, in both the medieval English and early modern French context.

This would be an appropriate time to reflect on the fact that, when it comes to game quadrupeds, like many of our other categories, their quantitative presence did not increase or decrease markedly, nor did cookery approaches revolutionize. Examples of a host of approaches to deer and boar cookery can be gathered from our sources, but I have included only those that draw the best comparisons. We can see that it is inappropriate to generalize about medieval and early modern approaches to game quadruped cookery. Some recipes were spicy and some were not, but it is impossible to draw clear temporal or regional lines around these trends. Cookery collection authors did follow some loose rules when creating their works and they copied heavily from each other, but they did not follow the revolutionary or humanistic intellectual narratives that are sometimes credited with the marked creativity we see in cookery collections. Good taste and tradition played a much more important role in molding culturally accepted seasoning aesthetics to a much greater degree than historians often attribute to it.

Our final note should be made about hare. Its presence in cookery manuals was inconsistent in our medieval survey: inclusion rates ranged between three and ten percent, with no noticeable difference between French and English inclusion rates. In our collection ranging in date between 1450 and 1550, hare was included in between one and eight percent of recipes. *Du fait de cuisine* called for hare or rabbit in at least eight percent of recipes, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks* called for them in two percent of its recipes, the *Neapolitan Recipe Collection* one percent of recipes called for them, one percent in *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*, six percent in *Recueil de Riom*, six percent in *A Noble Boke off Cookry*, and one percent in *A Proper newe*

Booke of Cokerye.⁹² In the early modern group, rates ranged between one and nine percent: *A Book of Cookrye* called for rabbit or hare in two percent of recipes, *The Good Housewife's Jewell* called for them in nine percent of recipes, *Ouverture de Cuisine* called for them in one percent of recipes, and *Le Cuisinier françois* in two percent of recipes.⁹³ Our rates are notable because they indicate that consumption of hare was not necessarily related to region, status, or temporal period, but rather preferences. Methods of preparing hare changed imperceptibly from their medieval precedents, but individual preferences of authors could.

What can we say about quadruped inclusion rates and cookery styles in our fifteenth- to mid-seventeenth-century cookery collections? Most importantly, a revolution is not apparent. Pork seems to have been included in cookery collections far less, though we know now not to connect this trend purely to the status of the meat; ham and bacon may well have been roasted or fried and served simply without requiring a recipe, as many people do today. Alternatively, where recipes calling for beef may have increased in their proportionality, one should be extremely careful not to link this to increasing cost and therefore status of beef.⁹⁴ Instead, the trend to include many recipes for each different section of quadrupeds, across numerous books, and beef's domination of La Varenne's broth recipes, were the mechanics behind the increasing numerical weight of beef in cookery collections. All quadrupeds had a use in great household kitchens; whether cookery collections chose to record all of these uses clearly modified over time.

One more important note should be made: Although Grieco appropriately outlined the place of ingredients in the Renaissance Great Chain of Being, cooks seem to have been easily able to overcome these stigmas simply through their skill in cooking and combining

⁹² See chart.

⁹³ See chart.

⁹⁴ Flandrin, "Dietary Choices," *Food*, 406.

ingredients.⁹⁵ I don't want to paint a picture of an offal *danse macabre* playing out on noble tables; rather, nobles and their cooks did not turn their noses up at offal, trotters, tails and the like out of status. Each played a role in contributing to the corpus of recipes that noble household cooks relied upon to vary the dishes they served to their masters. We will continue to see this as we proceed through the arguments regarding poultry and game fowl, but it is well worth noting the practical approach to cookery that seems to have dominated fifteenth to mid-seventeenth-century French and English aristocratic households.

Poultry and Game Fowl Use in Cookery Manuals: 1450-1660

As one would rightly suspect, current historiography indicates that poultry consumption came to be closely associated with noble tables by the late fourteenth century, and increasingly, throughout the fifteenth century.⁹⁶ Some scholars have stated the case, strongly, that “[s]ometimes as much as a quarter of the dishes in a late medieval cookbook consisted of chicken recipes.”⁹⁷ Many of these assumptions seem to stem, in part, from the notion that lighter-meat species—hen, capon, poussin, rooster, pheasant, and the New World turkey—ranked as more pure, more desirable, and higher in status according to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanist assessments of ingredients and their place in the Great Chain of Being.⁹⁸ Further, Flandrin has noted that “between 1500 and 1650, cormorant, stork, swan, crane, bittern, spoonbill, heron, and peacock—large birds once featured at aristocratic feasts but deemed

⁹⁵ Grieco, “Food and Social Classes,” *Food*, 302–312.

⁹⁶ Michel Dominique, “L'évolution des mets,” in *Vatel et la naissance de la gastronomie* (Paris: Fayard, 1999) 163–171; Brian Cowan, “New Worlds, New Tastes: Food Fashions After the Renaissance,” *Food: The History of Taste*, ed. Paul Freedman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) 207–210; Roy Strong, “A Culinary Revolution,” *Feast*, 224–230; Flandrin, “Dietary Choices,” *Food*, 414.

⁹⁷ Melitta Weiss Adamson, “Chicken,” in *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004) 33–34.

⁹⁸ Grieco, “Food and Social Classes,” *Food*, 302–312.

inedible today—vanished from cookbooks and markets.”⁹⁹ Therefore, one gets the general sense that poultry came to dominate cookery manuals while many species of game fowl disappeared.

We noted in the medieval analysis that none of the cookery manuals included twenty-five percent of recipes calling for chicken, even using a broad definition of chicken.¹⁰⁰ In the medieval analysis, one collection included poultry in twenty percent of recipes, but the rest of the collections we examined ranged between twelve and fourteen percent, far fewer than we would assume from historiography. In our collections c.1450-1550, some collections nearly attained or surpassed the twenty-five percent mark, but many did not. One fifteenth-century French collection included poultry (not including turkey) in thirty-eight percent of recipes -*Du fait de cuisine* - while two sixtieth-century English collections included close to a quarter of recipes calling for poultry: *A Noble Boke off Cookry* at twenty-one percent and *A Proper Newe Booke of Cokerye* at twenty-two percent.¹⁰¹ The rest of the collections from our 1450–1660 temporal ranged between fifteen and sixteen percent: *Two Fifteenth–Century Cookbooks* called for poultry at a rate of fifteen percent, *Neapolitan Recipe Collection* at a rate of eighteen percent, *Libro de Arte Coquinaria* at a rate of seventeen percent, and sixteen percent in *Recueil de Riom*.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Flandrin, “Dietary Choices,” *Food*, 404.

¹⁰⁰ See discussion about poultry in first chapter; argument comes from Weiss Adamson, “Chicken,” *Food*, 33–34.

¹⁰¹ See general poultry chart, c.1450–1550.

¹⁰² See general poultry chart, c.1450–1550.

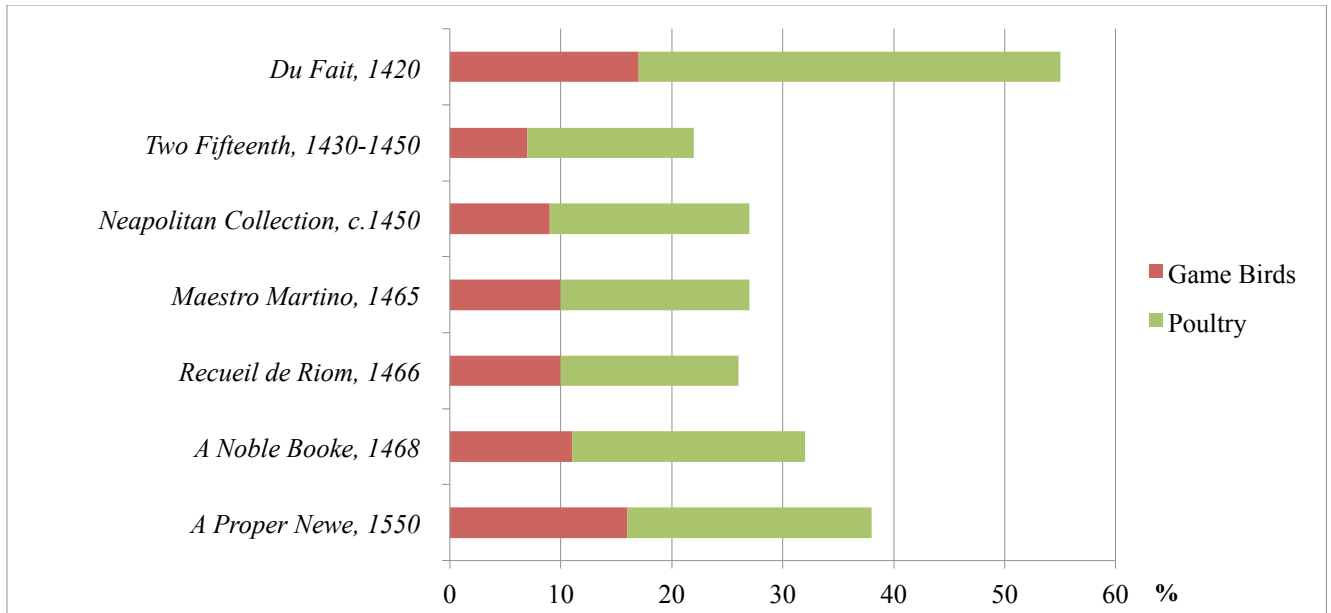


Figure 3. Recipes for poultry vs. game birds, c.1450-1550.

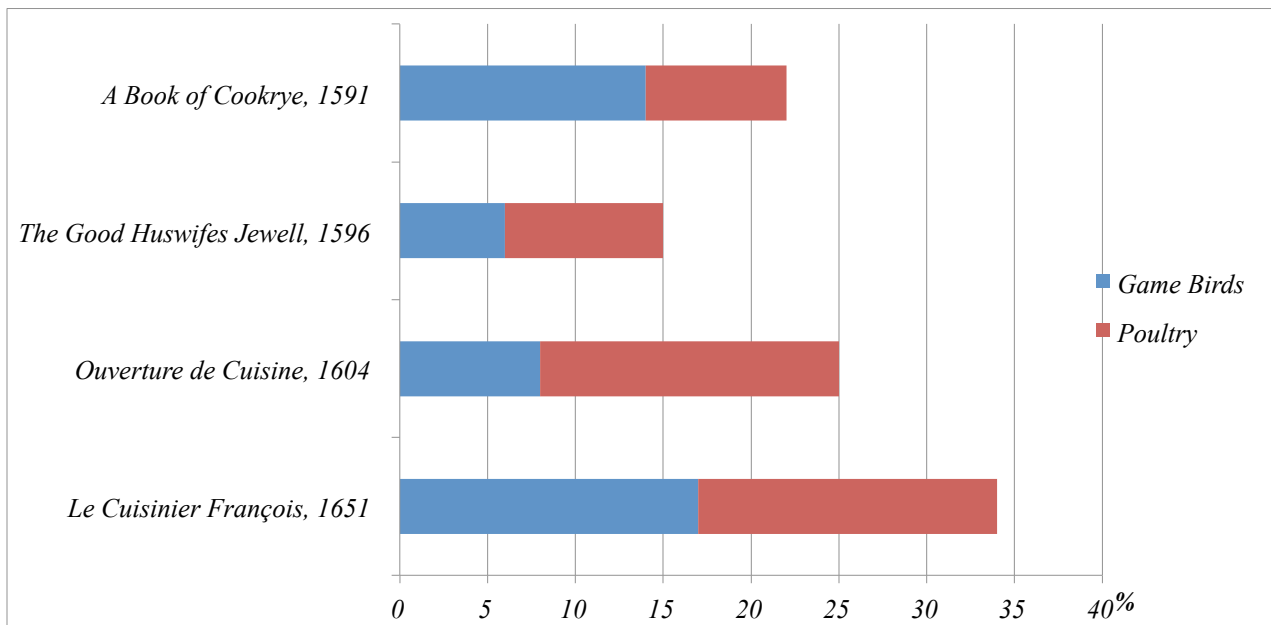


Figure 4. Poultry vs. game bird recipes, 1550-1660.

When we examine our collections ranging in date between 1550 and 1660, the period when we can include turkey in our survey, a familiar, decreasing range of poultry inclusion rates present themselves: *A Book of Cookrye* called for poultry in eight percent of recipes, *The Good*

Housewife's Jewell in nine percent of recipes, *Ouverture de Cuisine* in seventeen percent of recipes, and *Le Cuisinier françois* in seventeen percent of recipes.¹⁰³

Although turkey did make some waves in the French court during the 1550s, it did not come to dominate poultry recipes in our cookery collections.¹⁰⁴ *A Book of Cookrye* called for turkey in two recipes (“To make sauce for capons or Turky Fowles” and “To bake Turky Fowles,”), *The Good Housewife's Jewell* contained one mention of turkey (“To bake a Turkie and take out his bones”) *Ouverture de Cuisine* called for Turkey (“*pouille d'Inde*”) in the recipe for *Oylla podrida*, listed above, and a few times in the banquet menus listed throughout the work, and *Le Cuisinier françois* contained the most references to turkey within our selection of sources, at eleven separate references. Despite its arrival on the scene, turkey certainly did not revolutionize cookery, but it did provide cooks with a new poultry option to incorporate into existing culinary modes.

Therefore, if we consider only poultry—hen, capon, poussin, rooster, pheasant, and turkey when appropriate—we can see that, proportionally at least, chicken and associated poultry recipes did not come to dominate haute cuisine in France or England in so far as our selection of sources are concerned. In fact, the English sources show a decreasing proportional trend in so far as poultry is concerned, even with the addition of a few turkey recipes in the 1590s. This does not mean fewer recipes for light-meat poultry existed, since collections were sometimes including many more recipes for other ingredients, but proportional representation of poultry was relatively low, especially if we compare poultry rates against game fowl rates.

¹⁰³ See general poultry chart, c.1550–1660.

¹⁰⁴ “Turkey,” in *Penguin Companion to Food*, ed. Alan Davidson (New York: Penguin, 2002) 974–976; Wheaton notes that records of turkeys from this period in French history are sparse. One notable example is a feast given by Catherine de Medici in 1549 that included sixty-six turkeys. Later, they reportedly fall into some obscurity. Wheaton, *Savouring*, 81.

Game fowl appeared in our medieval collections with proportions ranging between five and nine percent.¹⁰⁵ By the 1450s–1550s, game fowl—including small birds, game birds, crane, heron, swan, partridge, pheasant, plover, mallard, teal, dove, and lark—ranged considerably between seven and seventeen percent. *Du fait de cuisine* called for game fowl in at least seventeen percent of recipes, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks* (called for game fowl in seven percent of its recipes, in the *Neapolitan Recipe Collection* nine percent of recipes, ten percent in *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*, ten percent in *Recueil de Riom*, eleven percent in *A Noble Booke of Cookry*, and sixteen percent in *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye*. Within our 1550–1660 selection of sources, inclusion rates ranged between six and seventeen percent: *A Book of Cookrye* called for poultry in fourteen percent of recipes, *The Good Housewife's Jewell* in six percent of recipes, *Ouverture de Cuisine* in eight percent of recipes, and *Le Cuisinier françois* in seventeen percent of recipes.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, there does not seem to be any regional correlation in this trend, at least in our selection of sources. In all periods, as with other ingredient categories, some authors preferred to include more game recipes, and some less.

If we examine poultry proportionality within specific manuals, the data shows an interesting pattern: despite game fowl often comprising proportionally few recipes, wider varieties of species were included by 1650, as the charts below show:¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ See discussion of game fowl in chapter one.

¹⁰⁶ See general poultry chart, c.1550–1660.

¹⁰⁷ Flandrin, “Dietary Choices,” *Food*, 404.

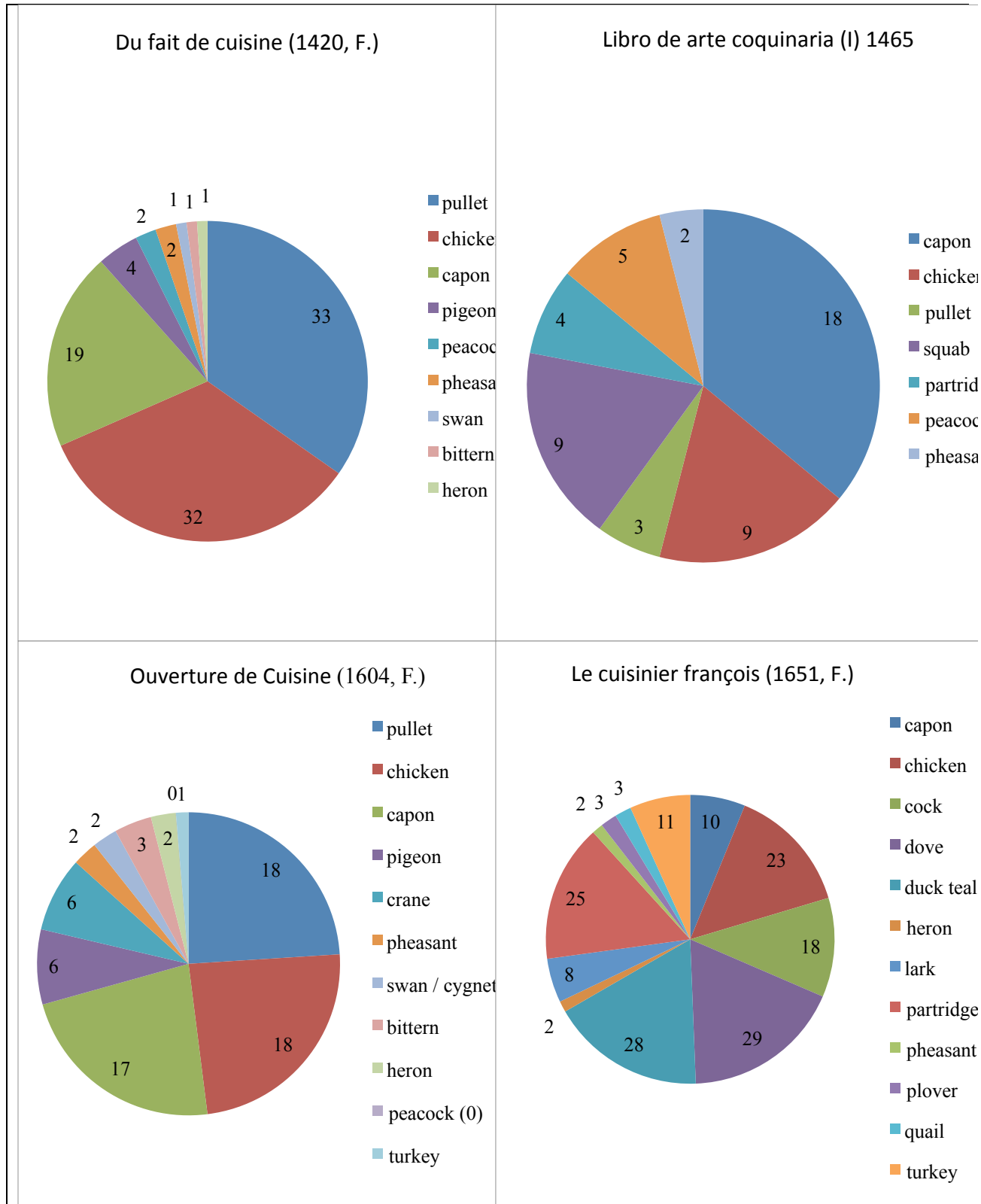


Figure 5. Proportional comparison of selected poultry and game fowl recipes with corresponding collection title indicated.

These charts do not include every species of animal that appeared in the sources. Instead, I have included the birds noted by Flandrin when they appear and the other birds that I have noticed are of numerical weight or significance to the present research. Many more species could be included in more expansive charts, but here we can at least observe the increasing rate at which cookbook authors included game fowl in their works. Was it a revolution or even a unified progression? Like all categories of ingredient, inclusion rates rested upon a host of factors, the most influential of which were authors' own ideas about taste and utility of ingredients. In addition, although they by no means comprise a weighty proportion of recipes, swan, crane, heron, do, indeed, continue to make appearances in cookery collections, even in *Ouverture de Cuisine* and *Le Cuisinier françois*.¹⁰⁸ There also does not appear to be any hint of concern about the culinary Great Chain of Being, especially since the species that we see increasing in number come, overwhelmingly, from the dark meat game fowl category, a category of bird that ranked at the bottom of Grieco's paradigm of poultry and fowl species.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, when taken into comparative consideration, our cookery collections indicate that good taste and culinary skill transform all types of ingredients, and the ever-present consideration of ingredient availability combined to prove more compelling concerns than those of the humanists.

When we examine shifts in recipe composition in chicken and poultry recipes, more change was apparent than in the recipes we have surveyed for quadruped species. These changes did not, however, seem unified or driven by a particular culinary source. The familiar blancmange—an almond milk pudding that included ground poultry meat, rice, and sugar that was included in many medieval cookery manuals, including *Enseignments* and *Viandier*—

¹⁰⁸ See charts above.

¹⁰⁹ Grieco, "Food and Social Classes," *Food*, 302–312.

continued to be listed in cookery collections with only small aspects of change. Chiquart's recipe for blancmange in *Du fait de cuisine* included a remarkable display of colour:

Again, for a blancmange divided into four colors all on one dish, that is or, azure, gules, and argent: and to give to understand this potage to him who will make it, he should take a great deal of almonds and have them blanched cleanly and have them very well brayed and moisten them with beef or mutton broth; and then take beef and mutton broth, as much of one as of the other, and check the salt, and strain it into a cornue or small cask according to the quantity which you want to make of the said parti-colored broth, and put into the said broth powdered white ginger; and then draw up your almonds with the said broth and make milk from them, and then divide the said milk among four fair and clean and clear pots, as much in one as in another, and then put them on a fire-grate [brazier?] of hot coals to heat. And then afterward take a great quantity of amydon and clean and wash it well and properly, and put some in a dish to thicken the pots, and with it broth from the pot you want to thicken, and strain through a good strainer; and then add it gradually to the said pot until you see that it is well and firmly thickened, so that when one puts one bit next to another on a dish the one does not at all mix with the other; and do thus with all the said four pots.¹¹⁰

The instruction to colour blancmange four different colours is unique but almost certainly related to the fact that parts of *Du fait de cuisine* were written based on a feast that Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy hosted in honour of the visit of Duke John II of Burgundy in 1400.¹¹¹ The primary colours of the coat of arms of the dukes of Savoy were red and white while the primary colours of the coat of arms of the dukes of Burgundy were yellow and blue; the blancmange seems to have been designed as a culinary celebration of the meeting of the two dukes.

Other recipes for blancmange, however, do not seem all that different from their medieval predecessors. The recipe in the *Ouverture de Cuisine* called for the following:

Take a capon or chicken which was killed two or three days, & put it to cook, when it is well cooked take the breast off, & chop it in small pieces, & grind them in a mortar, there moistening with two or three spoons of cow's milk, then take seven pounds & six ounces of cow's milk one pound of fine rice flour, & mix your flour well with the meat of the capon, & mix the milk with the rest, then take a pound & a half of sugar, which is very white, put it into a cauldron on the fire, & stir it well all

¹¹⁰ Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine* (1420, F.), # 13.

¹¹¹ Chiquart outlines this feast at the end of the work, just after the last recipe.

day with a wooden spoon, put therein eight ounces of rose water, a little salt, & cast it onto a plate, or into cups, or into square forms.¹¹²

The most notable shift in this version was the omission of spices; certainly Chiquart's version and the medieval examples included a more heavily spiced final product. We must be careful not to attribute these shifts to the 1651 and later revolution in taste, since they do not proceed teleologically. The recipe for blancmange from *The Good Housewife's Jewell* also did not include spices, but did include most of the other traditional ingredients:

To make Blewmanger. Take to a pinte of creame twelve or sixteene yolkes of egges, and straine them into it, and seeth them well euer stirring it with a sticke that is broad at the end but before you seeth it put in suger, and in the seething tast of it that you may if neede bee put in more suger, and when it is almost sodden put in a little Rose water that it may taste thereof, and seeth it well till it be thicke, and then straine it againe if it hath neede, or else put it in a fayre Dish and stirre it till it be almost cold, and take the white of all the Egges, and straine them with a pinte of Cream and seeth that with suger, and in the ende put in rosewater as into the other, and seeth it till it be thicke enough, and then vse it as the other, and when ye serue it ye may serue one dish and another of the other in roules, and cast on biscuits.¹¹³

Similarly, the recipe for blancmange from La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier François*, called the "Queen's Pottage," called for a very similar preparation to that listed in the earlier *Good Housewife's Jewell*:

Get almonds, grind them, and set them to boil with good bouillon, along with a bouquet of herbs, a bit of lemon pulp, and a little breadcrumb; then season that with salt. Take care they don't burn, stirring them frequently, and strain them. Then get your bread and simmer it in the best bouillon that you have. After you have deboned some roast partridge or capon, get some good bouillon, cook all of the bones with a few mushrooms, and strain everything through a cloth. Simmer your bread in the bouillon, [so prepared] and, as it is simmering, sprinkle it with almond milk and with the meat stock, then add in little finely chopped partridge flesh or capon, until it is full. Then get the fire shovel and heat it to red hot and pass it over the top. Garnish your pottage with cockscombs, pistachios, pomegranate seeds and meat stock. Then serve.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, F.), 32–33.

¹¹³ G.Steevens, *The Good Housewife's Jewell* (1596, England), ff. 29r.-29v.

¹¹⁴ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), II.XI.

Other than the omission of lemon juice, the recipes were nearly exactly the same in constitution. Garnishing habits changed somewhat, with La Varenne including some medieval-style pomegranate along with the new additions of pistachio and cockscombs.

One notable, new category of recipe that is very well represented in numerous French and English sources is the fricassée, a loosely defined word that could be used either as a verb or a noun. As a noun, a fricassée was a dish that broadly called for any meat to be sautéed with vegetables, often with an addition of stock or wine to be thickened into a sauce or with the final addition of a sauce proper. Fricassées sometimes called for mutton or beef but more often called for poultry or fish. As a verb, fricassée was used by authors to mean “sauté”, as when La Varenne called for his pottage of chicken and asparagus to be garnished “with asparagus that has been broken and fricasséed”.¹¹⁵ The fricassée method itself was recorded in *A Noble Booke off Cookry* as “bef or moton hewed in smale gobbettes and couched in a good buture,” so the method was not new, but the tendency to list more poultry recipes that called for the fricassée cooking method was increasing.

In terms of recipes for the dish fricassée, much iteration exists. In *A Book of Cookrye* the “Fricase of Goose giblets or Hennes, or Capons” called for the cook to “First cut them in prety peeces, and so boile them in water til they be tender, then fry them in butter, and so serve them forth with powder of Ginger and Salt.”¹¹⁶ Other fricassées were slightly more complex. La Varenne’s Goose liver ragout called for the cook to

pick out the fattest and whitest livers, clean them and throw them into hot water in order to remove their bitter taste; immediatly take them out again, though. When they have dried, saute them in a pan in butter or clarified lard. Then simmer them in a little bouillon with parsley and a whole scallion. When they are cooked, remove the scallion

¹¹⁵ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), III.V.

¹¹⁶ A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (England, 1591), np.

and serve the sauce quite thick. Into that you can put truffles, mushrooms, and asparagus stalks.¹¹⁷

In this case, the goose liver took centre stage over the actual meat of poultry. Light meat poultry ragouts followed similar preparations to La Varenne's ragout for bunting:

Dress buntings and sauté them in butter or melted lard. When done, set them to simmer in a small pot with some bouillon, and season them well. To thicken the sauce, mix the veal sweetbreads, meat stock, and mushrooms. When it is all well cooked, serve it garnished with pistachios and pomegranate seeds.¹¹⁸

We must give mention to turkey and guiney fowl cookery methods, too. The guinea fowl arrived in Europe under the Roman Empire seems to have been rarely mentioned until the late sixteenth century; the turkey arrived in Europe from the New World in the late sixteenth century.¹¹⁹ Both were treated in similar manners by authors, so much so that it is difficult to know which bird authors had in mind when they made reference to “turkie”, “*poul d'Inde*” or “*coq d'Inde*”. *A Book of Cookrye* recommended that cooks bake “Turky Fowles” in an oven and simply “Cleve your Turkye foule on the back, and bruse al the bones. Season it with Pepper groce beaten and salt, and put into it good store of Butter, he must have five houres baking.”¹²⁰ Casteau recommended including “*coq d'Inde*”¹²¹ in a number of the menus listed in *Ouverture de Cuisine* but mentioned it only once or twice in the body of his work, in the recipe for “*oylla podrida*,” examined above, and a simple roasted turkey served cold.¹²² La Varenne included a number of recipes for *coq d'Inde*, about four to eight, depending on how we define turkey. His

¹¹⁷ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), VIII.LIX.

¹¹⁸ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), VIII.LII.

¹¹⁹ The *Companion* notes that turkey was often confused with guinea fowl, a native of Africa. It is impossible to know, for sure which bird authors had in mind, but it is fair to assume that both birds were treated in the same manner due to their similar culinary natures. Both arrived into Europe at around the same time, See “Turkey,” *Companion*, 973–974 and “Guiney-fowl,” *Companion*, 431.

¹²⁰ A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (1591, England), np.

¹²¹ Roasted turkey

¹²² Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, France), 101–105 (see recipe for *oylla podrida* transcribed above in discussion on mutton); 150.

pottage of “stuffed young turkeys” called for small turkeys or guinea fowl to be stiffed with veal fat, cooked eggs, and the bird’s offal bound with egg yolks poached in a bouillon scented with truffles and chestnuts.¹²³ La Varenne’s recipe for “daube of turkey” called for the bird to be trussed, larded, simmered in water with herbs, lemon zest, “salt and all spices,” and served in plates garnished with parsley.¹²⁴ Although these recipes were important in that the turkey was a New World species, the recipes were very much akin in method and style to other poultry recipes.

Game fowl recipes also reflected something of a trend toward slightly less piquant seasonings, but many of the medieval approaches to cooking fowl persisted as well. About cooking dark meat fowl, Maestro Martino noted simply, “The meat of swan, that is, cygnet, as well as goose, duck, crane, wild goose, eagle, heron, and stork, should be sautéed with garlic, onion, and other good things and then roasted.”¹²⁵ *A Noble Boke off Cookry* included a recipe for swan or duck that was quite medieval in its use of spices, offal, and blood:

To mak chaudron for swan wild duck or pigge take and wesse the issus of a swan and skour the guttes with salt and sethe them to gedour and hewe small bothe the flesshes and the guttes and put ther to canelle or galingale put myed bred ther to and temper it with the brothe or with the blod and session it to venygar and boille them in a possuet and serue them furthe.¹²⁶

Even the pepper sauce, traditionally served with fatty or dark meat game meats, appeared among La Varenne’s suggestions as an accompaniment to quail.¹²⁷

Other times, La Varenne was more sparing in the suggested flavour profile for certain dark meat game fowl. He recommended teal be seasoned simply with orange juice,¹²⁸ boar

¹²³ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), IV.XIII.

¹²⁴ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), V.XXII.

¹²⁵ Martino, *Libro de Arte Coquinaria* (1465, Italy), 50.

¹²⁶ Anon., *A Noble Boke off Cookry* (1468, England), 49.

¹²⁷ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), VI.XII.

¹²⁸ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), VI.XVI.

roasted and seasoned only with bay leaf,¹²⁹ and yet the more delicate woodcock was recommended to be paired with pepper sauce.¹³⁰ Therefore, it is difficult to say that game fowl recipes were very different from their medieval predecessors. As we saw in the previous chapter, some game fowl and even game quadrupeds were mildly seasoned during the Middle Ages, and we can now see that the same was true of the early modern period. Palates were changing—it is undeniable—but they were not changing abruptly or totally.

Overall, what can our sources say about poultry and game fowl recipe evolution between 1450 and 1660? As in other categories, there is not a clear regional or temporal progression of any of the trends we are following. Some recipes, like blancmange, survived in a multiplicity of forms—some spiced, some not; some thickened with bread, some served over bread—indicating that cooks were very practical, imaginative, and experimental about the types of ingredients they incorporated into dishes. Although some fowl recipes included fewer spices and strong aromatics, many of the light meat poultry dishes continued to include spice; therefore, even in terms of seasoning there is not a clear path leading to the use of fewer spices; something we will examine further later in this chapter. What we can say with certainty is that our noble palates were willing to accept novel items like turkey but, seemingly, they liked them to be introduced according to very traditional modes of cookery. Overwhelmingly, we can see that medieval cooks were wily and pragmatic in their selection of poultry and combinations of flavours and cooking methods.

¹²⁹ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), VI.XVIII.

¹³⁰ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), VI.XXXI.

Aquatic Species in Cookery Manuals: 1450–1660

We know from Chapter One that weekly fasts, and even daily fasts when it was Lent, were integral aspects of pre-fifteenth-century European cookery.¹³¹ To abstain from meat each Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, as well as the forty days of Lent and the vigils of important feasts demonstrated, in the medieval Catholic mind, mindfulness of Christ's Passion and reverence for the traditions of the church.¹³² These traditional notions of personal piety came to be challenged during the Protestant Reformation.

Food historians have not dealt with the topic to any great degree, although there is general consensus in the field that within both France and England, varieties of fish being consumed were decreasing throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with Flandrin noting,

So did marine animals and their by-products, ranging from whale blubber, once considered indispensable during [L]ent, to porpoise and seal. Of the amphibious species classified as “fish” by the church, only the scoter, a kind of diving duck that

¹³¹ Bridget Ann Henisch, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (University Park, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976); Ewald Kislinger, “Christians of the East: Rules and Realities of the Byzantine Diet,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin & Massimo Montanari (New York: Penguin, 2000) 194–206; Roy Strong, “The Christian Table and the Birth of Manners,” in *Feast: A History of Grand Eating* (London: Johnathan Cape, 2002) 50–55; Terence Scully, “Religious Strictures” & “Religious Rules,” in *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995) 58–64, 124–126; Caroline Walker-Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Christopher Woolgar, “Fast and Feast: Conspicuous Consumption and the Diet of the Nobility in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Revolution and Consumption in Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2001) 7–25; Richard C. Hoffmann, “Aquaculture in Champagne before the Black Death of 1348–1350,” in *Archéologie du poisson. 30 ans d'archéo-ichtyologie au CNRS. Hommage aux travaux de Jean Desse et Nathalie Desse-Berset*, ed. P. Béarez, S. Grouard, and B. Clavel, (Antibes: Éditions APDCA, 2008) 67–82; Dominique Michel, “Les poisons,” in *Vatel et la naissance de la gastronomie* (Paris: Fayard, 1999) 256–261; D. Serjeantson and C. M. Woolgar, “Fish Consumption in Medieval England,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 102–130; Armelle Querrien, “Pêche et consommation du poisson en Berry au Moyen Age,” in *Pêche et pisciculture en eau douce: la rivière et l'étang au Moyen Age, Actes des 1^{es} rencontres internationales de Liessies, 27, 28 et 29 avril 1998*, ed. P. Benoît, F. Loridant, O. Matteoni (Lille: Conseil général du Nord, 2004) unpaginated; see discussion of medieval fasting habits in chapter one.

¹³² Bruno Laurioux, “Les obligations religieuses,” in *Manger au Moyen Âge: Pratiques et Discours Alimentaires en Europe aux XIV^e et XV^e Siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 2009) 101–122; Melitta Weiss Adamson, “Food and Religion,” in *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004) 181–204.

no one eats today, survived as a dish for meatless days until the end of the eighteenth century.¹³³

Flandrin noted decline in fish consumption in England, especially after the English Reformation, and the legislative attempts to preserve the English merchant navy through re-establishment of the traditional rounds of fasting.¹³⁴

The exact mechanics of these shifts are something we should examine a little closer. In the early sixteenth century, continental and English reformers began to develop divergent ideas about fasting. Shortly before 16 April 1522, during the same Lent when the Reformation came to a head in Zurich, Huldrych Zwingli attended a public festival whose showcase event was a feast of sausages, the cooking of which was organized by Zwingli's friend Christoph Froschauer.¹³⁵ It is uncertain whether Zwingli consumed sausages at the meal, but, nevertheless, he was driven into a frenzy by the reaction of Prince-Bishop von Hohenlandenberg, bishop of Konstanz, who caused Froschauer and other attendees to be arrested and held in jail on public nuisance charges.¹³⁶ The following Sunday, Zwingli climbed the stairs of the pulpit at the Grossmünster and proceeded to inform the congregation that "all of my efforts are directed against this assumption that we are restrained at this and that time by divine law. Let each one fast as often as the spirit of true belief urges him."¹³⁷ When Prince-Bishop von Hohenlandenberg approached the Zurich City Council regarding his desire to institute further measures to quell the reformers' activities, the council half-heartedly condemned public eating of sausages during Lent and

¹³³ Ken Albala, "The Reformations," in *Food in Early Modern Europe* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003) 199–207; Ken Albala, "Influence of Religion," in *Cooking in Europe, 1250–1650* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006) 5; Flandrin, "Dietary Choices," *Food*, 404.

¹³⁴ Pinkard, *Revolution in Taste*, 143–144; Flandrin, "Dietary Choices," *Food*, 416.

¹³⁵ Carter Lindberg, "The Swiss Connection: Zwingli and the Reformation in Zurich," in *The European Reformations* (Chichester: Blackwell, 2010) 161–167.

¹³⁶ Lindberg, *European Reformations*, 161–167.

¹³⁷ Ulrich Zwingli, "Von Erkiesen und Fryheit der Spysen" or "Regarding the Choice and Freedom of Foods," in *The Latin Works and the Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli: Together with Selections from His German Works, Volume 1*, ed. & trans. Samuel Macauley Jackson (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1912) 70–112, quote taken from p 80.

requested clarification on the rules of fasting.¹³⁸ Early in the evolution of the Protestant Reformation, fasting had become an important, even explosive issue, but not one that even the most radical reformers were prepared to do away with altogether. Even Zwingli saw a use for fasting within Christian domestic life as long as it was performed by choice rather than regulation.

Ideas such as these were influential. Many scholars point to Cecil's fast as an example of how greatly English Reformers' ideas affected the new regions to which they spread.¹³⁹ By 1559, William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley, encouraged the passage of bills that regulated "political Lent": government-mandated, weekly fish days on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays as well as the Lenten fast.¹⁴⁰ The origins of Burghley's legislation lay in his *Considerations delivered to the Parliament, 1559*, a list of legislation that he wished to enact.¹⁴¹ Twenty-fifth in the *Considerations* was an explanation of the necessity for mandating a "political Lent," noting that "the old course of fishing [should] be maintained by the straitest observation of fish days, for policy sake; so the sea coasts shall be strong with men and habitations and the fleet flourish more than ever."¹⁴² As Lord Burghley noted, these considerations were not influenced by religion. Ostensibly, they were dominated by concerns about the strength of the English merchant fleet. Burghley even included the clause "for policy sake" to make it clear that this was not for the sake of religion; fasts had to be mandated for the sake of English naval and economic strength, offering a loophole to devout Protestants who might have been leery of continuing the fast due to

¹³⁸ Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1986), 52–56.

¹³⁹ Flandrin, "Dietary Choices, 1500–1800," 416.

¹⁴⁰ [1559] Anon., "1559," in *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I: 1558–1581*, ed. T.E. Hartley (London: Bloomsbury & Leicester University Press, 1995) 103–107.

¹⁴¹ Anon. "Cecil Papers: 1559," in *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Volume 1: 1306–1571*, ed. Bird *et al.* (London: unknown, 1883) 150–165.

¹⁴² Anon., "1559," *Calendar of the Cecil Papers*, 150–165.

similar concerns to those highlighted by Zwingli. By 1579, the proclamation was reissued no less than ten additional times.¹⁴³

Elizabeth I was not the only monarch to make repeated proclamations enforcing the old fasting regime. Examination of the Tudor and Stuart *State Papers Domestic* reveals that legislative attempts to enforce fish days did, indeed, continue after Elizabeth's 1559 proclamation. James VI & I made a similar proclamation in 1606, while Charles I did the same in September, 1630.¹⁴⁴ James's proclamations seem to have attracted little attention, but Charles found ways to make them particularly repugnant to Londoners. In 1630, Charles followed up his September proclamation against meat eating on fish days with the arrest and imprisonment in December of forty-two London victuallers, "chiefly cooks and innholders," whose charge was "breach of the King's late proclamation for abstinence from flesh, and against dressing any meat in victualing houses on fish days."¹⁴⁵ The rather extreme measures taken by Charles may reflect less about heightening tensions over the fisheries and navy, and instead, highlight early tensions that would intensify surrounding Charles's particular style of administering his royal prerogative.

Evidence like this supports the conclusions of Flandrin and Pinkard surrounding decreasing fish consumption in England. When we turn to cookery collections of the same period, as both scholars note, proportionality of fish recipes conveys an unclear understanding of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century struggles over fasting; our data reveals that fish continued to be represented with the same relative incidence as in medieval collections. Turning to the data itself, we can see an interesting group of patterns. When we extract the data related to fish-only

¹⁴³ Frederic A. Youngs, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) 255–259.

¹⁴⁴ Anon., "James I: September, 1606," in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1603–1610* (London: unknown, 1857) 318; Anon. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I: 1629–1631*, ed. John Bruce (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860) 348.

¹⁴⁵ Anon., "James I: December, 1606," *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I: 1629–1631*, 397.

recipes from their respective collections—that is, without counting vegetable, quadruped, or poultry recipes—we can see that authors' locations often influenced the varieties of species they included in recipes, but many of the species popular during the medieval period continued to be called for in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century collections.

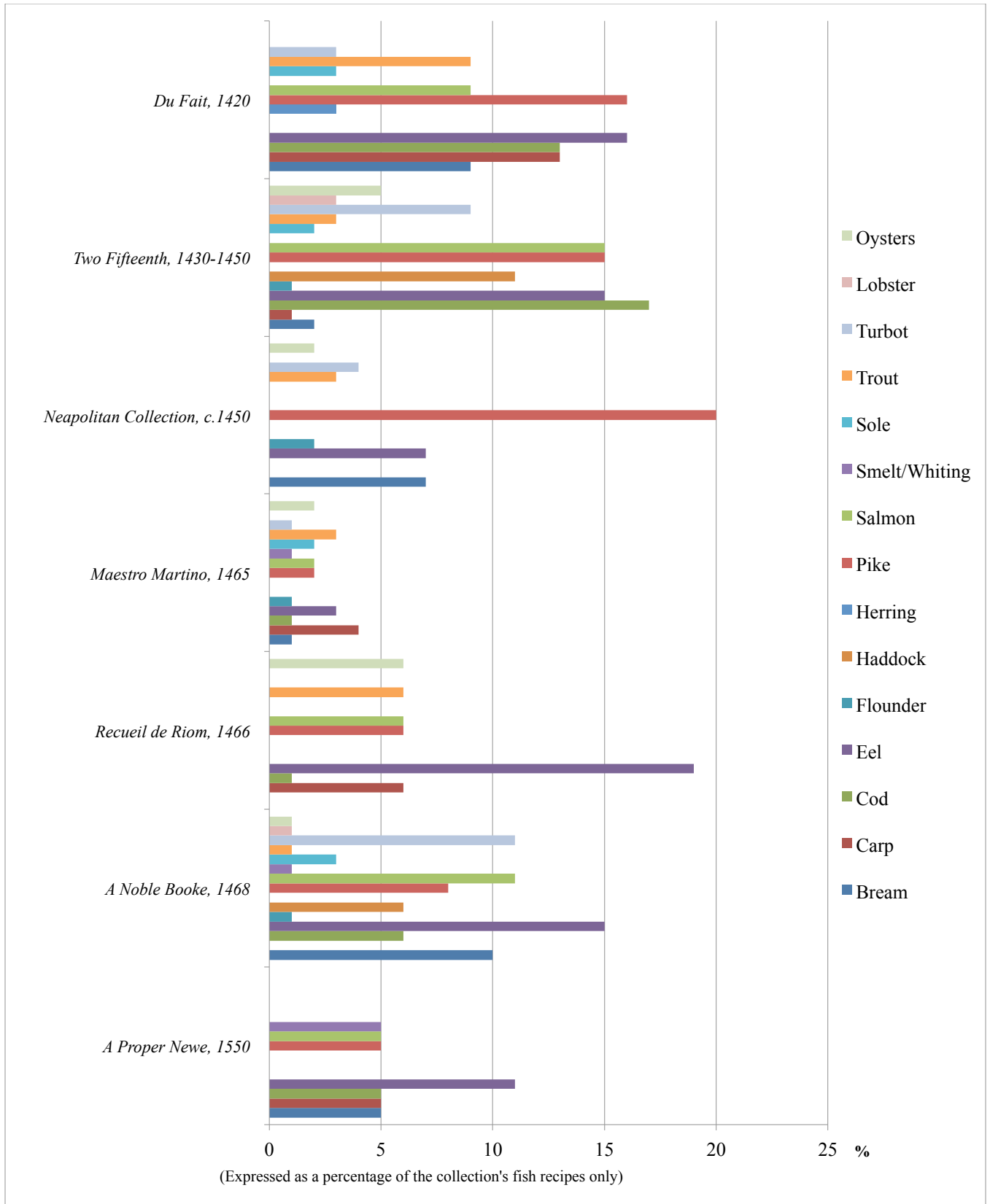


Figure 6. Select fish species in cookery manuals, c.1450-1550.

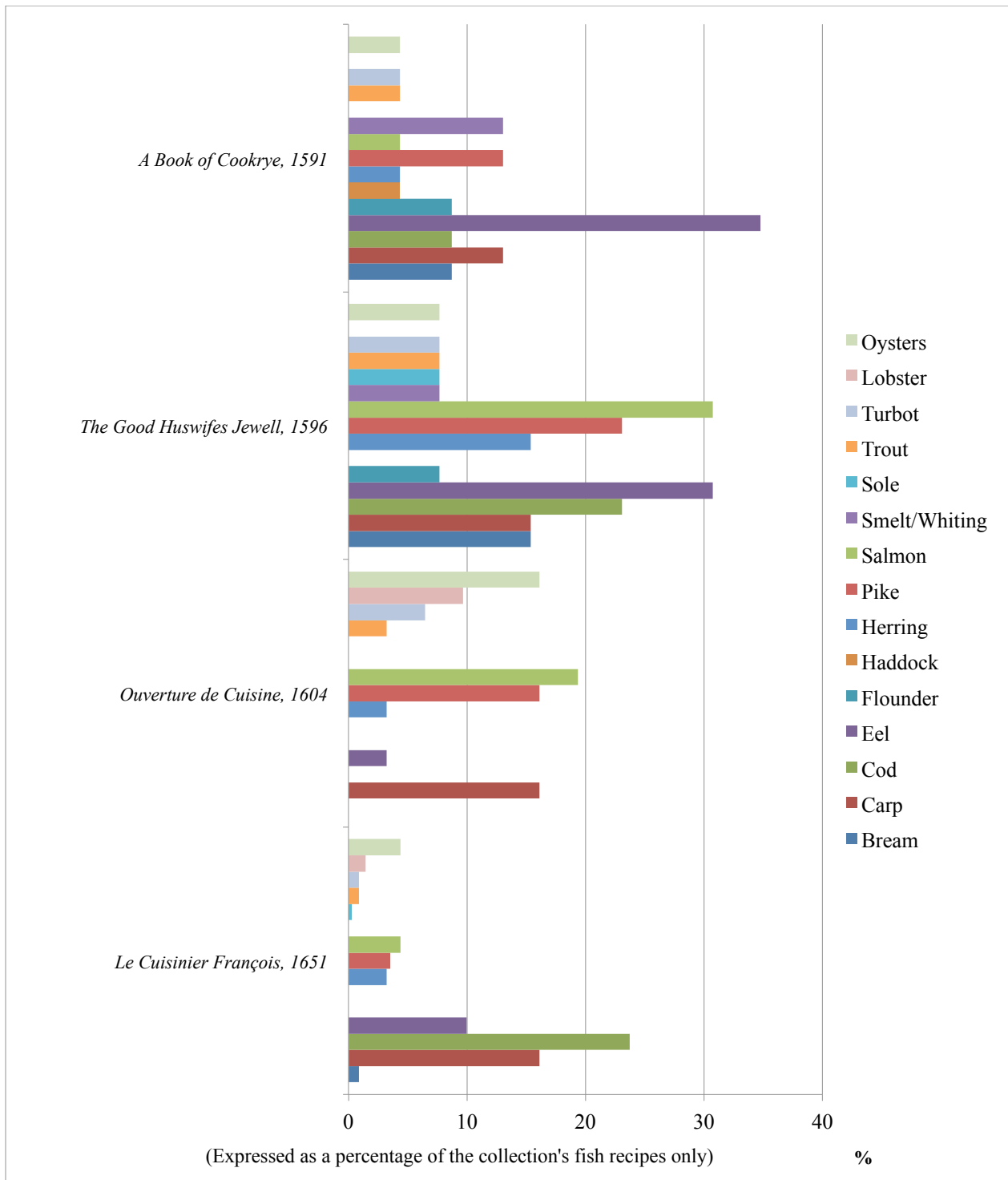


Figure 7. Select fish species in cookery manuals, c. 1550-1660.

We should examine what these proportions mean, briefly, before examining the recipes themselves. If we examine freshwater species, we can see that pike and carp, for example, were two of the most prominent fish featured in our collections; the latter better represented among our French sources, but both maintaining a presence across the period. Between 1450 and 1550, our French sources included carp variously in six to thirteen percent of their fish recipes,¹⁴⁶ while our French collections dating between 1550 and 1660 both included carp in sixteen percent of fish recipes.¹⁴⁷ In England, too, recipes calling for carp became more prevalent as time went on. Among our sources ranging in date between 1450 and 1550, carp recipes in English sources variously ranged between zero and five percent, with a good portion of English sources barely mentioning the species at all.¹⁴⁸ In our two English sources ranging in date between 1550 and 1660, recipes calling for carp spiked to between thirteen and fifteen percent of fish recipes.¹⁴⁹ The French and English trend concerning carp, at least in our collections, was to intensify its presence as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries wore on.

In the case of pike, proportionality shows a decreasing trend toward its inclusion in recipes. Between 1450 and 1550, French and English sources included pike in fish recipes between fifteen and sixteen percent of the time, while during the later portion of the period collections were calling for it in around five to six percent of recipes, if at all.¹⁵⁰ Between 1550 and 1660, pike appeared between zero and twenty percent of fish recipes, with the French sources including it in sixteen percent of recipes in the case of the *Ouverture* and in only four percent of fish recipes in *Le Cuisinier*, while the English sources included it in thirteen percent of

¹⁴⁶ *Du Fait*, 1420: 13%; *Recueil de Riom*, 1466: 6%.

¹⁴⁷ See chart above.

¹⁴⁸ *Two Fifteenth*, 1430-1450 1%; *A Noble Booke*, 1468: 0%; *A Proper Newe*, 1550: 5%.

¹⁴⁹ *A Book of Cookrye*, 1591: 13%; *The Good Huswifes Jewell*, 1596: 15%.

¹⁵⁰ *Du Fait*, 1420: 16%; *Two Fifteenth*, 1430-1450 15%; *Recueil de Riom*, 1466: 6%; *A Noble Booke*, 1468: 8%; *A Proper Newe*, 1550: 5%.

recipes in *A Book of Cookrye*, and in twenty-three percent of fish recipes in the *The Good Huswifes Jewell*.¹⁵¹

In terms of proportionality, carp was increasing in popularity, while pike maintained a steady presence in English collections but declined in French collections. Our other species, once we account for geographic availability, show similar trends: inconsistent numerical presence among fish recipes in their respective collections.

What does this mean? It seems to indicate that, despite the increasing or decreasing presence of specific species' inclusion rates in collections, cookbook authors continued to expect that their readers needed access to significant varieties of fish recipes. As with all of our ingredient categories, some fish increased with the rate at which authors required them, and others decreased. Was there any correlation to the Reformation and variation in fish proportionality? No, and in fact, our reformed collections—*The Good Housewife's Jewell* and *A Book of Cookrye*—demonstrate greater variation in fish species called for in recipes than our ostensibly Catholic French collections. As Flandrin and Pinkard have noted, cookbooks are not good sources from which to gather data on actual fish consumption rates. However, countering Flandrin's argument about lack of carryover in the types of fish species medieval and early modern cookery collections called for, this data seems to indicate that taking into account authors' individual preferences as well as geographic and religious considerations, many species like pike and carp were just as likely to be included in medieval cookery collections as they were in early modern cookery collections. Exclusion rates of fish that were available regionally, on the other hand, seem more closely linked to authors' personal or professional preferences than they were to religious or cultural shifts.

¹⁵¹ See chart above.

When we examine the recipes themselves, we can see some innovations in fish cookery—and a great deal of medieval hangover. In terms of medieval hangover culinary aesthetic, we can see a good number of highly-spiced fish dishes. *Le Recueil de Riom* called for salmon to be served with cameline sauce—the red wine-spiced sauce universal in medieval kitchens—without mentioning the exact cooking method; how it was cooked was not so important as having a well-seasoned condiment to go with it.¹⁵² A more verbose rendition of the recipe from *A Noble Boke off Cookry* paired the salmon with white wine instead:

To mak chaudron for samone tak the draught of samon and mak it clene and put it in a pot and all the blod of the samon ther with and boile it till it be enoughe then tak it up and grind the spawn and draw a liour of bred and of whit wyne and put ther to poudere of pepper and canelle and boile it and stirr it and session it up with poudere of guinger venygar saffron and salt and ye may serve it furthe in sted of potage or els a sauce for samon.¹⁵³

Other recipes contained medieval cookery and seasoning methods but applied them in new ways. The stuffed carp from *The Good Housewife's Jewell* used a traditional combination of medieval aromatics and cooking methods, but combined them all into one recipe:

To roast a Carpe or Tench with a Pudding in his belly. Take the Roncs of a Pike and choppe them bery small, then put in grated bread, two or three egges, Currans, Dates, Suger, Sinamon and Ginger, and Mace, Pepper and salte, and put it in his bellye, and put him on a Broche, and make sweete sauce with Barberyes, or Lemmons minced, and put into the sweete sauce, and then put it on the Carpe, when you serue it vp.¹⁵⁴

Le Recueil de Riom's similarly medieval eel recipe suggested treating eel, pike, and carp in the following manner:

Inside-out eels, and pike, and carp in galantine. The spices to put in: grains of paradise, and cloves, nutmeg, and mace. And, when the meat is cooked, take the

¹⁵² *Le Recueil de Riom* (1466, France), 45.

¹⁵³ *A Noble Boke off Cookry* (1468, England), f. 51v.

¹⁵⁴ *The Good Housewife's Jewell* (1596, England), f. 22r.

broth and the toasted bread, and strain, and put to boil in a pot. And put to cool in a wooden bowl and put the sauce on top.¹⁵⁵

Even La Varenne saw the benefits of many medieval cookery methods, particularly making sauces separately from the primary meat. His recipe for roast eel, for example, illustrates the point:

Cut an eel lengthwise and lay it on the grill. Then get sorrel or chard and extract their juice. Sauté a very small onion and season that with salt, pepper, and a dash of vinegar, chopped capers, and orange peel; simmer your eel in that sauce. When you are ready to serve, with your sauce well thickened, pour your juice over the top. Then serve.¹⁵⁶

It is clear that even among the later cookery collections, medieval treatments of fish persisted. Spices, combination cooking methods, and stand-alone sauces all made strong appearances in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cookery collections.

Along with the well-seasoned fish recipes, however, less highly spiced fish recipes also appeared in early modern cookery collections, just as they did in our medieval collections. The difference, now, was that items like capers and citrus were more frequently being incorporated into French fish recipes, while the English habit of including dried berries but not as much citrus fruit held-fast. In *Ouverture de cuisine*, for example, pike received the same treatment that we have already met in our medieval sources—boiling then simmering in sauce—and it included the medieval-style aromatics of nutmeg, pepper, wine, but added on top of this were the additional aromatics of lemon and citron:

Pike of another sort. Take a well washed pike & put it to boil with salted water & vinegar, then break it into pieces, at the end to take the erettes out, then finely chop the pike, & put into a little pot or a plate, & take a finely chopped fresh citron or

¹⁵⁵ *Le Recueil de Riom*¹⁵⁵ (1466, France), 28.

¹⁵⁶ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), XVI.II.

lemon, flour of nutmeg, a little pepper & new butter, & white wine, a little orange, & put them to stew well together.¹⁵⁷

It is an important recipe to consider, since we can see that it was, in every sense, a medieval recipe but scented with a slight citrus flavour, that it would have been difficult to discern over the acids—wine in a sauce and vinegar in a poaching liquid—already present in the dish. Similarly, the earlier English *Good Housewife's Jewell* featured a stuffed carp recipe, outlined above, that included a number of medieval habits and a small degree of novelty: It involved the medieval habit of preparing a stand-alone sauce and cooking the fish separately from the aromatic combination of cinnamon, ginger, mace, and pepper. It contained berries, currants, dates, and barberries as per English flavour sensibilities. Yet it also featured the new habit of finishing the ensemble with a garnish of citrus.¹⁵⁸ La Varenne's burbot ragout, while not including citrus, used capers to achieve a piquant accent in the final flavour of the dish:

Scrape burbot in hot water until they are white, and gut them. Put them into white wine, fresh butter, salt, pepper, onion and capers; simmer, and keep your sauce from turning—that is, from becoming oily. Garnish them with mushrooms and milt, then serve them.¹⁵⁹

A great deal of other fish recipes, and even poultry recipes, of the late sixteenth-century English sources and the early seventeenth-century French sources included this citrus or caper garnish. It complemented the acids already present in dishes, added visual appeal and offered a pleasing contrast to the medieval cookery methods and seasoning aesthetics seen in earlier cookery styles.

What can we say about evolution of fish recipes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Certainly there was some change occurring like the increasing predilection for citrus

¹⁵⁷ Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, France), 24.

¹⁵⁸ *The Good Housewife's Jewell* (1596, England), f. 22r.

¹⁵⁹ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), XVI.XVI.

and caper garnishes, but the shifts were relatively superficial. Fish cookery methods were inherited, nearly wholesale, from the Middle Ages. The familiar fish seasoning aesthetic—whether highly or less highly spiced recipes in our collections—reflected the author's the choice to either use a variety of spices. Unfortunately it is impossible to identify any regional or temporal pattern in these trends since they appear in both kingdoms. Were the French following the English in their more regular addition of citrus fruits to fish and poultry recipes? It is unlikely. It is more likely that the increasing addition of citrus to recipes is the result of the increased cultivation of large formal and vegetable gardens, a habit to be explored further in the following section.

We can see that although cooks were willing to incorporate new seasoning aesthetics into their dishes, the incorporation of new cookery styles and seasoning methods was most carefully and conservatively introduced into existing culinary styles. While fish dishes could sometimes be seasoned with herbs and citrus, this was not the rule, even in La Varenne's cookery. Instead, the large corpus of medieval cookery approaches was fully incorporated into La Varenne's work with only the slightest adjustments to the flavour profile. In so far as fish cookery was concerned—as with our other ingredient groups—a great deal of medieval seasoning and cookery aesthetic survived in both France and England well after the mid-seventeenth century.

Root and Stem Vegetables

Vegetable use in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French and English cookery manuals has come under increasing scrutiny from scholars.¹⁶⁰ In many ways, vegetables became more clearly recognized during this period. More vegetable dishes were being recorded by authors and they were intended to stand alongside the highly complex meat and fish dishes we have already examined. In terms of revolution in taste, vegetables play an important role. In part, this is due to their association with the Italian humanists, but it was also due to the increasing ranges of varieties of Old and New World species that were coming under cultivation in kitchen gardens. As a result, some authors were increasingly including standalone vegetable dishes in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cookery collections.¹⁶¹

Current scholarly assessments of the role of vegetables during the period are many and divergent. Pinkard suggests that there might have been a shift toward more vegetables due to declining fish consumption in Protestant regions, while Catholic regions increasingly used vegetables as an accompaniment to fish on fast days; however, she notes that this is her own speculation.¹⁶² Of the vegetables elite households were willing to consume, Grieco suggests that leafy vegetables were preferred to the more humble root vegetables, especially since roots ranked low on in the Great Chain of Being because they were the product of dirty soil, whereas delicate

¹⁶⁰ Ken Albala, “Legumes,” “Root Vegetables,” “Leafy Vegetables,” in *Food in Early Modern Europe* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003) 27–29, 33–36, 36–39; Anne Wilson, “From Garden to Table: How Produce was Prepared for Immediate Consumption,” in *The Country House Kitchen Garden 1600–1950: How Produce was Grown and How it was Used*, ed. Anne Wilson (London: Sutton & National Trust Enterprises, 1998) 144–161; Susan Campbell, *Charleston Kidding: A History of Kitchen Gardening* (London: Ebury Press, 1996); Katarina Frost, et al., “The Royal Kitchen Garden at Strömsholm Castle: Evaluating Archaeological Methods,” *Garden History* 32.2 (Winter, 2004): 261–271; Joan Thirsk, “Preserving the Fruit and Vegetable Harvest, 1600–1700,” in *The Country House Kitchen Garden, 1600–1950* (Stroud, U.K.: Sutton, 1998) 162–176; Susan Campbell, *Charleston Kidding: A History of Kitchen Gardening* (London: Ebury Press, 1996).

¹⁶¹ Pinkard, *Revolution*, 72–73; Strong, *Feast*, 180, 224–225.

¹⁶² Pinkard, *Revolution*, 40.

leaves grew above the soil and so were thought to be purer.¹⁶³ It is impossible to know why sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cookery collection authors were becoming more inclined to include stand-alone vegetable dishes in their collections, but I would suggest, as does Albala, that it was closely related to increasing interest in gardening and horticulture.¹⁶⁴ With more vegetables around, curious cooks, likely began experimenting with their culinary properties and devising tasty side dishes for noble meals.

In a short treatise on the topic of Italian vegetables, called *A Brief Account of the Fruit, Herbs, and Vegetables of Italy* Giacomo Castelvetro (1546–1616) described all of the common vegetables under regular cultivation and consumption in Italy for his patroness, Lucy, Countess of Bedford (1580–1627) in 1614.¹⁶⁵ Castelvetro’s travels throughout Central Europe put him in touch with a wide variety of vegetables in use at the time. In comparing northern and southern Europe, he concluded that the Italian emphasis on vegetable cookery was notable and unique to Italy. In his chapter entitled “Why Italians Eat More Fruit and Vegetables than Meat,” Castelvetro opined that

it is hardly surprising that we Italians eat such a profusion of fruits and vegetables, some of them quite unknown and unappreciated elsewhere. Firstly, Italy, though beautiful, is not as plentifully endowed as France or this fertile island [Britain] with meat, so we make it our business to devise other ways of feeding our excess population.

The other equally powerful reason is that the heat, which persists for almost nine months of the year, has the effect of making meat seem quite repellant, especially beef, which in such a temperature one can hardly bear to look at, let alone eat. Even mutton is not eaten that

¹⁶³ Greico, “Food and Social Class,” *Food*, 309–310.

¹⁶⁴ Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe*, 7–14.

¹⁶⁵ Castelvetro was in a strong position to create a reliable account of early seventeenth-century northern Italian fruit, herb, and vegetable use, since he travelled widely throughout Europe, even for a gentleman of his day. He was born in Modena, later moved to Baden and became Protestant, returned to Italy to claim his patrimony, and after being imprisoned by the Inquisition, sold his inheritance to relatives and moved to England in 1580. After being discovered living in Venice, Castelvetro was again imprisoned by the Inquisition, released in 1611, and by 1614 had completed his *Brief Account*. See Gillian Riley, “Introduction,” in *The Fruit, Herbs, and Vegetables of Italy*, ed. & trans. Gillian Riley (London: Viking, 1989) 17–23.

much, for we keep the animals closed in stalls at night, not in the fields as you do, and this gives the meat a somewhat unpleasant taste.¹⁶⁶

In Castelvetro's opinion, soil quality and heat were the two most important elements that predetermined Italians' predilection for vegetables, but he seemed to think that the English would be so inclined if their weather was warmer. While he included a wide variety of grains, legumes, rice, melons, lettuces, and root vegetables, he also included ingredients that he saw as quintessentially Italian—truffles, a wide variety of mushrooms, sugared zucchini, and even melons noting that Italy produced better melons than either France or Spain.¹⁶⁷

What Castelvetro didn't list were many, or possibly any, New World ingredients. Of the New World ingredients that could conceivably have been grown in Italy at the time—maize, tomato, peppers, or vanilla, and gourds—only gourds appeared in his survey. However, one New World variety, *Cucurbita* descended from the same plant family (*Cucurbitaceae*) as the Old World variety *Lagenaria*, and both were referred to interchangeably by cookery collection authors as pumpkin and gourd.¹⁶⁸ Old World gourds (*Lagenaria*) were familiar throughout the African and Arab worlds, and are of a thicker-skinned variety than American (*Cucurbita*) varieties.¹⁶⁹ Although it is unclear exactly which genus Castelvetro referred to, specifically, he did note one interesting observation: "They are used by inexperienced swimmers, scared of drowning, who strap a whole dried gourd under their chests, to keep from sinking into the sea."¹⁷⁰ This is a good indication that he was speaking about the Old World genus *Lagenaria*, as the New World genus *Cucurbita* mostly have thin skin with thick pulp making them cave-in and

¹⁶⁶ Castelvetro, 99.

¹⁶⁷ Castelvetro, 88.

¹⁶⁸ See "Gourd" and "Pumpkin," *Penguin Companion*, 416, 768–769.

¹⁶⁹ "Gourd" and "Pumpkin," *Penguin Companion*, 416, 768–769.

¹⁷⁰ Castelvetro, 132.

decay before being able to dry and be used as waterproof containers; African gourds have long been used by locals, once de-pulped and dried, as water vessels.¹⁷¹

This is an important statement on the New World and its role in shifting European culinary aesthetic. Around 1650, New World ingredients had yet to make a pronounced impact on European dining habits, even in the eyes of a well-travelled contemporary foodie. Albala notes that tomatoes were grown copiously as garden plants, but were largely consumed only by the poor before 1650. However, it must be kept in mind that Castelvetro was writing for a noble audience.¹⁷² The same is true of bell and hot peppers. Albala specifically notes that “they are not even mentioned in cookbooks which naturally catered to a literate and elite audience.”¹⁷³ Those most open to New World ingredients were the poor who, through necessity, were forced to disobey traditional medical warnings against cold and wet vegetables that could provoke melancholy and brave the new flavours that presented themselves in the vegetables that elites treated as curiosities.

If we examine a selection of vegetables from both France and England, some interesting patterns emerge:

¹⁷¹ “Gourd,” *Penguin Companion*, 416.

¹⁷² Ken Albala, *Food*, 31–32.

¹⁷³ Albala, 33.

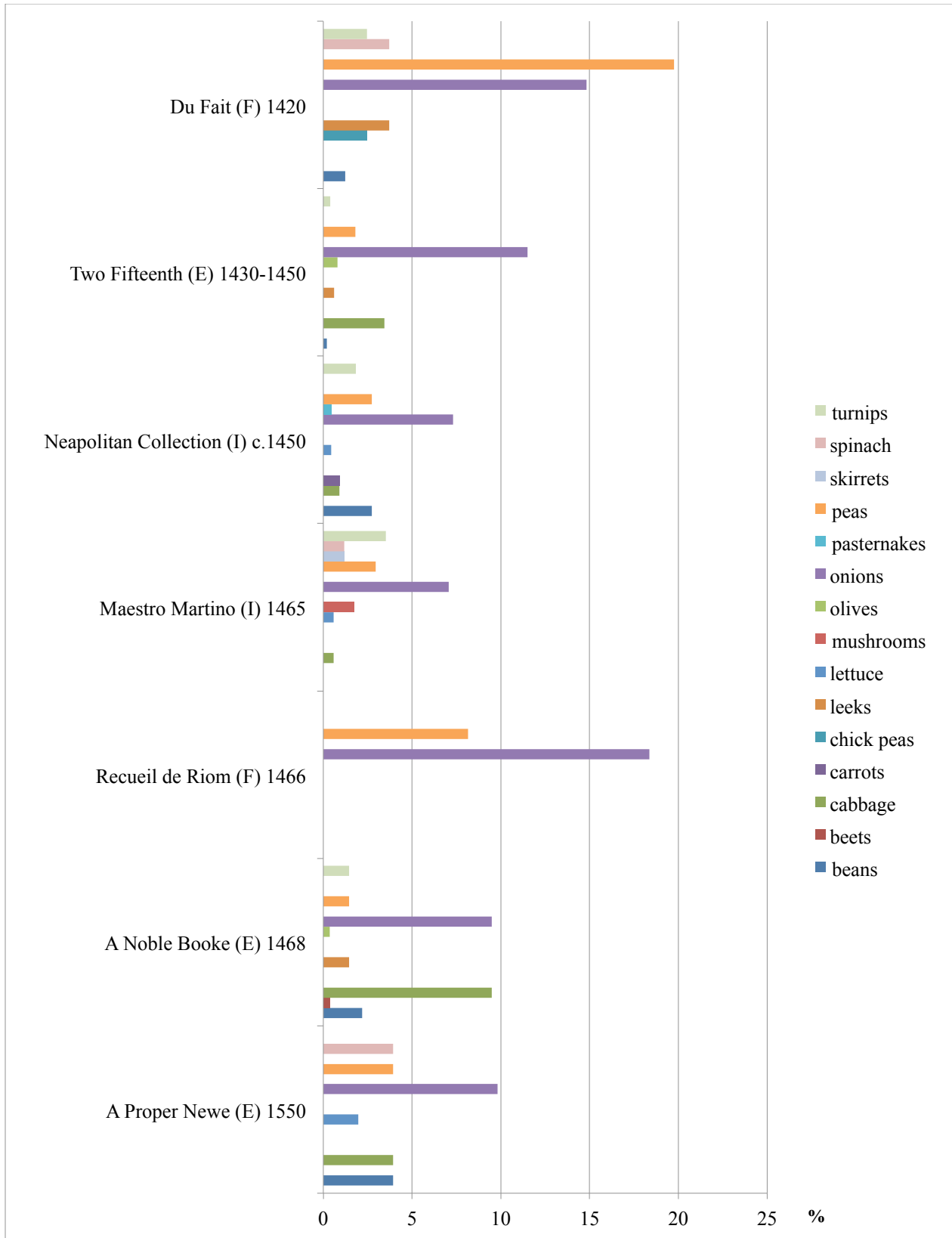


Figure 8. Recipes calling for vegetables, c.1450-1550.

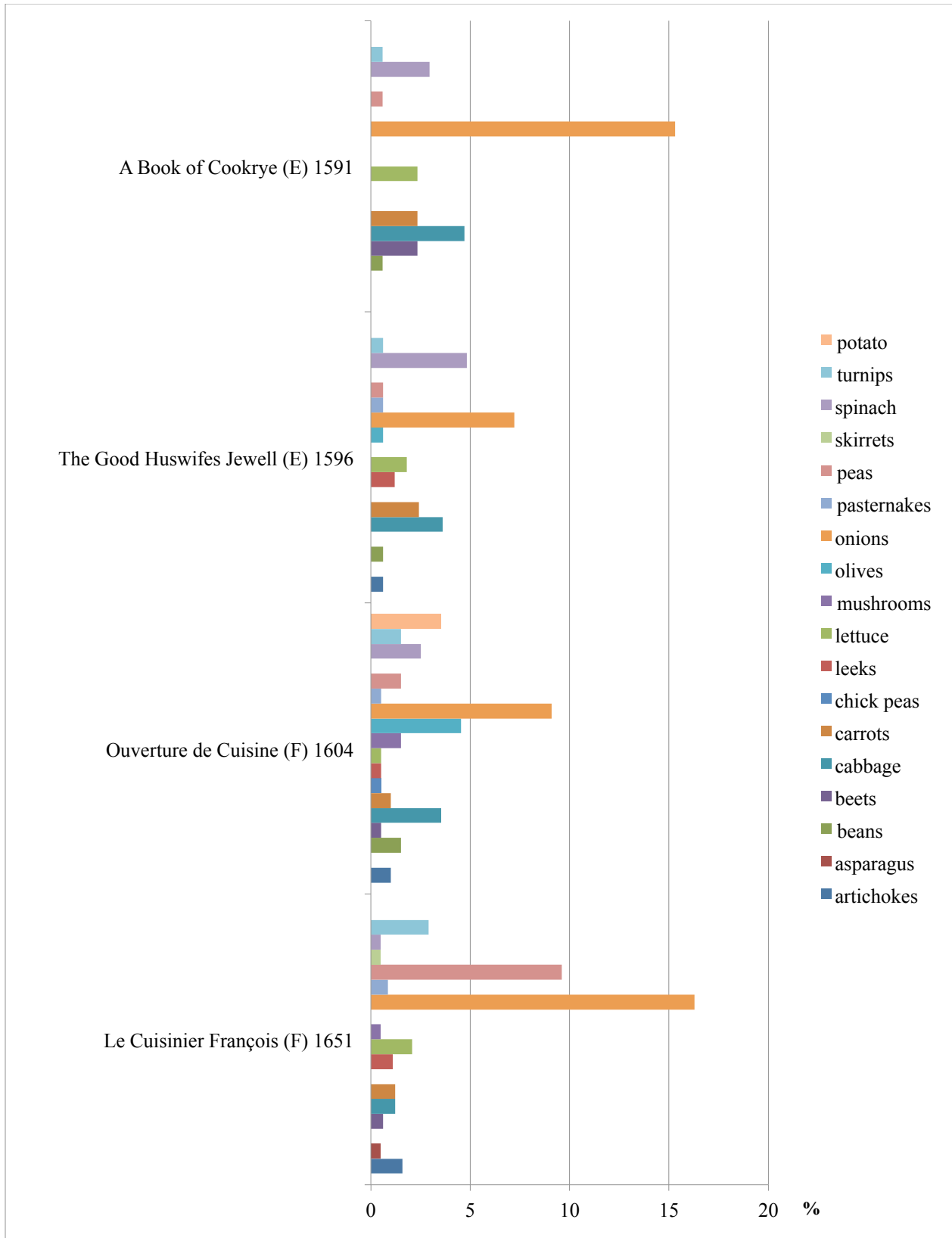


Figure 9. Recipes calling for vegetables, 1550-1660.

By far, the most regularly occurring vegetable was the humble onion. We normally associate items like onion and other root vegetables with peasant tables, but when we include all recipes calling for vegetables—not only stand-alone dishes—we can see that the vegetable that was most foundational to cookery in both France and England in the late medieval and early modern periods, was the onion: *Du fait de cuisine* called for onion in at least fifteen percent of recipes, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks* called for onion in eleven percent of its recipes, in the *Neapolitan Recipe Collection* seven percent of recipes called for onion, seven percent in *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*, eighteen percent in *Recueil de Riom*, nine percent in *A Noble Booke off Cookry*, and ten percent in *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye*.¹⁷⁴ There was no change in this pattern over the long term nor regionally: *A Booke of Cookrye* called for onion in fifteen percent of recipes, *The Good Housewife's Jewell* called for onion in seven percent of recipes, *Ouverture de Cuisine* called for onion in nine percent of recipes, and *Le Cuisinier françois* called for them in sixteen percent of recipes.¹⁷⁵ Not a single recipe called for onion as a stand-alone dish; instead, they were used to build the foundation of flavour for sauces and pottages from which the cook could add more aromatics. It is interesting to note, also, that a good number of authors did with very few recipes calling for onion. Whereas modern cooks add onions to almost any meat dish, soup, sauce, and salad, in the medieval cook's mind wine, meat drippings, verjuice and vinegar, spices and the cooking methods themselves could be modified in order to build flavour that did not always rely on onions as a foundation.

Other vegetables appeared far less and were subject to regional and temporal variances. The garden pea—either dried or fresh—was readily used in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century French sources, but was decreasing in frequency of mention during the mid-seventeenth century;

¹⁷⁴ See chart.

¹⁷⁵ See chart.

it always appeared very infrequently in English sources, if at all. *Du fait de cuisine* called for peas (either white or green) in at least twenty percent of recipes, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks* called for them in two percent of its recipes, in *Neapolitan Recipe Collection* three percent of recipes called for peas, three percent in *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*, eight percent in *Recueil de Riom*, one percent in *A Noble Booke off Cookry*, and two percent in *A Proper Newe Booke of Cokerye*.¹⁷⁶ By the seventeenth century, peas were appearing slightly less frequently: *A Book of Cookrye* called for peas in one percent of recipes, *The Good Housewife's Jewell* called for them in one percent of recipes, *Ouverture de Cuisine* called for them in two percent of recipes, and *Le Cuisinier françois* in ten percent of recipes.¹⁷⁷

Many of the French sources call for pea broth, or soup, as a base to which more meats, vegetables, and seasonings could be added. Chiquart explained how to make and use pea broth in this context:

And the master cook should be advised of the number of people that he has to serve and according to the number let them take the quantity of peas and sort through them and clean and wash them well and properly, and put to cook in fair and clean cauldrons or large, fair and clean pots, and cook them; and, having been put to cook, draw your purée into fair pots or cornues and draw up such a large quantity of it that you can make the quantity of potages which you will be ordered to make.¹⁷⁸

Chiquart used pea broth as a bouillon throughout *Du fait de cuisine* in all manner of fish and meat dishes. Similarly, La Varenne included it among his pottages, noting simply to “get your peas, boil them thoroughly and put them through a very fine strainer; put that purée into a pot with a bouquet of herbs. Put a little lard into a frying pan and, when it has melted, throw it into the pot.”¹⁷⁹ He went on to use this purée for a soup of gosling and salt pork as well as listing

¹⁷⁶ See chart.

¹⁷⁷ See chart.

¹⁷⁸ Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine* (1420, France), # 22.

¹⁷⁹ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), III.XXIII.

recipes for a “very thin” pea purée, and even green-pea pottage.¹⁸⁰ Although English sources rarely used pea broth for meats other than salt pork, it was sometimes served as a standalone dish. *A Noble Boke off Cookry* noted that pea broth could be made by taking “whit pessen and wesse them and sethe them till they hulle and when they be done cast they in to a pot and couer it and boile it and cast ther to almond mylk flour of ryse and salt it colour it with saffron and serve it.”¹⁸¹ Even *A Book of Cookrye* notes to “seethe them in faire water, then take them out of the water and put them into boyling milk, then take the yolks of Egs with crums of bread, and ginger, and straine them thorow a strainer with the said milk, then take chopped percely, Saffron and Salt, and serve it foorth for Pottage.”¹⁸² So peas, along with onions were two of the most useful vegetables in the medieval kitchen, even where elites were concerned.

As well, cabbage was coming to play a more regular role as an element of haute cookery collections. In our English group of collections dating between 1450 and 1550, cabbage appeared between one and nine percent of the time, but sat proportionality at around two to five percent in our French collections. In our group of collections ranging in date between 1550 and 1660, cabbage was included in each collection one to five percent of recipes. Most preparations were simple, but Casteau’s stuffed cabbage indicates that cooks were extremely creative in their use of humble ingredients like cabbage:

To make a farced cabbage. Take a red cabbage that is not too large, & put it to boil whole sweetly, & leave it so a long time that you can open the leaves the one behind the other, while the leaves of the cabbage are large like a fist, cut that out, & put chopped meat therein that it will be arrayed like the other meats with eggs & spices, & then layer the cabbage with the leaves all around, that it will be well bound, & put it to cook, sausages with, or that which you want.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, Fr.), III.XXIX; XXIX.II; V.XXI.

¹⁸¹ Anon., *A Noble Boke off Cookry* (1468, England), 111–112.

¹⁸² A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (England, 1591), np.

¹⁸³ Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, France), 127–128.

What of New World vegetables? The only New-World vegetable that appeared in any of our cookery collections are potatoes, although it is uncertain whether these are sweet potatoes or varieties of white potatoes.¹⁸⁴ It seems that the potato arrived in England and France toward the end of the sixteenth century, but its incorporation into existing culinary corpora was nearly non-existent. Of our collections, the only one that mentions potato is *Ouverture de Cuisine*, which contains four mentions of *tartoufle*¹⁸⁵: boiled and served with butter; simmered in wine with butter and nutmeg; a frittata-style dish of potato, marjoram, and fried eggs; and the *Oylla podrida*—a meat stew with various vegetables and spices—that we noted earlier.¹⁸⁶ Neither La Varenne nor the other seventeenth-century English sources selected for inclusion here list potatoes. The only other New World Vegetable included in our selection might be the gourd, or pumpkin, but it is uncertain whether these were the *Cucurbita* or *Lagenaria* varieties.¹⁸⁷

Previously unused Old World vegetables appeared in cookery collections with new frequency. Of the leafy sorts that Grieco suggests were more popular among the upper class, we do see a quantitative rise in their inclusion among our collections. In the collections ranging in date between 1450 and 1550, lettuces and “sallets” appear in less than half of the collections, and always in less than two percent of recipes.¹⁸⁸ In the group ranging in date between 1550 and 1660, all of our collections contained lettuces, ranging in frequency between one and two percent.¹⁸⁹ Although modest, lettuces were certainly more likely to be included in cookery collections published after 1550 than earlier. Unfortunately, none of our collections ever linked increased consumption of lettuces to their habit of growing above ground. Fungi, almost

¹⁸⁴ “Potato,” *Penguin Companion*, 752–755.

¹⁸⁵ “Potato,” *Penguin Companion*, 752–755.

¹⁸⁶ Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, F.), 95–96.

¹⁸⁷ See “Gourd” and “Pumpkin”, *Penguin Companion*, 416, 768–769.

¹⁸⁸ See chart.

¹⁸⁹ See chart.

certainly being considered among the dirtiest of vegetables, appeared the most in the *Ouverture de Cuisine*, but even in that case in only two percent of recipes.¹⁹⁰

It is useful to examine vegetable proportionality in a couple of sources briefly, in order to view the weights of individual vegetables relative to others within the same works. Despite the short length of Casteau's *Ouverture*, it included the greatest variety of vegetable species out of any of our collections, including but not limited to: potato (four percent), turnip (two percent), spinach (three percent), peas (two percent), parsnip (one percent), onion (nine percent), olives (five percent), mushroom (two percent), lettuces (one percent), leeks (one percent), chickpeas (one percent), carrots (two percent), beets (four percent), beans (two percent), and artichokes (one percent).¹⁹¹ In England, *Good Housewife's Jewell* called for turnip (one percent), spinach (five percent), peas (one percent), parsnips (one percent), onions (seven percent), olives (one percent), lettuces (two percent), leeks (one percent), carrots (two percent), cabbage (four percent), beans (one percent), and artichokes (one percent).¹⁹² Although proportionality certainly did not follow strict patterns, the types of vegetable recipes we have encountered above certainly indicate that authors were imaginative in their approaches to cooking vegetables, even if their proportional weights as elements of cookery manuals, in the grand scheme of things, remained relatively unchanged.

What can we say about shifts in vegetable cookery? Certainly more vegetable recipes were being recorded, but I am leery of suggesting that these recipes were devised at the same time they were written down. Vegetables arriving from the New World and far-flung parts of the Old World and were receiving new treatments by French and English cooks, but was Casteau the first to devise stuffed cabbage? Even among the collections that we have included in this survey,

¹⁹⁰ See chart.

¹⁹¹ See chart.

¹⁹² See chart.

it is abundantly possible that any of our authors also poached a whole cabbage and filled its leaves with a farce of some sort. Additionally, since the time-honoured method of preparing vegetables—boiled and served with butter—is rarely recorded today, we should suspect that simple preparations for vegetables were also often excluded from cookery texts. Therefore, more vegetable recipes do not indicate that individuals were consuming vegetables more frequently, since the recipe itself exists within a specific mode of writing that is not always married to reality. As well, our survey of medieval vegetable recipes revealed a strong element of whimsy in how medieval cooks prepared vegetables: multi-stage cooking methods, fats, spices and various other methods were applied to vegetables to augment their flavours. From this perspective it is very difficult to describe what was going on in the field of vegetable cookery as revolutionary, even if we extend the period of the revolution back to the mid-fifteenth century; late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century cooks were also highly creative in their use of vegetables, even if they did include fewer stand-alone recipes for vegetables.

I would suggest that a middle path between the data presented here and the opinions that exist in existing early modern vegetable scholarship: Change is a fundamental element of the narrative as it relates to the culinary use of vegetables—as in other areas of cookery—but revolution is an inaccurate paradigm to apply to the evolution of vegetable dishes during the seventeenth century, since it obscures the highly creative approaches that medieval cooks recorded for vegetables and the innumerable similar recipes that they relied on but were simple enough to avoid textual notation. Change was certainly afoot, especially with new species of vegetables arriving into Europe from across the globe, but we must be careful to also highlight the important position vegetables played in cookery throughout our period. Cooks applied their own special cooking methods and seasonings to vegetables, some of which were universal and

some of which were so complex or peculiar that they seemed relevant to include in culinary manuals. I am uncomfortable extracting larger conclusions about vegetable consumption within the aristocratic milieu from cookbooks alone. As we will see in Chapter Four, household diet accounts are some of the best sources from which to extract patterns of actual consumption, especially when it comes to vegetables and fruits.

Fruits, Flowers, and the Banquette

Fruits play a small but important role both in current scholarship and in our cookery collections. Many scholars note the increasing availability of items like citrus fruits, currants, barberries, strawberries and so on, much of which was due to the increasing habit of maintaining glass houses and attaching orangeries to seventeenth-century stately homes.¹⁹³ Even the banquette came into its own as a final course that featured all manner of fruit, sweet, and refreshment, often served away from the dining area or even in a newfangled garden banquetting house so that fruits and sweets could find a formal and conspicuous expression in the meal.¹⁹⁴ Despite certainty about the increasing profile of fruits in fifteenth- to mid-seventeenth-century cookery collections, consumption of raw fruit remains a problematic area when it comes to cookbooks. Scully noted that cookbooks do not tell us when, how, and how often people consumed raw fruit in the medieval and early modern periods; if it was not cooked, a recipe was

¹⁹³ Alison Sim, *Food and Feast in Tudor England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997) 11–12, 33, 35, 45, 70, 73, 74, 91, 121–123, 126, 143, 147, 150, 157, 177; Thirsk, “A Closer Look at Fruit,” *Food*, 297–299; Michel, “Naissance de la cuisine moderne: les fruits,” *Vatel*, 172–176; Pinkard, *Revolution*, 16, 57, 77, 128; John Varriano, *Food and Art in Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009) 119–125.

¹⁹⁴ Anne Wilson, “The Evolution of the Banquet Course: Some Medicinal, Culinary and Social Aspects,” in *‘Banquetting Stuffe’ The Fare and Social Background of The Tudor and Stuart Banquet*, ed. Anne Wilson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991) 9–35; Anne Wilson, “The Origin of ‘Banquetting Stuffe,’ *‘Banquetting Stuffe’ The Fare and Social Background of The Tudor and Stuart Banquet*, ed. Anne Wilson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991) 1–8.

not required.¹⁹⁵ One would suspect that they did, but cookbooks do not discuss consumption of uncooked, fresh fruits. We will explore this problem more thoroughly in Chapters Three and Four when we examine consumption patterns in household diet accounts, but for now it is possible to make brief comment on the cooked preparations that called for fruit.

Before continuing, I should note that it appears that La Varenne's *Cuisinier françois* included very few fruit recipes, according to the chart below. Instead, La Varenne included a large number of fruit recipes in a separate work, *Le parfait confiturier* (1664, France), which caused minute proportional representation of fruits in *Le cuisinier françois* and dramatic overrepresentation in *Le parfait confiturier*. Although the *Le parfait confiturier* was not included in this analysis, the types of dishes La Varenne listed—that is the families of tarts, conserves, preserves, confitures, and distillations—can be seen in other, earlier works that I have included.

¹⁹⁵ Scully, "Vegetables and Fruits," *The Art*, 69–71.

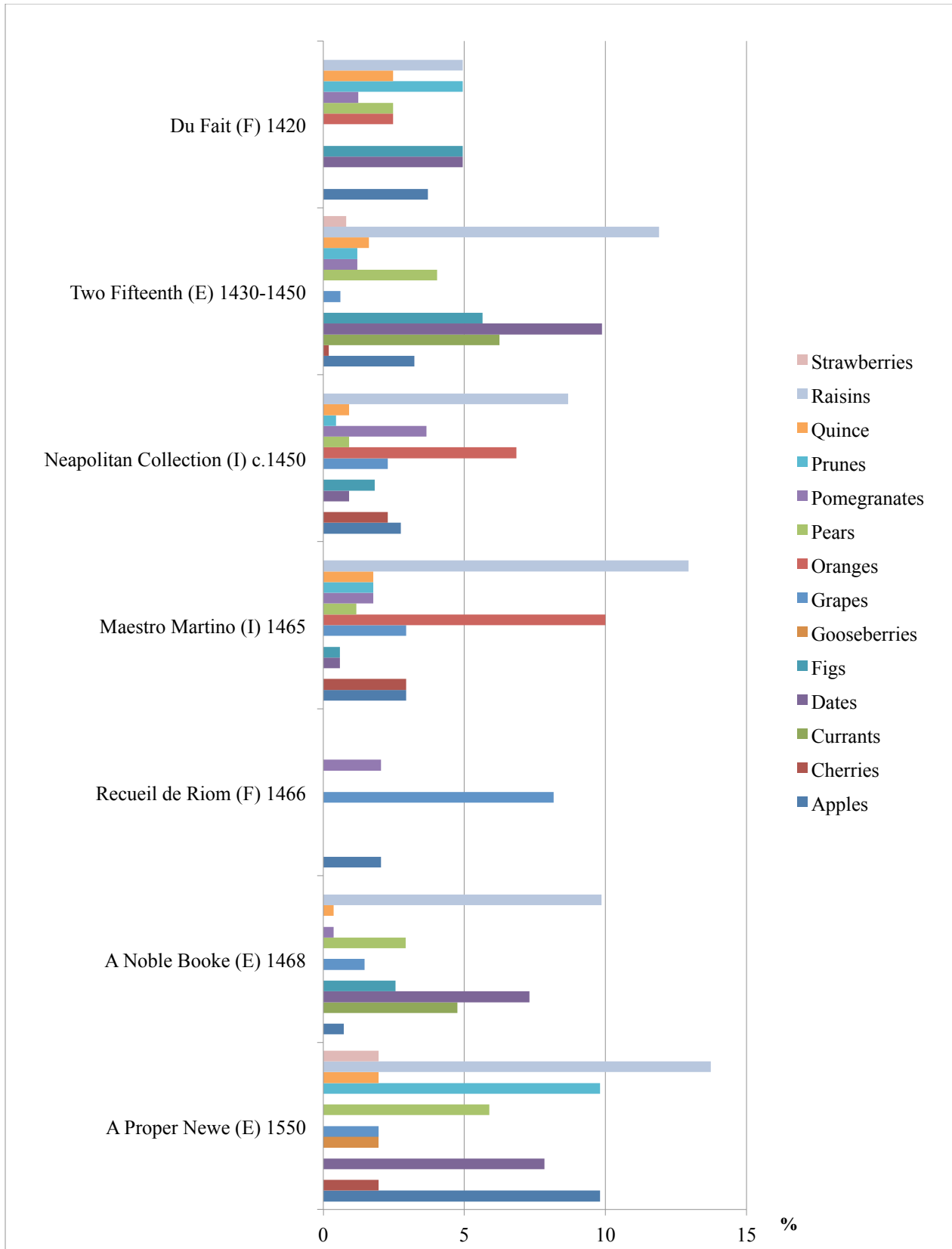


Figure 10. Recipes calling for fruit, c.1450-1550.

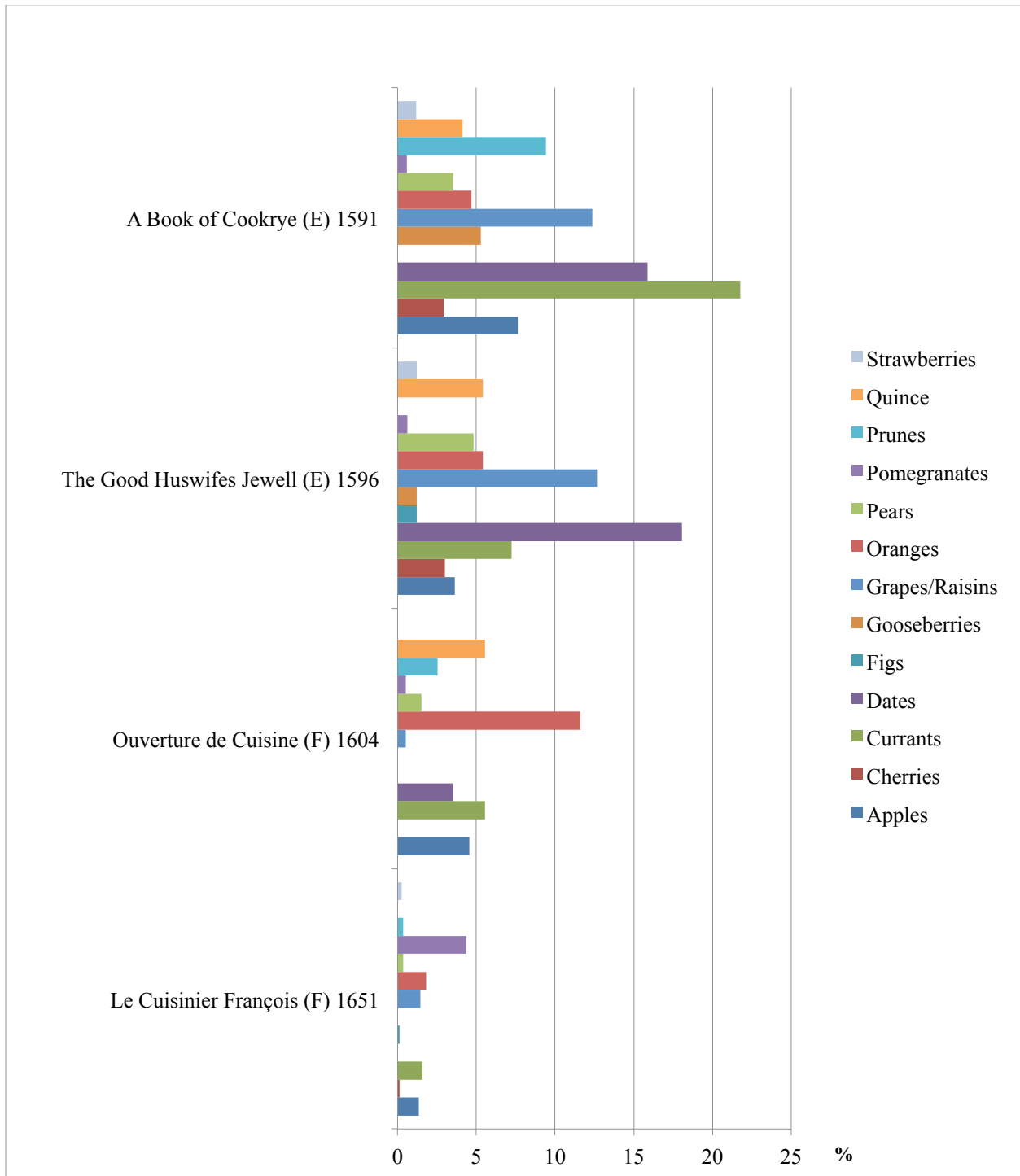


Figure 11. Recipes calling for fruit, 1550-1660.

As we can see from the data, two of the most important and regularly mentioned groups were dried fruits, like raisins and currants, and various sorts of apples and pears. Dried fruits were usually always added to dishes as a garnish, while fresh fruits often found their way into items like tarts and flans. Since nearly every ingredient category that we have examined so far contains recipes that use dried fruits as a garnish, I will omit further examples here. Instead, it is important to note that the habit of including dried fruits in savoury dishes, biscuits, and cakes continued with strength in England but declined in seventeenth-century French collections. Although, *Ouverture de Cuisine* included some dates, raisins, and currants in its recipes, La Varenne's *Cuisinier françois* included almost none, as reflected in its minimal representation of fruits. Whereas *A Book of Cookrye* and the *Good Housewife's Jewell* included items like figs, dates and currants—usually used as garnishing fruits—in around five to seven percent of recipes, our seventeenth-century French collections called for them in a range of one to four percent, more often remaining close to one percent. Therefore, French cooks were choosing to include dried fruits in their savoury recipes more often than they had been in previous centuries, but less than their contemporaneous English counterparts.

Apples and pears were usually made into tarts, but even occasionally used in savoury preparations as well. The Hungarian pike in *Ouverture de Cuisine* included a hearty use of apples:

To make pike in the Hungarian style. Take a pike that has been well scaled & wash, then take onions & apples cut into slices, & fry them in butter, that the butter does not blacken, & put it on the pike, then take peeled almonds & cut the length by little pieces, & put them with, & sugar & cinnamon, nutmeg, & saffron, a little salt, & put them to stew well.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, France), 23.

Other times Casteau used apples in more familiar modes, as with his tart: “To make apple tarts. Take a dozen chopped apples fried in butter, three ounces of sugar, a quarter ounce of cinnamon, & four yolks of eggs, a little ground anise, & make the tart with short paste.”¹⁹⁷ Even here, however, cooks like Casteau could find ways to innovate on the traditional. Another apple tart, Biscay tarts, listed by Casteau noted the following:

To make Biscay tarts. Take grated white bread, two handfuls, then take four raw eggs, eight chopped apples fried in butter, three ounces of sugar, half an ounce of cinnamon, two ounces of currants, & mix well all together, & put on a greased paper, & shape like a tart, & put thereon *succades liquides* [?] cut into little slices, when it is well cooked sugar thereon.¹⁹⁸

A great number of apple and pear recipes could be outlined here, but the larger purpose is to convey the proportionally insignificant but sometimes conspicuous use of apples in both traditional and innovative modes. Undoubtedly, they were also eaten raw, but apples and pears, although infrequently mentioned by some authors, still found expression in various sophisticated dishes.

Fresh berries, and even flowers, were finding new expressions in the form of syrups, conserves, and jellies. A.W.’s *Book of Cookrye* included every sort of common berry, giving each multiple treatments as tarts, syrups, and conserves. Marmalade appeared in the following recipe:

Conserve of Orenge: Take Orenge and pare them very thin the red of the out sides away and quarter them in four, and take away the white of the inside, then seeth them in faire water softlye for breaking, ofte change them in warm water til they be lost: as the yelownes dooth seeth away, so weareth away the bitternes, then take them out of the water and lay them in a fair vessell that the water may run away from them, then beate them small with a spoone, and put to every pound of Orenge one pound of sugar, and half a pound of Rosewater, and boile them together and box them.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, France), 42.

¹⁹⁸ Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, France), 41–42.

¹⁹⁹ A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (England, 1591), np.

Since oranges are also delicious in their candied form, A.W. included the following:

To preserve Orenge. Take your Pilles and water them two nights and one day and dry them clean againe, and boyle them with a soft fire the space of one hower, then take them out to coole, and make your sirrop half with rosewater and half with that liquor & put double sugar to your Orenge, and when your sirup is halfe sodden, then let your Orenge seethe one quarter of an houre more, then take out your Orenge & let the sirup seeth.²⁰⁰

But oranges were only one of many fruits and flowers receiving similar variation in their treatments. Quinces, lemons, pomecitrons, and cherries all appears in *A Book of Cookrye* as preserves, while tart recipes included preparations for strawberries, quinces, prunes, damsons, cherries, and apples.²⁰¹ Even the overlooked violet flower received culinary attention:

First gather a great quantitye of Violet flowers and picke them cleane from the stalkes and set them on the fire, and put to them so much rosewater as you think good then let them boyle altogether untill the colour be forth of them, then take them of the fire and straine them through a fine cloth, then put so much Sugar to them as you thing good, then set it againe to the fire untill it be somewhat thick, and put it into a violl glasse.²⁰²

Therefore, it is difficult to give an accurate survey of these new confections and fruit dishes, but in is important to note their variety. Again, these dishes may have existed earlier, but *A Book of Cookrye* was, by far, the earliest in our collection to reflect these innovations.

Fruit was experiencing a culinary renaissance during the late sixteenth century. Where these shifts can be traced to is uncertain, but certainly multiple avenues of cultural and information interchange existed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A larger question, however, remains with us: can we say that the English or the French led the charge with these changes? Neither. While it is certainly true that almost all of the shifts we have noted

²⁰⁰ A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (England, 1591), np.

²⁰¹ A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (England, 1591), np.

²⁰² A.W., *A Book of Cookrye* (England, 1591), np.

can be seen earlier and in greater strength in English sources, some fruit and vegetable shifts, like incorporation of the potato into recipes, can be seen earlier in French sources. Change was not unified, nor was it dependant on publication of cookbooks, nor did it seem to increase nor decrease in intensity within our period.

What did change to the same degree as fruits and vegetables was the number of recipes that were included in cookery collections, and the emerging trend to publish confectionary recipes and savoury recipes in separate works. More fruit and vegetable recipes were being recorded, although many of the methods and ideas may have been in practice for centuries before being recorded. More importantly, fruits and vegetables were two of the most proportionally significant areas in which cookery collection expansion occurred. As we know, the bulk of the force behind these new recipes rested with Old World plant species; New World species made almost no perceptible proportional impact in cookery collections. Change, then, just as it did not rely on publication of cookery collections, also did not rely on the arrival of new and previously unknown species. Instead, new recipes for old fruits and vegetables seem to have arisen out of the larger haute culinary and domestic culture in France and England that was contemporaneously seeking new architectural, musical, and textual expressions. Fruit and vegetables, then, were not receiving unique treatment as elements of culture; rather, they were swept up in larger cultural transitions that sought to make a sociocultural use of expanding palates of materials that could be transformed by skilled servants into worthy accoutrements of the noble lifestyle.

Spices & Aromatics

Although spices are a fixture of medieval food historiography, their position dwindles in later historiographic periods. About the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth-century trends, Flandrin noted,

Spices still figured in 60 to 70 percent of all recipes, however, a proportion just as high as the Middle Ages. But two changes are worth noting. First, the number of spices in common use had diminished considerably: long gone were galingale, grains of paradise, mace, spikenard, cardamom, anise, cumin, mastic, and the long pepper, while cinnamon, ginger, and saffron were rarely used...The only spices that continued in regular use were pepper, cloves, and nutmeg, and these were much more widely used than before.²⁰³

Most scholars suggest multiple reasons for the decline in recipes calling for heavy and layered spice mixtures, often suggesting that the decline related to decreasing spice prices and increasing volumes of spices making their way to European markets rendering spices less haute in status, while others suggest that diners were simply becoming tired of the barrage of spices and preferred cleaner, simpler flavours, while others suggest that a decline in spice use was related to the waning predominance of humoral theories in medicinal practices.²⁰⁴ Whatever the exact cause(s) may have been, this is one group of ingredients in which our data matches existing scholarship perfectly:

²⁰³ Flandrin, "Dietary Choices," *Food*, 408; Flandrin did not offer any indication of the source for his calculations.

²⁰⁴ Paul Freedman, "The Rise and Fall of Spices," in *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2008) 215–226; Eliyahu Ashtor, "Spice Prices in the Near East in the Fifteenth Century," in *Studies on the Levantine Trade in the Middle Age: Collected Essays of Eliyahu Ashtor* (London: Variorum, 1978) 26–41; Eliyahu Ashtor, "The Volume of Mediaeval Spice Trade," in *Journal of European Economic History* 9.3 (1980): 753–763; John Munro, *The Consumption of Spices and Their Costs in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Europe: Luxuries or Necessities?*. Lecture delivered to the Canadian Perspectives Committee, Senior Alumni Association, University of Toronto, 8 November 1988. Hosted at <http://www.economics.utoronto.ca/munro5/SPICES1.htm>; Miranda Threlfal-Holmes, "Durham Cathedral Priory's Consumption of Imported Goods: Wine and Spices, 1464–1520," in *Revolution and Consumption in Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2001) 141–158; Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe*, 16–19.

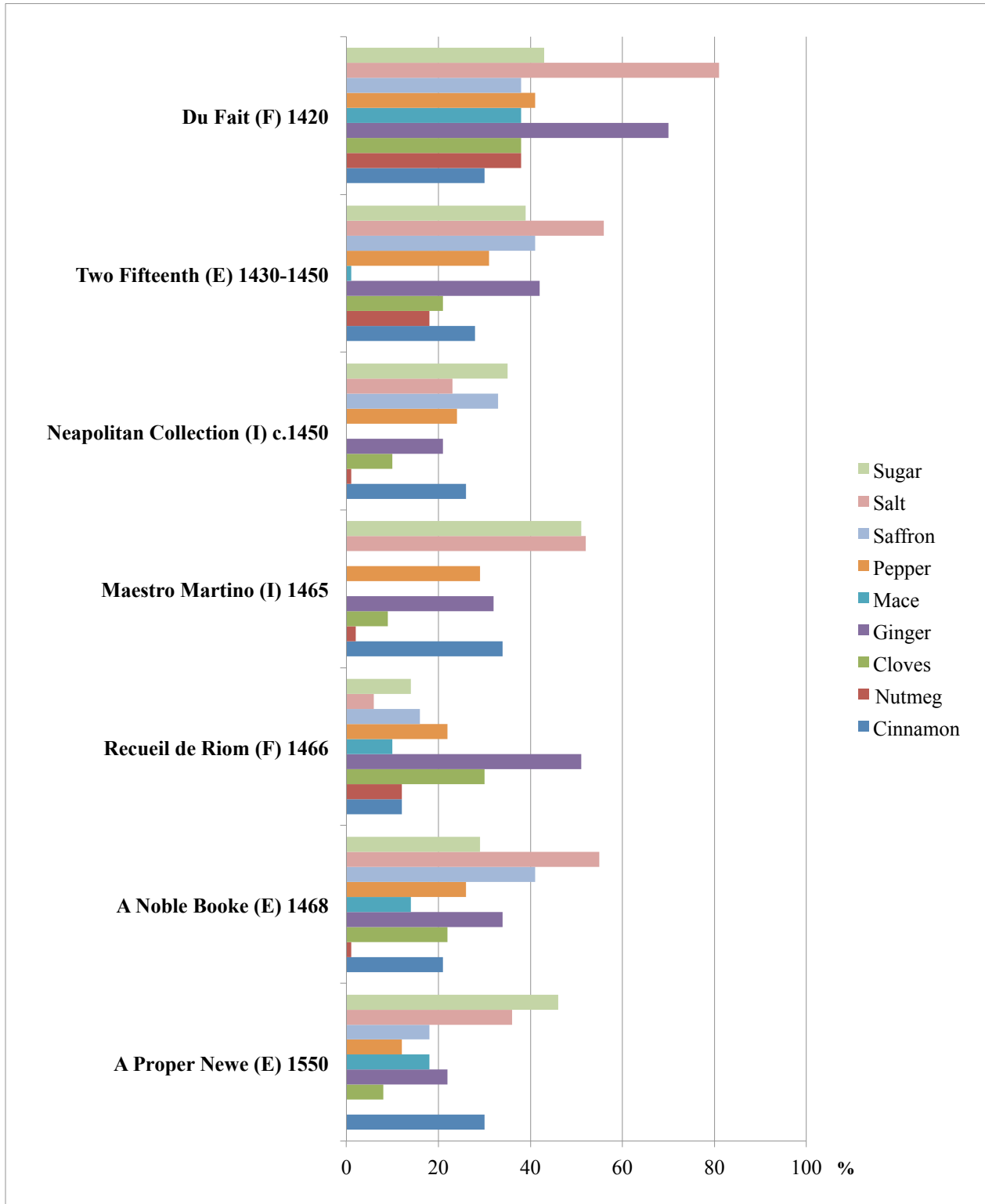


Figure 12. Recipes calling for spice, 1450-1550.

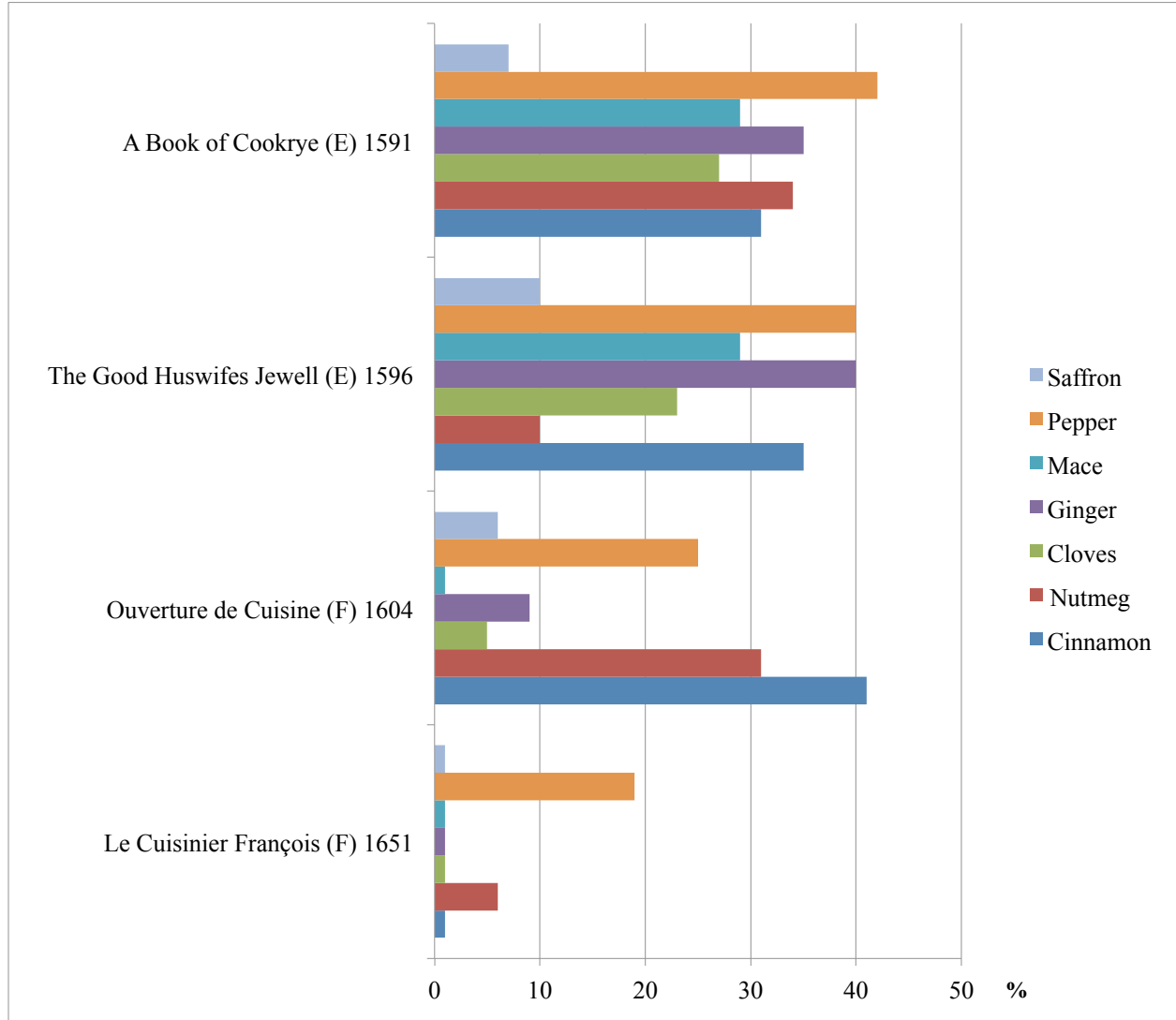


Figure 13. Recipes calling for spice, 1550-1660.

Our data declines in very much the same fashion that was suggested in historiography, in a much more teleological progression than any of our other ingredient categories. *Du fait de cuisine* included various spices—cinnamon, salt, saffron, pepper, mace, ginger, cloves, nutmeg, and sugar—in about forty percent of recipes.²⁰⁵ This is not to say that more than half the recipes in the collection were absent of spices; some were, but most contained two to five different varieties of spice. This explains how cooks achieved their layered seasoning profiles. *Two*

²⁰⁵ See chart.

Fifteenth-Century Cookbooks included fewer spices, in an average upper range of about thirty to forty percent; again, layering two to four spices in each dish across a large number of recipes.²⁰⁶ Our Italian sources showed the lowest proportional use of spices among our fifteenth-century collections: The upper range of spice use in recipes in *Neapolitan Recipe Collection* sat at around twenty percent and the upper range of spice use in *Libro de Arte Coquinaria* sat at around thirty-five to forty percent.²⁰⁷ Both Italian collections completely excluded mace, while *Libro de Arte Coquinaria* completely excluded saffron. In the later portion of the fifteenth century, spice use in *Recueil de Riom*, *A Noble Boke off Cookry*, and *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye* sat between fifteen to forty percent.²⁰⁸ Interestingly, in these cases, nutmeg use declined while use of the similarly flavoured mace increased.

Before examining our seventeenth-century collections, it is important to note that the value range in the chart entitled *Recipes Calling for Spices, 1550–1660* run up to fifty percent instead of the one hundred percent value range of the chart entitled *Recipes Calling for Spices, c.1450-1550*. In our seventeenth-century English collections, spice use remains decreased but quantitatively significant, while it declined notably in the French sources. *A Book of Cookrye* and *The Good Housewife's Jewell* called for various spices at an upper range of thirty percent, although some appeared more frequently and some less.²⁰⁹ *Ouverture de Cuisine* relied on pepper, nutmeg, and cinnamon within a range of about twenty to forty percent of recipes and other spices less frequently, and *Le Cuisinier françois* called for pepper in nineteen percent of recipes and saffron, mace, ginger, cloves, nutmeg, and cinnamon in one percent or less of recipes.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ See chart.

²⁰⁷ See chart.

²⁰⁸ See chart.

²⁰⁹ See chart.

²¹⁰ See chart.

While it is certainly true that spice use was decreasing in the early modern period, it seems that Flandrin may have stated the argument too strongly. The incidence of cloves and nutmeg, from the calculations performed here, was, in fact, declining in cookery collections; mace, pepper held strong, but cinnamon and saffron maintained a strong presence in most collections except *Le Cuisinier françois*. In the English sources, as the charts indicate, larger varieties and proportions of spices remained present in recipes beyond the mid-seventeenth century.

Herbs, too, were well-represented in our collections, although this is also true of the Middle Ages. Herb use was not confined to any single region, but the French and Italians seemed to make much use of substantial varieties. They were so important in the early seventeenth-century French kitchen that Lancelot de Casteau included the following three separate lists of herbs as a guideline for cooks:

Herbs that are needed for green crepes	Herbs that are needed for average hodgepodes	Herbs that are needed for salad
Valerian Mint Scarlay Butonne Melis Millefeuille Bresles Violet leaves Tansy	Rosemary Marjoram Basil Borage Bay leaves Sage Parsley Mirtus. Hyssop Polien or poleur	Lettuce or Cabbage Tarragon Ronquette Mint Pimpernelle. Romaine lettuce Cress alenois Borage leaves Bugloss leaves Bugloss flowers Borage flowers
“...These here are the herbs, typically that should be had in the kitchen.” ²¹¹		

Table 1. The selection of herbs Lancelot de Casteau recommended to have on hand at all times.

Out of all of the collections included in this survey, those listed by Casteau included the greatest variety.

²¹¹ Casteau, *Ouverture de Cuisine* (1604, F.), 30–32.

We must examine one final, fundamental aspect of seasoning aesthetic that shifted dramatically over the period. After the mid-fifteenth century, more collections began including great volumes of sugar in their recipes. By the 1350s medieval Europe was dependant on both honey and sugar as sweeteners, but honey was, by far, the more easily produced of the two. Sugar was imported from Moroccan and Berber sources but its quantities remained limited and expensive.²¹² John Munro used the London Bridge Master's weekly accounts from 1404 to 1510 to average the prices for both sugar and honey over the period. The average sugar cost was 1s. 4d. per pound; honey, 2½ d. per pint.²¹³ These prices fluctuated, but the high price of sugar reflected the laborious and dangerous process of acquiring refined sugar in early modern London.

By the sixteenth century, Europe was supplementing its older Moroccan and Berber sources of sugar with the bounty of newly established Portuguese and Spanish sugar plantations in the West Indies.²¹⁴ By the 1540s, domestic sugar refineries were opening in London and by the 1650s, London hosted more than fifty sugar refineries.²¹⁵ Sugar was imported from the colonies in the form of pressed cane juice and refined into various grades of sugar and molasses. However, cane juice was bulky and heavy to transport to London and refinement consumed large amounts of fuel, making the price of sugar remain consistently high beyond the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²¹⁶

²¹² Peter Brears, "Tudor Britain," in *A Taste of History: 10,000 Years of Food in Britain*, ed. Peter Brears *et al* (London: British Heritage & British Museum Press, 1993) 143.

²¹³ John Munro, *Consumption of Spices*, np. Data appears in appendix.

²¹⁴ Brears, "Tudor Britain," 143.

²¹⁵ Anne C. Wilson, *Food and Drink in Britain from the Stone Age to Recent Times* (Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin, 1973) 268.

²¹⁶ Brears, "Tudor Britain," 143; Anne Wilson, *Food and Drink*, 268. Wilson and Brears both note that this rise in London sugar refinement was in light of sixteenth-century England's newly found sugar sources of Barbados, the Leeward Islands, followed by Antigua, Jamaica, and, by the eighteenth century, Grenada, Saint Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, Santa Lucia and Trinidad; Peter Brears, "Seventeenth-Century Britain," in *A Taste of History: 10,000*

Sugar was easier to manipulate than honey, and offered cooks a greater variety of culinary possibilities. It could be combined with varying amounts of heat and water to achieve a multitude of effects: glaze for spice comfits, crystalline sugar, simple syrup, coloured glaze for decoration, and so on. Late medieval cooks showcased sugar by sprinkling it over dishes, both savoury and sweet, as a garnish before service, imparting both sweetness and refinement to the final dish. Almonds, ever-present in the pre-modern European kitchen, were ground and mixed with powdered sugar to make marzipan statues, figurines, entremets, and even more prominent display pieces such as coats of arms. The great hall at Hampton court palace hosted many such sugar pieces as attested to by Henry VIII's 1529 expansion of the great kitchen, part of which included a new, cool, dry confectionary in which sugar could be moulded and painted before being unveiled in the great hall with fanfare and effect.²¹⁷

Although it is uncertain exactly when the shift took place, Elizabethan sugar displays, in the form of the banquette, began to move away from the great hall in order to highlight the extravagance and importance of the sweet course. The banquetting house, a purpose-built structure specifically erected for the purposes of displaying a banquette and hosting guests, became fashionable during the Tudor period. Wealthy Elizabethan and Stuart Britons erected special bowers and garden follies, replete with tables and sideboards on which the banquette could be laid out and usually set within a picturesque setting. Hampton Court Palace, Nonsuch Palace, Melford Hall, Fountains Hall, Hatfield House, and many other Tudor residences across England had purpose-built banquetting houses.²¹⁸ In 1590, Bess of Hardwick, Countess of

Years of Food in Britain, ed. Peter Brears *et al* (London: British Heritage & British Museum Press, 1993) 185–186; Wilson, *Food and Drink* 67–268.

²¹⁷ Peter Brears, “The Pastry Yard: Saucery, Confectionary, Pastry,” in *All The King's Cooks: The Tudor Kitchens of King Henry VIII at Hampton Court Palace* (London: Souvenir Press, 1999) 55–75.

²¹⁸ It should be noted that current banquetting house, Whitehall, was originally built as primarily for balls, masques, official court functions, and diplomatic receptions. Although it is the most prominent of the remaining banquetting

Shrewsbury (c.1520–1608), one of Elizabeth’s closest confidants, erected a grand new house at the family seat of Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire. On the roof, Bess included six banquetting houses at each corner and end in the form of lantern-style finial rooms, accessed directly from the roof, offering views of the surrounding demesne.²¹⁹ In 1613, Sir Baptist Hicks, First Viscount Campden (1551–1629), included two opposing banquetting houses on either side of the garden at his new country seat, currently styled Old Campden House.²²⁰

Overall, spice use did decline, although not as dramatically as has been previously suggested, at least in the first half of the seventeenth century. Cinnamon, ginger, cloves, nutmeg and a host of other spices continued to make appearances in cookery collections, even if some authors were showing a preference for less spice or for a specific group of spices. English authors did, indeed, continue using a heavier hand with in seasoning than French authors, but spices continued to play an important, if muted role in many dishes, along with other foundations of flavour: vinegar, wine, and broths. Herbs, too, continued to find a home in the noble kitchens of seventeenth-century France and England, and in some cases were appearing in more variety than in the past. Certainly, if any category of ingredient experienced significant shifts in textual popularity, spices and other aromatics were one of the most apparent.

houses, it only recently acquired the primary function of hosting dinners and was never specifically intended as a place to host sweet banquettes.

²¹⁹ These can still be viewed at Hardwick New Hall. Hardwick Old Hall may also have contained a rooftop banquetting house as seen in the surviving ruins.

²²⁰ Both are all that survive of the Old House today, and can be rented as B&B accommodation from the Landmark Trust.

Thickening Agents

Although we have already considered broths in the discussion of beef and mutton and noted the role of wine and acids in building flavour, there is one important early modern innovation related to thickening cooking liquids that we have not yet discussed: flour. In the medieval collections, breadcrumbs, reduction, and rice flour, and incorporating ground almonds into simmering liquids were the four primary thickening methods that we encountered; methods also often listed in the recipes are analyzed in this chapter as well. While each of these methods continued in regular use in seventeenth-century French and English kitchens, numerous new methods were added to the repertoire.

The most famous of these today are roux-based thickeners. Roux—flour and fat cooked together—began to be recorded as a thickening agent during the seventeenth century. La Varenne seems to be one of the first authors to record its use, with the following instructions:

Melt some lard, take out the crackling; throw your flour into your melted lard and fry it well—be careful, though, that it does not stick to the pan; mix in a suitable amount of onion. When it is done, put all of it with good bouillon, mushrooms and a dash of vinegar. Then, that having boiled, along with its seasoning, put all of it through a strainer and put it into a pot. When you want to use it, hold it over the hot coals to thicken your sauces.²²¹

This was the earliest mention of what would come to be recognized as roux, and was clearly designed to be a smoother finish to sauces, one that was free of the yeasty flavour often imparted to sauces thickened with bread crumbs and that offered more body than thickening with almond milk. Today's roux are usually fifty percent fat and fifty percent flour, or some proportion thereof, so La Varenne's roux was considerably different from those modern cooks use. Roux was not the only new thickener listed by La Varenne. In the short chapter entitled "Thickeners to

²²¹ La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), X.III.

Keep on Hand” he included three other types of thickeners: a liaison of broth thickened with almonds and egg yolk, to be added to other liquids and then simmered in order to thicken; another liaison made from broth and minced mushrooms mixed with breadcrumbs and eggs; and a final flour-based thickener that called for broth, minced truffles, mushrooms, onions, simmered in broth and then strained.²²² Although numerous traditional thickening agents existed, La Varenne and his near predecessors seem to have developed liaisons and roux in order to fortify sauces with the flavours of butter, toasted flour, mushroom, and truffle essence. Although not necessarily revolutionary, these new liaisons certainly highlight the French cooks’ desire to incorporate robust flavour into each element of dishes and at various stages of the cooking process. None of these thickening mixtures appeared in our English collections nor in any French collection outside of La Varenne; they were still in the infancy of their development and spread in mid-seventeenth-century France.

Although a seemingly small shift, roux enabled the development of many of the sauces we continue to rely on today: espagnole, veloutés, and béchamel. With the ability to add thickener into a nearly finished dish, cooks were able to use the juices naturally present in ingredients to create the sauce instead of relying on wine and broth, thickened separately, and then added to the final dish. Despite their existence in La Varenne, the bulk of our collections continued to rely on the four medieval sauce-thickening methods noted earlier.

Conclusion: Medieval and Early Modern Haute Cuisine, c.1300–1660

Our narrative of change, revolution, and culinary aesthetic shift has become most murky. While authors normally give some credit to carryover medieval cookery concepts in seventeenth-

²²² La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651, France), X.I–II, IV.

century French and English cookery, they also highlight the advent of new vegetable, fruit, and sweet dishes; the dramatic decline in spice use and a similar decline in the presence of acidic liquids in sauces; an early modern elite preference for poultry and game dishes; influence from the humanists; the gradual separation of sweet from savoury; and the introduction of new dishes like the fricassée, or new thickening agents like the roux. Each of these trends is notable and based on evidence gathered from cookery collections and various other types of evidence, but highlighting these new dishes has led to their overrepresentation in historiography, producing narratives that focus more on change and longer-term revolution and obscuring the great deal of similarity that existed between medieval and mid-seventeenth-century French and English cookery. When we complete a large-scale analysis such as the one presented in Chapters One and Two, we can see that the larger bulk of the narrative seems to be weighted overwhelmingly in favour of the persistence of medieval culinary concepts. Change, although present in varying degrees, was always in the background in most ingredient categories, except that of spices, sweets, fruits, and confections, which did experience radical fifteenth- and sixteenth-century evolution. Otherwise, even in the case of La Varenne, our numbers point to a certain level of culinary conservatism that persisted, even in those who embraced change enthusiastically.

In essence, our data shows that, rather than change, the cookery of La Varenne, Casteau, and others was still dominated in almost every ingredient category by the ideas and approaches to cooking and seasoning that existed in our medieval survey. What do I mean by the notion of persistence of medieval culinary norms? Narratives linked to meat-ingredient groups have, sometimes, focused too heavily on shifting preferences for poultry and game to the detriment of items like mutton, beef, and pork. While our quantitative analysis did show some decrease in pork recipes, quadruped-use remained proportionally high in elite cookery manuals across the

period. If a rise in the status of poultry occurred in the eyes of humanists, it did not translate into a rise in poultry proportionality within cookery-collection recipes. Instead, the increasing ease with which individuals could access printing presses seems to have resulted in far longer cookery collections than had previously been the norm. Whereas the medieval cookery collections may only have included a small number of offal recipes, some of which contained multiple variations for the finished product, cheaper paper books and printing press technology seems to have led to an explosion in the number of recipes authors sought to present to readers. Instead of offering variations in most recipes, La Varenne offered largely finite recipes with variations listed as separate recipes. Additionally, la Varenne and other seventeenth-century French authors were just beginning to divide sweet and savoury cookery into separate books, again likely due to the increasing ease with which well-placed individuals could access printing presses. Therefore, was the presence of more offal recipes—most of which were treated in a manner reminiscent of medieval offal recipes—really linked to an increasing profile for these types of ingredients, or was an increase in recipes the result of developments in other fields like printing? Since so many of our medieval quadruped, poultry, fish, and offal recipes noted numerous variations to the recipe within each entry, and because our data shows very little in the way of quantitative movement in their likelihood to be included or excluded from collections, I would suggest that the change was more the result of the form of publication than it was evidence of a culinary revolution.

But it is in the areas where notable change did occur that we find some of the most perplexing problems. In the areas of fruits, distillations, syrups and so on, it was clearly the English in the late 1590s who led the way in recording recipes for these types of banquette items. Although La Varenne did produce an enormous work on fruit conserves, it was published more

than fifty years after the English cookery collections began including similar elements in smaller number. Similarly, the English were incorporating more recipes for offal earlier than the French. Usually we think of trends and styles as led by certain groups or regions, so one should naturally wonder where these influences were coming from. Certainly the humanists promoted vegetable consumption, and there seems to have been a strong tradition of vegetable cookery at elite levels of Renaissance Italian society, according to Castelvetro, so one would suspect that some of the influences were coming from Italy, both from the humanists and from older vegetable-cookery traditions. The rest of the influence seems to have been self-generated from among people who were surrounded by extensive kitchen gardens and who were experimenting with the culinary properties of new or more readily available fruits and vegetables. Could the evolution of fruit, sweet, and vegetable recipes have been the result of expanding lengths of cookery collections? Seemingly not. The nature of pre-1650 French and English fruit, vegetable, and sweet recipes indicate that a culture of experimentation with these items was occurring in great household kitchens. Unlike our savoury recipes, a good number of which are shared between numerous collections and across many centuries, the candied fruit recipes and flower syrups seem more frequently to be original recipes, unique to the author's own culinary history. The shared, international recipes that we see in savoury sections of medieval and early modern French and English cookery collections seem less present when it comes to sweet recipes before 1650.

What can we say about the nature of change? If change was not characterized by a radically increasing proportionality of poultry, New World plant and animal species, radical abandonment of existing seasoning aesthetics, how can we characterize change? I argue against revolutionary models of change, even when we couch them within generous temporal periods. Our survey shows that change was always occurring and was often down to an individual level—

one's location, the wishes of a cook's master, existing culinary culture, the occasion, and crop and market availability. Within these bounds, master cooks seem to have been free to choose the exact composition of ingredients in a given dish, often making some aspects of change—for example increasing offal proportionality. This could have happened because of a single person's specific culinary situation or preferences combined with the fact that their ideas actually made it to print. If we think of cookery-aesthetic evolution this way, then, the vast majority of dishes that were individual to their creators never made it to print due to the extremely rare incidence of medieval and early modern cooks publishing books. Sustained change in the areas of declining spice use and increasing varieties of herb use in France can be attributed to cultural shifts since they can be traced in so many of our sources. Most other culinary shifts of this period were, however, numerically or proportionally insignificant or so lacking in any coherent progression that it is impossible to apply any greater regional or intellectual significance to their presence. That is, unless we exclude cooks' own authority and autonomy.

The most pervasive and persistent trend that we can apply across all ingredient categories is that of cooks' willingness to experiment with new flavours and ingredients. Arguments about the status of ingredients, although true at an intellectual level, break down at a culinary level. Socioculturally accorded ingredient status seems to have offered cooks a challenge to overcome: 'Make this cow's liver something worthy to serve in the king's household,' as it were. Liver, offal, stockfish, turnips, potatoes and all sorts of other ingredients that ranked low in the Great Chain of Being offered cooks opportunities to wage war on these sociocultural ideas through their own skill and ingenuity. Surprisingly, many recipes for low-ranking ingredients required little in the way of preparation: season offal and bake in a crust. Therefore, the minimal effort with which cooks were able to overcome some of these social stigmas calls into question their

strength as culinary principals, even though their existence in intellectual circles is undeniable. This was true of all our periods; it was the cooks of great households who were charged with using their own skill and ingenuity to transform whatever was available into dishes befitting the noble lifestyle.

While I would like to conclude here, there is one final major problem with the data that I have presented. This is a problem true of my data and all data extracted from cookery collections: cookery manuals offer readers archetypal dishes, ones that can be added to or taken away from but that offer cooks an idea of how to proceed with, combine, and serve specific ingredients. Each cookery-collection author in history and today knows that many readers will want to add their own ideas to suggested recipes. Certainly the issue is most clear if we consider the various confectionary collections that were published throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the trend was not toward eating only sweets, but rather, the trend was toward incorporating some of these ideas into important meals. Even the notion of important meals deepens the matter. Since medieval, early modern, and modern cookbooks almost never include recipes for a fried egg, boiled vegetables, and grilled beef unless the author has further garnishes and elements to add, it must be remembered that a good number of the dishes in cookbooks were intended for special occasions and may, in fact, skew our perception of actual food consumption. Did great households always consume highly spiced and elaborate fish dishes on fast days or were they intended more for feasts and celebrations? After all, many masters and servants took the fast very seriously and would have been remiss to serve elaborate preparations on days when dietary penitence is supposed to be practiced.

Further exploration of these issues must wait until Chapters Three and Four when we will examine diet accounts from medieval and early modern French and English great households in

order to understand more about the nature of ingredient composition that was arriving in great household kitchens between 1350 and 1660; analysis that reveals a host of new perspectives on historiographic concepts of culinary revolution and change.

Part Two
Cooks in Diet Accounts

Expanding on the evidence presented in Part I, we will now examine the degree to which culinary changes infiltrated the kitchens of French and English elites. We will examine medieval and early modern diet accounts produced within great households between c.1300 and c.1665 in order to understand day-to-day cookery patterns typical of a range of large households.

Separate from more general household accounts, diet accounts were specifically created in large households whose volume of victual consumption necessitated maintenance of food and drink accounts separately from other household expenses. Selected for the length of their temporal runs, the diet accounts that I present here help to see into kitchens, store rooms, supply systems, and service systems. They offer a detailed picture of food service within the great household context over the *longue durée* and in a variety of regions and elite contexts.

Part Two will establish that many of the trends associated with the revolution in taste were, in fact, already occurring in elite lords' kitchens well before the mid-seventeenth century, and further afield than France. Rather than initiating change through cookbooks, it seems that at least some change was driven by cooks before later being recorded by cookery collection authors. Chapter Three analyzes French and English medieval household accounts produced between c.1300 and 1500, while Chapter Four analyzes the contents of diet accounts ranging in date between 1500 and c.1665. Together, the accounts reveal a very different understanding of cooks' daily work within the elite household context, indicating that cooks were innovating with culinary styles across our period.

Chapter Three

Great Household Dietary Regimens, 1350-1500

An housholdere, and that a greet, was he.
 Seint Julian was he in his contree.
 His breed, his ale, was always after oon,
 A bettre envyned man was nowher noon;
 Withoute bake mete was nevere his hous
 Of fissh and flessch, and that so plentevous,
 It snewed in his hous of mete and drynke,
 Of alle deyntees that men koude thynke.

Ln. 346

After the sondry sesons of the yeer,
 So chaunged he his mete and his soper.
 Ful many a fat partrich hadde he in muwe,
 And many a breem and many a luce in stuwe.
 Wo was his cook, but if his sauce were
 Poynaunt and sharp, and redy al his geere.
 His table dormant in his halle alway
 Stood redy covered al the longe day.

Ln. 354

Geoffrey Chaucer
The Canterbury Tales
 Franklyn's introduction in:
 "The General Prologue"
 Ln. 339–354

Medieval recipe collections have offered us extensive insight into the ingredient combinations and cookery methods considered normal to French and English noble palates. Some, like *Ménagier de Paris* and Chiquart's *Du fait de cuisine*, even offer feasting menus that list examples of menu selections intended for feasts and celebrations. Without denying their importance as sources, however, it should be noted that recipe texts are limited in terms of what they tell us about the daily, weekly, monthly, and annual victualling patterns within the great household context. While celebrations and feasts were important, most days were not celebrations and did not call for extensive feasting menus. This has led to some ambiguity within

historiography about the differences between feast-day cookery and ordinary daily cookery, since most conclusions about dietary regimens in noble households are drawn from cookbooks.

In Chapter Three we will work to untangle the daily food consumption habits of medieval great households in order to separate them from the better-known feast-day cookery habits that are better represented in the recipe collections that we have surveyed in the first chapter. Five French and English medieval noble households dating between 1225 and 1434, chosen specifically for the depth of insight that their surviving accountancy records shed upon food consumption norms over the course of the year, will form the core of this analysis. We will focus on analysing day-to-day cookery organization and consumption as reflected in the accounts. In many ways, the cookbooks that we have examined present an ideal understanding of cookery: they represent the best ingredient combinations and culinary methods for specific dishes, but they do not tell us what great households were actually consuming, nor do they reveal how cooks balanced the demands of making many recipes each day within short periods of time. Feast menus have been a popular source of information for this type of inquiry in the past, but they do not serve us particularly well in the present study. Since feasts and celebrations accounted for only a small fraction of the days of the year, cooks like Taillevent and Chiquart proved their worth most other days through managing the complex food service bureaucracies that supplied their masters' households. By examining the ingredients these types of households relied upon each day, we begin to see a very different picture of the behind-the-scenes management of medieval noble and royal households, a picture that highlights maintenance of luxury with judicious attention to economy, taking every advantage to make use of servants' skills in transforming humble ingredients into dishes and menus appropriate to varying degrees of master and servant.

Although noble and royal households have long interested medieval historians, most work has focused on various questions related to its development, its role as a manorial administrative centre, studies in architecture and land use, as well as a limited number of analyses of the bureaucracies of noble households, especially within England.¹ Food and victualing patterns present in diet accounts have largely been overlooked or engaged only as ancillary elements of larger questions related to noble domestic life, although Christopher Woolgar has produced invaluable work on the topic, culminating in a two-volume transcription of around twenty Latin and English household accounts from medieval England as well as a chapter comparing victualing habits of medieval English households.² Other than Woolgar's work, there is little published scholarship based on diet accounts or examining the differences between feast-day and ordinary daily cookery, despite the fact that food in French and English noble households is a popular topic, based on the scholarship presented in the first chapter.

What demands were placed on great household cooks as part of their normal routines? We know that roasted swan, for example, was a special dish at medieval feasts. Prized more for its visual impact when redressed in its feathers, scholars primarily associate display of roasted

¹ As small sample includes: Maryanne Kowaleski and P. J. P. Goldberg, "Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household," in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. Maryanne Kowaleski and P. J. P. Goldberg (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011) 1–13; Shelagh Mitchell, "The Knightly Household of Richard II and the Peace Commissions," in *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. Michael A. Hicks (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001) 45–56; Ffiona Swabey, "The Medieval Household," *Medieval Gentlewoman: Life in a Gentry Household in the Later Middle Ages* (Psychology Press, 1999) 9–29; C. M. Woolgar, "Household Antiquities," in *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) 1–7; Margaret Wade Labarge, *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (Trowbridge, U.K.: The Harvester Press, 1965); C.A.J. Armstrong, "The Golden Age of Burgundy: The Dukes that Outdid Kings," in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage, and Royalty 1400–1800*, ed. Arthur Geoffrey Dickens (London: McGraw-Hill, 1977) 55–75; Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996) 122–123; Malcolm Vale, "Court and Household," in *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001) 15–33.

² Christopher Woolgar, *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I and II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); C. M. Woolgar, "Food and Drink" & "Cooking and the Meal," in *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) 111–135; 136–165.

swan with royal households, and then usually only at feasts and celebrations.³ Was it only prepared for feasts or did it appear on ordinary days as well? Did households outside a royal context also prepare swans? Similarly with fish: how often did the average great household fast and on what types of fish did they dine? Did masters eat different types of fish from their domestic *familia*? Are we to assume that the primary work of fish preparation in the medieval great household fast-day cookery consisted of fresh fish cookery, or stockfish and pickled herring preparation also a part of great household cookery? Close examination of household records reveals that, far from always relying on the best ingredients and the most exotic spices, great household cooks actually spent much time preparing more humble dishes for their masters and for the domestic *familia*. The majority of ingredients prepared in French and English great households on a daily basis were comprised of simple combinations of locally procured meats, vegetables, and fruits. In other words, great household cooks sometimes made their names and reputations through manipulation of exotic and expensive ingredients, but more regularly it was established through daily management of kitchen resources to create large volumes of appropriate dishes for master and servant, depending on ingredient availability, seasonality, ecclesiastical considerations, and annual rounds of celebrations and observances that varied from household to household.

The accounts we will examine here represent an array of elite households ranging from the royal houses of England and France to the households of minor aristocrats in the English Midlands. A French and English comparison is important here since medieval western European culinary scholarship generally takes place within the context of inter-peer emulation, especially

³ Susan Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine 1650–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 28–31; Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995) 48, 106, 108, 121, 162.

at elite levels of society.⁴ To varying degrees, English and French nobles styled their domestic lives in similar manners, described by some scholars as the Late International Gothic Style.⁵ Since habits and trends can really only be teased out of long temporal runs of data, most accounts selected for inclusion here span the better part of a year or so. The 1225–1226 account of Countess Eleanor of Brittany (c.1184–1241) at Bristol Castle continues for the entire year,⁶ as does the 1336–1337 diet account of Lady Katherine de Norwich (d.1341).⁷ Later accounts like the 1412–1413 account of Dame Alice de Bryene of Suffolk⁸ (d.c.1415) and the 1433–1434 account of Sir William Mountford of Warwickshire⁹ (d.1452) also span the year, and allow assessment of the evolution of dining patterns after the Black Death, an important assessment, since great households usually sat at the centre of manorial economies whose tenants sometimes died or abandoned the manor during the upheaval. Four French sources will allow us to assess and contrast medieval French great household dietary habits with those of the English: the 1336

⁴ Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1996) 109–110; Bruno Laurioux, “Modèles alimentaires,” “Le repas, acte social,” in *Manger au Moyen Âge: Pratiques et Discours Alimentaires en Europe aux XIVe et XVe Siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 2009) 153–184; 185–212; Melitta Weiss Adamson, “Eating Habits and Food Ideas,” “Concepts of Diet and Nutrition,” in *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004) 155–180, 205–232; Terrance Scully, “The Theoretical Bases for Medieval Food,” in *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1995) 40–64; C.A.J. Armstrong, “La double monarchie France-Angleterre et la maison de Bourgogne (1420–1435): le déclin d’une alliance,” *Annales de Bourgogne* 37 (1965) 81–12.

⁵ Phyllis Pray Bober, “Late Gothic International Style,” in *Art, Culture, and Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1999) 219–266.

⁶ NA E 101/350/11, original Latin transcription printed as “Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle, Including Those for the Household of Eleanor of Brittany, 7 June 1225 to 6 March 1226,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 126–150.

⁷ BL Add. Roll 63207, original Latin transcription printed as “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 177–223.

⁸ NA C47/4/8/B, as well as the English translation in Anon., *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412–1413*, ed. M.K. Dale & V.B. Redstone (Ipswich: W.E. Harrison, 1931).

⁹ Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office MS DR/37/Box 73, original Latin transcription printed as “Household Accounts and Receiver’s Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 453–431.

household ordinance of Count Humbert II at the Château de Beauvoir¹⁰ in south-eastern France, which outlines daily food rations for his household; the 1380 *compte de l'hôtel* of Charles VI,¹¹ the 1401 *compte de l'hôtel* of Charles's wife, Isabel of Bavaria,¹² as well as portions of the *Ménagier of Paris* (1393).¹³ Most of the accounts of English origin are available only in the original Latin, while some French accounts are available in the original Latin with a limited number available in French.

By treating the accounts as generally representative of other similarly sized households and analyzing trends in ingredient procurement and consumption by categories of quadruped meat, poultry, fish, vegetables, fruit, drink, and bread, this research will establish an original comparative foundation to understand medieval French and English elite dietary regimens based on diet accounts that most closely reveal daily consumption patterns. By focusing on victual accounts, we will begin to be able to understand more about the everyday complexities of cookery in the great household and how it shaped the working lives of the workers who performed it.

¹⁰ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336,” in *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins*, T. II, ed. Jean-Pierre Moret de Bourchenu Valbonnais (Geneva: Fabri & Barrillot, 1722) 308–318.

¹¹ AN KK/30-33, also transcribed in “Premier Compte de l'hôtel du roi Charles VI, 1380,” in *Comptes de l'hotel des rois de France aux xiv et xve siècles*, ed. M.L. Dodët-D'arcq (Paris: Libraire de la société de l'histoire de France, 1865) 12–27.

¹² AN KK/42, also transcribed in “Compte de l'hôtel de la reine Isabeau de Bavière, 1401,” in *Comptes de l'hotel des rois de France aux xiv et xve siècles*, ed. M.L. Dodët-D'arcq (Paris: Libraire de la société de l'histoire de France, 1865) 128-171.

¹³ Anon., *Le Ménagier de Paris: A Medieval Household Book* [1393], ed. G. Greco & C. Rose (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

The Home Demesne

During the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, landed estates were one of the most important sources of food and cash for both great households and, especially, humble manors.¹⁴ Especially in the case of larger estates, rents, crops, and livestock were often the primary sources of revenue and food for lords' households. Katherine de Norwich controlled many manors in Norfolk and Suffolk, having dower rights to them upon the death of her husband, Sir Walter de Norwich (d.1329), while Walter's lands had already been inherited by his son John by the time of the 1336–1337 account.¹⁵ In Norfolk, Katherine had the manors of Blackworth, Stoke Holy Cross, How Kirby Cane, and Sculthorpe and an urban residence in Norwich, while in Suffolk Katherine possessed the manors of Dalham, Mettingham, Shipmeadow, Dallinghoo, and Bredfield.¹⁶ Sir William de Mountford owned a similarly far-flung group of manors in the Midlands, including Kingshurst, Coleshill, Hampton in Arden, Monkspath, Solihull, Dunchurch, Wormleighton, Mollington, Fenny Compton, Avon Dassett, Ilmington, Hidcote Bartrim, and Blackwell in Loxley, with city properties in Birmingham, and smaller properties scattered throughout Leicestershire, Staffordshire, and Berkshire.¹⁷ Although neither possessed high noble titles, both owned large numbers of properties from which to collect rents, grains, and livestock.

Although rents are not a focus of our examination, it is useful to briefly outline some of the annual incomes associated with the households we will be examining. Not all records are

¹⁴ Fernand Braudel, "Land and Money," in *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century: The Wheels of Commerce* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 249–296; Marc Bloch, "Character and Vicissitudes of the Tie of Kinship," "Vassal Homage," and "The Feif," in *Feudal Society: The Growth and Ties of Dependence*, vol. I (London: Routledge, 1962) 134–144, 145–162, 163–175; Judith M. Bennett, "Seigniorial Powers," in *A Medieval Life: Cecilia Penifader of Brigstock, c. 1295–1344* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1999) 31–35.

¹⁵ "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, 1336–1337," *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 177.

¹⁶ "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, 1336–1337," in *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 177–178.

¹⁷ "Household Accounts and Receiver's Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434," *Household Accounts*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 433.

complete, but some figures present themselves. Between 1433 and 1434, the household of Sir William de Mountford generated revenue of around £275; of that figure, at least £250 was expended in the account.¹⁸ Sir William was not alone in spending almost as much as his estates generated in a year. The household of Dame Alice de Bryene, a Suffolk-based gentlewoman who owned the Manor of Acton Hall, recorded an annual income of £170.0s.14d.ob. from 1412 to 1413, but had annual expenses of £161.15s.11d.ob..¹⁹ These figures certainly place even the lesser nobles of our study within the great household tradition, though annual diet costs can also be another indicator. Rent accounts associated with the manors belonging to Katherine de Norwich have not survived, although we know from her diet account that between September 1336 and September 1337, her household spent a total of £65.16s.7d.ob. on food in addition to the grains and livestock that were delivered to her residences from her manors throughout the year.²⁰

Some households analyzed here had more complex revenue streams. Eleanor, 5th Countess of Richmond, stayed at Bristol Castle during the 1220s as a ward of the crown.²¹ As such, the crown contributed £130 per year from 1224 and 1225 and 1226 to 1227 in order to supplement Bristol Castles, cash, crop, and livestock rents. The money was just for spices, medicine, wine, coverlets, textiles, garments, and liveries.²² In addition, £58, had to be set aside

¹⁸ “Household Accounts and Receiver’s Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434”, *Household Accounts*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 453.

¹⁹ Anon., *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412–1413*, ed. Dale & Redstone, 118, 124.

²⁰ “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, 1336–1337,” in *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 178.

²¹ Eleanor, Fair Maid of Brittany, 5th Countess of Richmond, was the eldest daughter of Geoffrey II, Duke of Brittany. Geoffrey was a son of Henry II of England and older brother to John Lackland. When her younger brother, Arthur, died in 1203, Eleanor became the heiress to the Duchy of Brittany. King John, and later, Henry III of England, claimed Eleanor’s inheritance as pretenders, imprisoning her under house arrest at a succession of English castles.

²² Anon., “Compotus Radulfi de Wilton” [1224–1225], *Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle In the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Margaret Sharp, xxvii.

to pay the annual wages of Eleanor's domestic staff, who numbered just over sixty persons.²³ Food expenses for the household could range between 45 and 60s. during an average week, or as high as 70s. during weeks when holidays and feasts occurred.²⁴ Eleanor's household was unique among the households examined here in that it was subsidized by the Crown, and that Eleanor was of royal status and was naturally held in comfort appropriate to her estate. Her imprisonment was not meant as a punishment, but rather a captivity in order to secure the Duchy of Brittany for the English Plantagenets. Although not typical of great households in general, Eleanor's household illustrates how similar minor members of royal families were maintained when the Crown provided a portion of financing.

Telling though these figures might be, they obscure the complexity of the late medieval manorial economy when it comes to stocking the great household with food and supplies: wheat, malt, and livestock were often delivered to lords' households from various farms across their manors. Over the course of the year between September 1336 to September 1337, grain was delivered to the de Norwich household for baking more than thirty times, usually every few weeks. When it arrived, Katherine's clerks would record the manor from which it arrived, the quantity of grains arriving, the assumed market value (*precium*) of the delivery, and the resulting number of loaves that the bakers were expected to bake. For example, on 10 November 1336, Katherine's clerk recorded receiving "four bushels of mixed grains from Shipmeadow Manor valued at 20 d. and 196 loaves used to feed the poor as alms." (*iiii bus. mixture de manerio de*

²³ The diet department included a cellarer (*dispensario*), a master cook (*coco*), two assistant cooks (*servientibus*), two bakers (*pistoribus*), two drink porters (*portitoribus cervisie*), a gardener (*ortolan*), a wagon driver (*caretariis*), and a laundress (*loitrice*), Anon., "Compotus Radulfi de Wilton" [1224–1225], *Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle*, ed. Margaret Sharp, 5–6.

²⁴ "Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle, 1225-1226," in *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 144–145.

Schepmedwe precium xx d. unde ix^{xx}xvi panes in pane furnito pro pauperibus).²⁵ When deliveries of brewing malt arrived at Katherine's household, fifteen times between 1336 and 1337, they were recorded in a similar manner to grains for bread: "ale malt, two quarters malt from the Manor of Blackworth, worth 12s., resulting in sevenscore and seventeen lagena [157 large vessels] of ale."(*cervisia braciata ii qr. brasei de veteri de manero de Blackworth' precium xii s. unde vii^{xx}xvii lag. Cervise*.)²⁶ Although manorial grains made significant contributions to the household provisioning strategy, their market value was often not included in daily ledgers of expenses and sometimes sat outside the overall revenue and expenditure calculations mentioned above.

In addition to grain and malt, livestock was one of the most important manorial foodstuffs delivered to most late medieval great households in order to feed master and domestic *familia* alike. In cases when livestock was obtained at no cost to the household through its domains, clerks would generally note from which manor it arrived and assess a price. For example, when fish arrived at the French royal household from its domains during the 1380s, clerks would list the type of fish, the number that arrived, the estate from which it arrived, and its estimated cost. When 214 carp arrived from the royal pond in Fontenay-Trésigny, southeast of Paris, the royal clerks recorded them as "214 carp, from the pond of Viver en Brie, used in the said house during this term, estimated at 5p.s. per fish, equalling 55l. 10 p.s." (*De ccxiv carpes, de l'estanc du Vivier en Brie, despensées oudit hostel en ce terme, estimées v s. p. la pièce. lv l. x s.p.*).²⁷ As we've already noted, the French royal clerks were not the only members of their

²⁵ "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, 1336-1337", *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 189.

²⁶ "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, 1336-1337", *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 190.

²⁷ The surviving medieval *comptes de l'hôtel* held in Paris are quarterly accounts and have been transcribed in "Autre recepte, pour poissons des estangs le roy, despensés oudit hostel en ce terme, estimez en fin de gaiges"

profession to record manorial livestock in a similar manner. When lambs would arrive from the de Norwich estates to Katherine's household, the clerk recorded them as lambs to be "slaughtered from Mettingham Manor with a market value of 20d. (*in occisione ii bidentes de manerio de Metingham precium xx d.*), as opposed to listing it simply as *carnes multones*²⁸ the standard operation when describing butchered meat.²⁹ Similarly, when the household of Sir William de Mountford was spending Christmas of 1433 at his manor in Kingsford, Warwickshire, tenants brought two oxen from his Manor at Hampton in Arden, about ten kilometres away in the West Midlands, Sir William's clerks noted "two cattle slaughtered, brought from the estate of Hampton" (*ii boves mactati sunt de illis qui fuerunt in parco de Hampton*), as opposed to simply entering the standard "*carnibus bovinis.*"^{30,31} Sometimes livestock was given as gifts. In these cases, clerks usually recorded that the item was either given away or, sometimes, to whom it was given. For instance, when Sir William de Mountford wished to send livestock as a gift, as a Christmas gift to the Franciscans at Coventry in 1433, his clerks added the following account on to the weekly list of expenses: "and one calf slaughtered for the friars minor of Coventry." (*et i boviculus mactati pro fratribus minoribus de Coventr.*)³² The reliance on their landed estates was, for many great households, inextricable and is often reflected in accounts. Although grand lords often bought additional provisions, especially wine, from the marketplace, food preparation within the great household context was deeply dependant on the seasonal patterns of manorial foodstuff deliveries.

[Charles VI, 1380], *Comptes de l'hôtel des rois de France aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, ed. Louis Douët-d'Arcq (Paris: Renouard, 1865) 11.

²⁸ Mutton meat.

²⁹ "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, 1336–1337," in *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 190–191.

³⁰ Beef meat.

³¹ "Household Accounts and Receiver's Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434," in *Household Accounts*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 436.

³² "Household Accounts and Receiver's Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434," in *Household Accounts*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 436.

In the case of Eleanor of Brittany's mixed-income household, some items were purchased through funds from the Crown, but the castle still drew victuals from its manors located in Gloucestershire, Mangotsfield, Stapleton, and Easton.³³ Typical entries, for example the entry for the Feast of All Souls (Oct 31), read: "Friday: ale 4 d., bread one 1d., hake 3 s., salmon 15 d., oysters 2 s. 4 d., perch 4 d., oblation 1 d., stable supplies 2 s. ... And 1 cow from the stores, 1 pork and 2 cheeses from the stores." (*Die veneris cervisia iiii d. Panis i d. Hake iii s. Salmo xv d. Ostria ii s. iiii d. Perche iiii d. Oblatio i d. In marescaucia ii s... Et i bov de instauro. Et i porcis. Et ii casei de instauro.*)³⁴ Items from the larder (*instauro*) were normal foodstuffs one would expect to see produced on a manorial estate: beef, pork, and cheese. Bought items, on the other hand, included ale, bread, three types of fish, and oysters. Since Bristol had easy port access, it is unlikely that the castle kept ponds, as in the case of the French royal accounts.

Most great households relied on a combination of local markets and vendors as well as their landed estates. Manors provided livestock, grains, fruits, and vegetables with regulated frequency, while markets and vendors offered larger varieties of foodstuffs, wines, beers, honey, cheeses, bacon, wax and many other incidentals that were necessary for daily life. Despite possessing landed estates, great households used all avenues of procurement to furnish their tables with food. When the Black Death disrupted many of the old manorial arrangements that existed throughout Europe, landed estates, in combination with local markets, continued to be important sources of grains and livestock for many households throughout our period.³⁵

³³ Margaret Sharp, "Introduction", *Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle*, xv.

³⁴ My translation. Original Latin text in "Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle, 1225–1226", *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 140.

³⁵ Susan Reynolds, "Fiefs and Vassals after Twelve Years," in *Feudalism: New Landscapes of Debate* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011) 15–26; François Louis Ganshof, "Feudalism After the Thirteenth Century," in *Feudalism*, trans. Philip Grierson (originally published as *Qu'est-ce que la féodalité*, 1944; repub. Medieval Academy of America, 1996) 168–170; Antoni Riera-Melis, "Society, Food, and Feudalism," in *Food: A Culinary History*, originally published as *Histoire de l'alimentation*, ed. Massimo Montanari and Jean-Louis Flandrin, trans. Clarissa Botsford *et al.* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999): 251–267.

Fasting & Fish Consumption

Fasting is an aspect of medieval dietary habits that has attracted a great deal of attention from scholars over the past thirty years.³⁶ One of the primary reasons for this was the large number of days on which medieval Christians fasted throughout the year. By the thirteenth century, fasting generally occurred throughout Christendom each Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, the whole of Lent, and numerous other incidental days.³⁷ The act of fasting, or abstaining from specific categories of meat-based foodstuffs and their by-products for specific periods, was based on Christian concepts of self-denial as an act of penance. Regular fasts occurring each Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday have been traditionally associated with the Jewish weekly fasts observed on Mondays and Thursdays.³⁸ So serious was the issue of fasting that, as we will see in later chapters, special vending bylaws were promulgated in the City of Paris to accommodate *rôtisseurs*³⁹ and *charcutiers*,⁴⁰ whose primary trade centred upon cooked meat sales so that they

³⁶ Bridget Ann Henisch, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (University Park, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976); Ewald Kislinger, “Christians of the East: Rules and Realities of the Byzantine Diet,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin & Massimo Montanari (New York: Penguin, 2000) 194–206; Roy Strong, “The Christian Table and the Birth of Manners”, *Feast: A History of Grand Eating* (London: Johnathan Cape, 2002) 50–55; Terence Scully, “Religious Strictures” & “Religious Rules,” in *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995) 58–64, 124–126; Caroline Walker-Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Christopher Woolgar, “Fast and Feast: Conspicuous Consumption and the Diet of the Nobility in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Revolution and Consumption in Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2001) 7–25; Richard C. Hoffmann, “Aquaculture in Champagne before the Black Death of 1348–1350,” in *Archéologie du poisson. 30 ans d’archéo-ichtyologie au CNRS. Hommage aux travaux de Jean Desse et Nathalie Desse-Berset*, ed. P. Béarez, S. Grouard, and B. Clavel, (Antibes: Éditions APDCA, 2008) 67–82; Dominique Michel, “Les poisons,” in *Vatel et la naissance de la gastronomie* (Paris: Fayard, 1999) 256–261; D. Serjeantson and C. M. Woolgar, “Fish Consumption in Medieval England,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 102–130; Armelle Querrien, “Pêche et consommation du poisson en Berry au Moyen Age,” in *Pêche et pisciculture en eau douce: la rivière et l’étang au Moyen Age, Actes des 1^{es} rencontres internationales de Liessies, 27, 28 et 29 avril 1998*, ed. P. Benoît, F. Loridant, O. Matteoni (Lille: Conseil général du Nord, 2004) unpaginated.

³⁷ Bruno Laurioux, “Les obligations religieuses,” *Manger au Moyen Âge: Pratiques et Discours Alimentaires en Europe aux XIV^e et XV^e Siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 2009) 101–122; Melitta Weiss Adamson, “Food and Religion,” in *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004) 181–204.

³⁸ Walker-Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 36–38.

³⁹ The guild of cooks who sold full, eat-in or take-out meals. See full discussion in Chapter Six.

could sell various types of fish dishes during the extensive weekly and seasonal fasts that occurred throughout the year. Just like their professional counterparts in the public sphere, great household cooks also had to be prepared to set aside perfectly good meats and poultry and rely on fresh or preserved fish, bread, vegetables, porridges, soups, and wine or ale to feed the household.

Although fasting has attracted a good deal of attention, the role of dairy products in fast-day cookery occupies a historiographical grey area between French and English scholarship. Some scholars note that eggs, butter, and cream were increasingly consumed on fasts after the 1350s, while others note that eggs and cheese were consumed on fast days in the latter half of the thirteenth century in parts of France.⁴¹ Our diet accounts confirm that eggs, butter and other dairy products did indeed comprise parts of the menu on fast days, and that the trend had begun as early as the first half of the thirteenth century. In the 1225–1226 account of Eleanor of Brittany, eggs (*ovis*) and butter (*butirum*) were received into the kitchen regularly on Wednesdays and Saturdays, while on Fridays, the kitchen usually only received fish and bread.⁴² Other accounts surveyed here show similar patterns, especially sources from the early fourteenth century. The 1336 *Household Ordinance* of Humbert II, whose primary residence was at the Château de Beauvoir in south-eastern France, eggs could take the place of fish on fast days, depending on two considerations: whether fish was available and which rank one occupied within the household.⁴³ Humbert and his family were to be served with fresh fish, while his nobles

⁴⁰ The guild of cooks who sold small roasts and some soups, in take-out format only. See full discussion in Chapter Six.

⁴¹ Melitta Weiss Adamson, “Food and Religion,” *Food in Medieval Times*, 188–189; Bruno Laurioux, “Les obligations religieuses,” *Manger au Moyen Âge*, 110.

⁴² “Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle ... 1225 to 1226,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 126–150.

⁴³ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336.,” *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins*, T. II, ed. Jean-Pierre Moret de Bourchenu Valbonnais (Geneva: Fabri & Barrillot, 1722) 308–318.

(*baronibus*) and lesser household members were ordered to dine on eggs “if fish could not be procured.” (*si pisces non poterunt inveniri.*)⁴⁴ The ordinance even went so far as to specify the number of eggs to be given to various members of the household, as well as the ways in which they should be cooked: barons were entitled to “twenty fried eggs with a good sauce” (*viginti ova frixa cum bono salsamento*), soldiers were entitled to twelve fried eggs with good sauce, clerks and chaplains were allowed ten fried eggs with sauce, while all others were allowed eight fried eggs with sauce.⁴⁵

Some households, such as the de Norwich household in 1337 and the Mountford household in 1434, did not serve eggs during Lent, though the de Norwich household continued to serve eggs on some Wednesdays and Saturdays outside of Lent. These patterns indicate that since eggs were included among fasting foodstuffs on these days, their absence on Fridays and Lent speaks to different grades of fasting within the late medieval great household context: Fridays and Lent were times of more ascetic fasting, we will call them “high fasts”, while Wednesdays and Saturdays were reserved for less restrictive, or “low”, fasts. Certainly this would not be communicated to our cooks each day, so fasting and the degree of restriction of the day’s fast would be something cooks would largely absorb during their upbringing.

Where consumption of eggs may have presented some challenges of fast days due to their one degree of separation from a primary protein, vegetables presented no challenges whatsoever. Indeed, within the great household context where it “snewed ... of mete and drynke,” vegetables played a special role in highlighting penitence on fast days.⁴⁶ The 1336 *Household Ordinance* of Humbert II is one of the most insightful sources on the topic of fast-day vegetable cookery during the High Middle Ages. In addition to fish and eggs, the ordinance called for legume and

⁴⁴ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336”, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, T.II, 312.

⁴⁵ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336,” *Histoire de Dauphiné*, T.II, 312–313.

⁴⁶ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, ln. 345.

almond-based soups on Fridays and Saturdays. On Fridays it specified that soups should be made from whit peas (*pisus albis*), chickpeas (*ciceribus*), or turnips (*aut rapis*), while Saturdays a soup of almond milk (*videlicet brodio amicalanarum*) and minced beans (*fabis fractis*), both of which could be garnished with “onions and olive oil.” (*paratus cum superfuso de cepis et oleo olivarum.*)⁴⁷ These were not dishes for the servants exclusively: Humbert (*nostro*) and his barons (*baronibus*) were served vegetable and egg dishes just like servants, though admittedly the *Ordinances* state that they were to receive larger portions. The very simple vegetable and meatless preparations outlined in the ordinance were specifically designed to reinforce modesty, especially when served in the sumptuous surroundings of Humber’s Château de Beauvoir.

Beyond considerations surrounding dairy and vegetables, fish was the primary fast-day foodstuff served in most great households. Provisioning large numbers of people with fish in a pre-refrigeration age was difficult, especially in locales situated further inland. Residences that were situated directly on the coast, such as that of Eleanor of Brittany’s Bristol Castle, could access large varieties of fish simply through local vendors and the marketplace as noted above. Other households relied on combinations of preserved and river fish, only receiving fresh sea fish where distance afforded the opportunity.

The most readily available type of fish for most Europeans was stockfish, or dried cod. Stockfish is different from salt cod in that it is not typically salted before drying. Stockfish is a labour-intensive ingredient, since it has to be soaked, boiled, and beaten with a mallet before it can be added to recipes. Once prepared, it was a versatile ingredient and could be used in a host of soups, bean salads, stews, and so on. Other types of preserved fish listed in accounts included dried, pickled, or smoked herring, salt salmon, salt cod or stockfish, and preserved oysters. Preserved fish seems always to have been considered a lesser foodstuff appropriate for servants,

⁴⁷ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336”, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, T.II, 312–313.

workers, and the poor. In the de Norwich household, upon the arrival of the dozen paupers that attended Katherine's residence each day for food, pickled or smoked herring was always served, even on important feasts like All Saints and Christmas.⁴⁸

Sources of fresh fish could vary significantly. The Thames offered London ready access to sea fish though the same is not true of the winding route the Seine takes into Paris. While stockfish, dried cod, or other sea fish could easily be transported throughout Europe, Parisians who sought fresh fish relied more on river fish and fish ponds for their supply.⁴⁹ Fishermen on the Seine River found a variety of ingenious ways to capture various sizes and shapes of fish, ranging from reed-woven dams that directed fish toward their nets to more complex circular traps, also woven from reeds, designed to capture eel.⁵⁰ When great lords' residences were too far from convenient access to fresh fish, fish ponds were often kept in order to supply the household with ready access to fresh fish.⁵¹

⁴⁸ A typical entry, like the one made on Thursday 12 December 1336 reads: "*In putura pauperum panis de stauro et allec rubium de stauro*," or "For the paupers: bread from the store and red herring from the store." The herring was likely kept in barrels within cool rooms of the household storage areas, while the bread referred to here was likely extra bread that had not been used at meals, sent to the store after, and portioned for distribution to the poor.

⁴⁹ Olivier Cayla, "La pêche à Paris aux XVe et XVIe siècles à travers les comptes de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," *Pêche et pisciculture en eau douce: la rivière et l'étang au Moyen Age, Actes des 1^{es} rencontres internationales de Liessies, 27, 28 et 29 avril 1998*, ed. P. Benoît, F. Loridant, O. Matteoni (Lille: Conseil général du Nord, 2004) unpaginated.

⁵⁰ P. Benoît, "La pêche dans le domaine de la ville de Paris au XVe siècle," *Pêche et pisciculture en eau douce: la rivière et l'étang au Moyen Age, Actes des 1^{es} rencontres internationales de Liessies, 27, 28 et 29 avril 1998*, ed. P. Benoît, F. Loridant, O. Matteoni (Lille: Conseil général du Nord, 2004) unpaginated.

⁵¹ Joséphine Rouillard et Véronique Maupoume, "Les étangs royaux sous Philippe le Bel d'après les comptes royaux," in *Pêche et pisciculture en eau douce: la rivière et l'étang au Moyen Age, Actes des 1^{es} rencontres internationales de Liessies, 27, 28 et 29 avril 1998*, ed. P. Benoît, F. Loridant, O. Matteoni (Lille: Conseil général du Nord, 2004) unpaginated; Anne-Laure de Freitas, "Les étangs de l'abbaye cistercienne de Signy (Ardennes) au Moyen Age," in *Pêche et pisciculture en eau douce: la rivière et l'étang au Moyen Age, Actes des 1^{es} rencontres internationales de Liessies, 27, 28 et 29 avril 1998*, ed. P. Benoît, F. Loridant, O. Matteoni (Lille: Conseil général du Nord, 2004) unpaginated; Pierre Gresser, "Les délits commis dans les étangs comtaux en Franche-Comté aux XIVe et XVe siècles," in *Pêche et pisciculture en eau douce: la rivière et l'étang au Moyen Age, Actes des 1^{es} rencontres internationales de Liessies, 27, 28 et 29 avril 1998*, ed. P. Benoît, F. Loridant, O. Matteoni (Lille: Conseil général du Nord, 2004) unpaginated; Olivier Mattéoni, "La pêche des étangs du domaine comtal en Forez à la fin du Moyen Age," in *Pêche et pisciculture en eau douce: la rivière et l'étang au Moyen Age, Actes des 1^{es} rencontres internationales de Liessies, 27, 28 et 29 avril 1998*, ed. P. Benoît, F. Loridant, O. Matteoni (Lille: Conseil général du Nord, 2004) unpaginated.

Transporting fresh fish more than a few kilometres inland without benefit of a river system significantly increased its cost. In many places it was not possible. When the point of consumption was closer to river or sea sources, fresh fish could be transported in wicker baskets by wagon or river barge; Woolgar even lists some manuscript illuminations that depict individuals transporting fresh fish in wicker baskets on their backs.⁵² While these methods were possible, the speed at which fish decompose once dead and out of the water severely limited the range that sea and river fish could be transported inland without needing to be preserved. Some thirteenth-century French castles and monasteries were outfitted with small retaining pools within their kitchens in order to hold live freshwater fish, though these were rare and limited only to the greatest of households.⁵³

Storing fish, especially during Lent, presented special challenges. On 13 January 1337, the de Norwich household moved from Katherine's manor at Mettingham, Suffolk, to her city residence in Norwich.⁵⁴ By moving to Norwich, Katherine was positioning her household to take advantage of the city's access to vast varieties of North Sea and river fish as well as larger markets for items like stockfish and preserved herring.⁵⁵ Alternatively, for the Mountford household, who spent Lent of 1434 at his residences located in the Midlands, a large order of fasting ingredients arrived, since fresh sea fish was unavailable in the Midlands. To account for this, Sir William's household officers obtained the following Lenten reserves (*Providencia pro Quatragesima*):

⁵² Woolgar, *Great Household*, 121–122.

⁵³ François Blary, "L'approvisionnement et les structures en eau du château de Château-Thierry (Aisne) aux XIVe et XVe siècles," *Revue archéologique de Picardie*, 1–2 (2006) 127–137; François Blary, "Château Thierry," *Revue Archéologique de Picardie* 16 (1999): 55–59.

⁵⁴ "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, 1336–1337", *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 178, 223.

⁵⁵ Norwich has access to the North Sea by way of the thirty-five kilometre-long River Yare, which enters the North Sea at Great Yarmouth.

Item	s.	d.
2 <i>caedes</i> white herring	23	6
2 <i>caedes</i> herring	18	0
16 salmon	24	0
1 <i>meese</i> ⁵⁶ red herring	9	0
1 basket of dried fruit	6	8
10 <i>lagenas</i> oil	13	4
1 barrel for oil	0	7
2 <i>caedes</i> red herring (from Coventry)	16	
Carriage of 2 butts of wine	9	5
Carriage of herring, oil, salmon, and fruit.	6	0
1 Vessel for transporting salmon	0	12
Total	£6. 4s. 2d.	

Table 1. Items ordered for the Lenten fast, 1434, Mountford household, Midlands.⁵⁷

The vendors from which some of these supplies were obtained were mentioned: fish merchant Roger More sold white herrings to the Mountford household, Robert Elm sold the household two *caedes*⁵⁸ of pickled herring, while two additional *caedes* were obtained from Coventry. Whether by moving the household to towns with better port access, or by holding large volumes of preserved fish and oil, late medieval households developed a number of strategies for preparing for the duration of the Lenten fast.

The varieties of species that are mentioned in the accounts indicate that great household cooks were highly versatile in terms of the types of fish they used in creating fast-day menus:

⁵⁶ A *meese*, or *mease* was a container that could hold approximately 500–600 herring. See Ronald Edward Zupko “Mease,” in *A Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles: The Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985) 245.

⁵⁷ 7 January 1434, “Household Accounts and Receiver’s Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434,” *Household Accounts*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 437–438.

⁵⁸ A *cade* was a variable measure. Jugs of wine were sometimes measured in *caedes*, while other sources report that, when used in the context of fish, it was a container that could hold about 500 herring or 1,000 sprats. See Zupko, “Cade,” *A Dictionary of Weights and Measures*, 64–65.

	Eleanor of Brittany Bristol Castle 1225–1226 ⁵⁹	Katherine de Norwich Suffolk/Norfolk 1336–1337 ⁶⁰	French Royal Charles VI Paris 1380 ⁶¹	Alice de Bryene, Suffolk 1412–1413 ⁶²	William de Mountford Warwickshire 1433–1434 ⁶³
Bream			x		
Burbot		x			
Carp			x		
Cockle		x			
Cod	x	x			
Crayfish		x			
Eel	x	x	x	x	x
Fish	x	x	x		x
Haddock	x	x		x	
Hake	x				
Herring	x	x			x
Ling		x		x	
Mackerel	x				
Mussels					x
Oysters	x	x			x
Perch	x				
Pickerel		x			x
Pike ⁶⁴			x		
Plaice	x	x			x
Prawns		x			
Quarreaux			x		
Rad		x			
Razors		x			
Red Herring		x		x	
Roaches		x			
Roaches		x			
Ruff		x			
Salmon	x	x		x	x
Smelt		x			x
Sole		x			
Stockfish		x		x	x
Sturgeon				x	
Tench			x		

⁵⁹ NA E 101/350/11, original Latin transcription printed as “Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle, Including Those for the Household of Eleanor of Brittany, 7 June 1225 to 6 March 1226,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 126–150.

⁶⁰ BL Add. Roll 63207, original Latin transcription printed as “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 177–223.

⁶¹ AN KK/30-33, also transcribed in “Premier Compte de l’hôtel du roi Charles VI, 1380,” in *Comptes de l’hotel des rois de France aux xiv et xve siècles*, ed. M.L. Dodët-D’arcq (Paris: Libraire de la société de l’histoire de France, 1865) 12–127.

⁶² NA C47/4/8/B, as well as the English translation in Anon., *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412–1413*, ed. M.K. Dale & V.B. Redstone (Ipswich: W.E. Harrison, 1931).

⁶³ Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office MS DR/37/Box 73, original Latin transcription printed as “Household Accounts and Receiver’s Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 431–453.

⁶⁴ “*Brochet*”.

White Herring	x	x
Whitefish	x	
Whiting	x	

Table 2. Medieval French and English great household fish consumption, 1225–1434.

The households listed in the chart above used a range of between seven to twenty-six varieties of fish over the course of the year. For those who had higher expendable income, the varieties of fish that they enjoyed were seemingly endless. At Bristol Castle, Eleanor of Brittany’s household was supplied with hake, cod, herring, salmon, haddock, oysters, conger and other eels, perch, small fish (*minuto pisce*), plaice, and mackerel throughout 1225 and 1226.⁶⁵ In addition to these fish, the de Norwich household consumed whiting, roach, cockle, razor clam, crayfish, burbot, ruff, smelt, pickerel, sole, and prawns.⁶⁶ Fresh crustaceans were bought with less frequency in both accounts, implying that they were more of a speciality item, even in places with easy coastal access like Bristol and Norwich.

If we are to speculate on the types of dishes that were created from these selections of fish, one would suspect that preserved items, like pickled herring, were simply laid on a dish and served, while salt and dried fish was boiled, pounded, and added to recipes. Smaller fish like whiting and smelt likely had their heads removed and were gutted before being fried, while larger fish like eel, salmon, and pike could be roasted on a spit and served with various sauces as outlined in the first chapter. Large and medium-sized flat fish like sole and plaice could be poached whole or filleted and fried. Oysters appeared frequently in various accounts, though it is unlikely that they were served raw on the half shell as we do today; they were likely fried or added to soups. Other types of crustaceans and molluscs—shrimp, crayfish, and even razor clams—were likely boiled or fried and served.

⁶⁵ See chart above.

⁶⁶ See chart above.

Overall, our household accounts paint a surprisingly different picture of fast-day cookery within the great household context than we are able to gather from cookery collections alone, especially in two primary areas: humility and cooks' skills. Fast days were times of humility and supplication. Despite the extravagant recipes for roasted fish and spice-laden sauces that come to us from *Viandier de Taillevent* in the 1380s, *Ménagier de Paris* in 1393, and *Forme of Curye* in the 1390s, it is clear that organizing the work of cookery on fast days included a host of additional considerations that went beyond the preparation of extravagant fish dishes. Indeed, as Humbert II's cooks were surely aware, too much extravagance on fast days was inappropriate, given the lengths Humbert went to specify that everyone in his household was to be served egg and vegetable based menus on specified days each week. Quiches, flans, or simple scrambled eggs with sauce were appropriate, even for Humbert and his barons themselves. Fast days were not times for showy recipes, unless an important feast or celebration happened to occur on the same day. Otherwise, simplicity and humility were much on display during fast days.

When one considers that cooks and household officers had little to no control over the types of fish that would arrive from vendors each day, Scappi's words to his apprentice come to mind: "[H]e will set his main base [upon] understanding of and experience with various sorts of foodstuffs so that, for want of anything (it not being available somewhere or in some season), what he cannot make with one ingredient he can make with another one that is available in that place and in that season. . . ."⁶⁷ Great household cooks had to be ready with dozens of fish recipes that could allow the household to maintain weekly fasts with limited tedium. Cooks, then, had to be able to look at orders and be able to see dishes from the varieties of fish laid before them on short notice. Even as far as butchery was concerned, round fish, flat fish, crustaceans, and

⁶⁷ Bartolomeo Scappi, "Discourse of Scappi with his Apprentice," in *The Opera of Bartolomeo Scappi (1570)*, trans. Terence Scully (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008) 99.

molluscs all require completely different methods of butchery and preparation before even approaching the stove. Although Scappi was writing in the sixteenth century, his words would have run true in the ears of many of his predecessors from centuries earlier.

Quadruped Consumption

When cooks did not have to observe the strictures of fast-day cookery, they were free, in the eyes of the church, to use all types of ingredients. On ordinary days, quadruped meat was the primary protein consumed within both the great household and more modest domestic contexts. Bruno Laurioux's paper *Une Europe carnassière* compared the findings of dozens of German, French, Italian, and Iberian scholars who have worked in the areas of local dietary regimes and found that not only did the average late medieval western European have daily access to meat, the combined findings of previous studies also indicate a range of between one hundred to six hundred grams of meat per person per day is not unlikely as a general estimate, if one adjusts for regional and economic variability.⁶⁸ The working poor and others, like hospital patients and some orders of monks, Laurioux suggests, consumed less meat than their economic superiors, likely in the range of two hundred to three hundred grams per day.⁶⁹ Adult individuals belonging to families with more regular and substantial incomes, not necessarily just nobles and social elites exclusively, often had access to daily portions of meat ranging from between two hundred and five hundred grams on average.⁷⁰ Numerous German researchers have found that the Rhineland sources indicate very high consumption of quadruped meat among peasants,

⁶⁸ Laurioux, "Une Europe carnassière," in *Manger au Moyen Âge: Pratiques et Discours Alimentaires en Europe aux XIVe et XVe Siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 2009) 72–74.

⁶⁹ Laurioux, "Une Europe carnassière," *Manger au Moyen Âge*, 72–74.

⁷⁰ Laurioux, "Une Europe carnassière," *Manger au Moyen Âge*, 72–74.

particularly after the first waves of the decline of the Black Death had allowed wages and market prices to align to such a degree that daily protein consumption sat at around four hundred and five hundred grams.⁷¹ Taking into account the nearly two hundred days of fasting per year, this calculates into annual quadruped or poultry-based protein consumption rates ranging between eighty to one hundred kilograms.⁷²

When we look specifically at France and England, we see similar patterns as compared to the larger European trends for the same period. In the case of England, mutton and beef bones have been discovered in particularly high concentrations at sites associated with both nobles and non-elites.⁷³ British zooarchaeologist Naomi Sykes, in examining the findings of a vast number of archaeological digs that have occurred over the past half century, noted that “cattle and sheep account for the majority of bone remains recovered from nearly all medieval sites, suggesting that between the fifth and mid-sixteenth centuries meat in diet, particularly that of the lower social classes, was centred on beef and mutton.”⁷⁴ Other studies, while agreeing with the idea that beef and mutton were important, note that pork, especially bacon, also played crucial roles in provisioning and feeding large and small household units, across the period and throughout central and southern England.⁷⁵

If we move away from the more general English social context and into the great household itself, our accounts reveal that a combination of beef-, mutton-, and pork-based meats played an important role in each of the households included in our survey. On most meat days, the cooks at Bristol Castle served Eleanor of Brittany’s household a combination of quadruped

⁷¹ Lauriou, “Une Europe carnassière,” *Manger au Moyen Âge*, 72–73.

⁷² My estimate based on Lauriou’s figures.

⁷³ N.J. Sykes, “From Cu and Sceap to Beffe and Motton: The Management, Distribution, and Consumption of Cattle and Sheep, AD 410–1550,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 56–71.

⁷⁴ Sykes, 70–71.

⁷⁵ U. Albarella, “Pig Husbandry and Pork Consumption in Medieval England,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 72–87.

and poultry meats. On 17 July 1225, for example, the clerk recorded that pork (*porcus*), (*multone*), and lamb (*ovis*⁷⁶) were served, in addition to a goose (*auca*) and some bread.⁷⁷ While the goose, costing 6 d., was likely served to Eleanor herself at one meal, she must have also dined on some of the 1 s.3 d.–worth of quadruped meat that the cooks also received that day; otherwise she consumed the same goose all day. We know the household at Bristol Castle numbered around sixty persons, so one would expect that the cheaper and more voluminous quadruped meats received that day went to the household. One would not expect, however, such an esteemed lady as Eleanor to dine on the same goose all day. Rather, the entry is indicative of the fact that, of the two meals regularly consumed in medieval households during the day, Eleanor consumed goose at one, and quadruped meat, possibly lamb, at the other. The same trend rings true for most of our great households in that large-scale quadruped consumption normally outweighed the volume and expense of ingredients like poultry and game that were traditionally considered more luxuriant, expensive, and have more often been associated with the lifestyles of great lords.⁷⁸ Quadruped meat, in addition to being used in large volumes for servants' tables, also had its uses at upper tables as well.

⁷⁶ “*ovis*” can mean either “egg,” “lamb,” or “sheep.” Since mutton (*multone*) was recorded separately on July 17, we know that the following “*ovis*” is a smaller sheep. Eggs (*ovis*) were also ordered on July 17, but they were listed toward the end of the account, with incidentals.

⁷⁷ NA E 101/350/11, original Latin transcription printed as “Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle, ...7 June 1225 to 6 March 1226,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 131.

⁷⁸ Allen Greico, “Food and Social Class in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin & Massimo Montanari (New York: Penguin, 2000) 308.

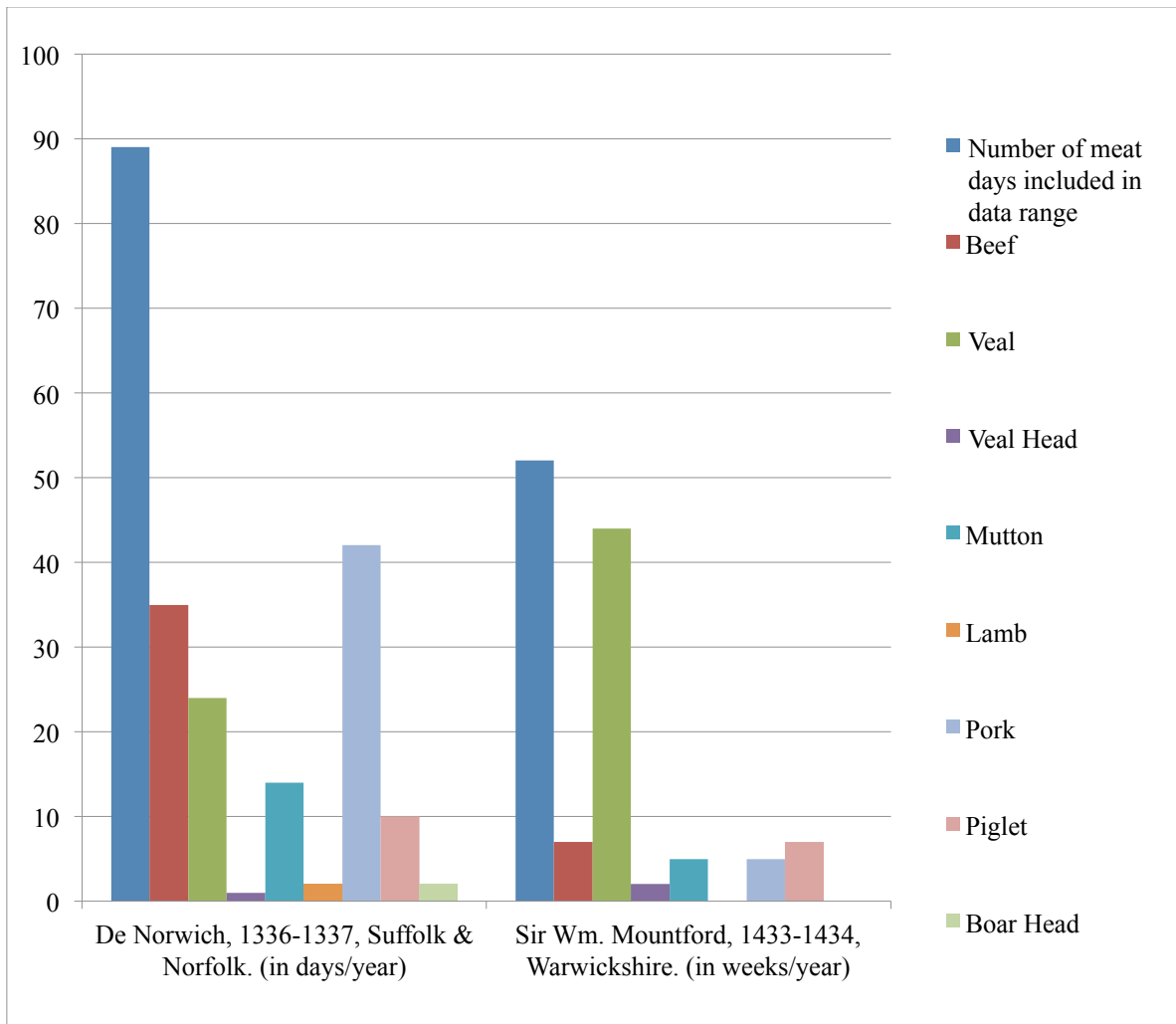


Figure 1. Quadruped Consumption in the De Norwich Household, Suffolk & Norfolk, 1336-1337 & Mountford Household, Warwickshire, 1433-1434.⁷⁹

As far as comparative rates of quadruped consumption are concerned, we can see that beef, veal and mutton shared similar rates of consumption in the de Norwich household while the Mountford household relied more on veal as a primary staple, only occasionally receiving mutton, pork, and piglet (*porcello*), and in some cases even a boars' head to liven up menus at Christmas, Easter, and other celebrations. During feasts the variety of quadruped meats served at

⁷⁹ BL Add. Roll 63207, original Latin transcription printed as "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337," in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 177–223; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office MS DR/37/Box 73, original Latin transcription printed as "Household Accounts and Receiver's Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434," in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 453–431; Appendix II.I & II.II; Spreadsheet.

single meals expanded significantly, with items like boars' heads and lambs being served alongside beef, veal, and mutton, though not usually taking their place. The bulk of work performed on the average working day, was based around quadruped meat cookery, despite the habit of serving fine poultry dishes that scholars usually associate with great lords' households. In this respect, great households were similar to less affluent households: quadruped meat was delicious and served a variety of purposes in the households of those of all ranks.

In France, a very similar pattern of reliance on quadruped meat, especially pork, can be observed in the many of the tidbits of advice regarding stocking the pantry that *Ménagier de Paris* offered to his wife. In a typical week, *Ménagier* noted, butchers of Paris sold around 3,080 mutton, 540 cattle, 306 veal, and six hundred pigs.⁸⁰ It is unknown how *Ménagier* arrived at these figures, though the *Bouchers*⁸¹ were one of the oldest and best-established of the Parisian guilds, so it is not unlikely that there were individuals in Paris charged with keeping tally of weekly meat sales throughout the city. *Ménagier* also noted that these figures did not include meat consumption in the households of “the king, the queen, and other lords of France.”⁸² Noble households resident in Paris provided at least some of their household food supply, according to *Ménagier's* observations from their country estates. Even *Ménagier*, himself a minor noble or knight, continually referenced his country estates; one must assume that he, also, relied on some produce and livestock from his domains as well. Pork, too, played a special role in Parisian meat-

⁸⁰ “*Somme des boucheries de Paris, pour sepmaine, sans le fait du Roy et de la Royne et des autres nos seigneurs de France, trois mille quatre-vint moutons, cinq cent quatorze beufs, trois cent six veaulx, six cens porcs.*” Anon., “Le fait des bouchers et poulaillers”, *Le ménagier de Paris: traité de morale et d'économie domestique*, T. II, ed. La société des bibliophiles François (Paris: Crapelet, 1846) 84–85.

⁸¹ The Butchers' Guild of Paris.

⁸² “*...sans le fait du Roy et de la Royne et des autres nos seigneurs de France.*”, Anon., “Le fait des bouchers et poulaillers”, *Le ménagier de Paris: traité de morale et d'économie domestique*, T. II, ed. La société des bibliophiles François (Paris: Crapelet, 1846) 84–85.

day diets, with *Ménagier* noting that the butchers of Paris typically sold two thousand to three thousand hams on Easter weekend alone.⁸³

We can get a sense of the role of quadruped meats in menu rotations from the 1336 *Ordinance* of Humbert II, from which it becomes clear that beef, salt meat, mutton, and pork were important elements of the meat-day dinner and supper menus, even for upper tables. Since Humbert's ordinance specified different menus for various grades of officers, different types and amounts of meat had to be prepared for each meal time. At lunchtime on Sundays, for example, in addition to some poultry, Humbert's table was set with fresh pork roasts served with sauce (*rotulo de carnibus porcinis recentibus rosto cum salsamento debiro*), as were his barons' tables.⁸⁴ The domestic *familia* was served one course of fresh roasted pork only, without any poultry (*unius rotuli de carnibus porcinis recentibus ... sine gallinis*).⁸⁵ At supper time on Sundays, a first course of fresh pork and poultry were served to Humbert and the upper tables, and a second course of hen, but pork alone was served to the domestic *familia*.⁸⁶ The Sunday meal, however, included a further course of cheese and fruit, and this course was served to the entire household (*serviatur omnibus in hospitio nostro ... caseo et fructibus*).⁸⁷ On Mondays, however, salt meat took pride of place at all tables within Humbert's household. At lunchtimes on Mondays, peas and a simple soup garnished with a pound of salt meat (*pisa alba ... serviatur de praedicto potagio cum una libra de carnibus salsis*) was served both to Humbert, the barons,

⁸³ "... six cens porcs. Et au vendredi absolut, sont vendus de deux mille à trois mille lars.;" Anon., "Le fait des bouchers et poulaillers," *Le ménagier de Paris: traité de morale et d'économie domestique*, T. II, ed. La société des bibliophiles François (Paris: Crapelet, 1846) 84–85.

⁸⁴ "Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336," *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins*, T. II, 311.

⁸⁵ "Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336," *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins*, T. II, 311.

⁸⁶ "Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336," *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins*, T. II, 311.

⁸⁷ "Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336," *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins*, T. II, 311.

chaplains, clerks, and servants.⁸⁸ At dinner time on Mondays, a first course of tripe soup (*intromeysio de tripis bonis bene puratis coctis in aqua*) was served to all tables, while a second course of roasted beef and mutton with a hot pepper sauce (*rotulus de carnibus bovinis, et uno rotulo de mutoninis in aqua cum salsamento caldio de pipere*) were served to upper tables, but only beef was served to the domestic *familia*.⁸⁹ Here we get a better sense of the different ways in which Humbert's cooks prepared quadruped meats in order to vary meat-day menus: in combination with roasts of poultry, Humbert's cooks ordinarily made one to two types of quadruped meat: either as a roast served with sauce or as a soup. While poultry was served regularly in Humbert's household, quadruped meat was served to all tables—Humbert's and the lowliest servant's—and would have consumed a great deal of the kitchen's efforts.

Overall, we can see that quadruped meat was just as important in late medieval French and English great household provisioning strategies as it was in more humble households. Wealthy though masters may have been, they insisted on prudence and economy when feeding their domestic *familia*, and even when feeding themselves. Humbert had a good deal of quadruped meat served at his table, along with poultry, indicating that he and his nobles enjoyed a variety of meats, not only poultry and luxuries. In addition, this offers a slightly different perspective on the work of late medieval great household cookery itself: though versed in fine dining recipes to use at feasts and celebrations, daily cookery on meat days in great households often involved more humble preparations that we would often associate with peasants tables, including tripe or salt meat soups and so on. Prepared with care and attention, our great

⁸⁸ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336,” *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins*, T. II, 311.

⁸⁹ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336,” *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins*, T. II, 311.

household cooks were easily able to turn the humble into the nourishing, delighting palates of the high and low alike in the process.

Poultry & Game Consumption

Historians and contemporary observers associate poultry and game with the households of nobles and the wealthy.⁹⁰ Indeed, when describing the essence of the aristocratic Franklin's diet, Chaucer made no mention of beef or mutton, instead noting, "many a fat partrich" graced the Franklin's table on meat days.⁹¹ This was partially the result of poultry meat being more expensive, by weight, than beef, mutton, or pork throughout our period, though some scholars have also proposed that poultry ranked ahead of quadruped meat in "the great chain of being".⁹²

Discussion of poultry consumption within the great household context must be undertaken with attention to recent archaeological findings that indicate that working households, especially those located rural areas, regularly consumed poultry as part of their diets. Dale Serjeantson's examination of archaeological findings from a large number of high and late medieval southern English village and hamlet sites found that all sites contained significant volumes of poultry and fowl bones, indicating that the habit of consuming poultry was shared

⁹⁰ C. M. Woolgar, "Group Diets in Late Medieval England," in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 191–200; Dominique Michel, "Les viandes, volailles, abats," in *Vatel et la naissance de la gastronomie* (Paris: Fayard, 1999) 261–264; J. Birrell, "Procuring, Preparing, and Serving Venison in Late Medieval England," *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 176–190; Ken Albala, "An Introduction to Ingredients and Wild Food," in *The Banquet: Dining in the Great Courts of Late Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007) 27–44.

⁹¹ Geoffrey Chaucer, "The General Prologue," *The Canterbury Tales*, Ln. 349.

⁹² This is a somewhat problematic notion. It is partially based on the idea that, since birds spent more of their lives in the air and closer to the heavens, their meat was purer than that of quadruped animals that spent their lives on the ground in contact with dirt and grime. The idea was also based on the white colour of chicken, capon, poussin, and partridge meat, symbolizing the presence of fewer impurities. However, the meat of most other birds is not light, while the most readily consumed white-meat birds – chicken, poussin, and partridge – spend much of their lives on the ground. For more on the idea during the Renaissance period see, Allen Greico, "Food and Social Class", *Food: A Culinary History*, 308.

among the high and low.⁹³ Remains found at village sites tend to have slightly higher proportions of mature birds, indicating that villagers prized hens as sources of eggs, though significant amounts of immature carcasses have been found in the same sites showing signs of butchery.⁹⁴ Slightly larger proportions of immature poultry and fowl bones have been found at sites related to noble households, indicating a decreased need to keep poultry for eggs and proportionally-increased consumption of fowl over village sites.⁹⁵ Serjeantson concluded that geese and chickens were kept and consumed “by all classes of society” throughout the high and late Middle Ages.⁹⁶

Part of the reason for the continuing association of poultry with medieval aristocratic households is related to the higher prices of poultry relative to quadruped or preserved meats. Even here, however, new research is beginning to alter our understanding of how poultry prices fell, especially toward the end of the fourteenth century. David Stone’s comparative examination of archaeological reports from late medieval English sites concluded that noble and large monastic sites were associated with similar proportions of fowl bones throughout the high and late medieval periods, while faunal remains at village sites show increasing frequency of poultry bones over the second half of the fourteenth century.⁹⁷ In essence, Stone suggests, elites remained consistent in the types and volumes of poultry and fowl that they consumed, while villagers and rural peasants increased their consumption of poultry after the Black Death.

⁹³ D. Serjeantson, “Birds: Food and a Mark of Status,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 131–147;

⁹⁴ D. Serjeantson, “Birds,” 147.

⁹⁵ D. Serjeantson, “Birds,” 147.

⁹⁶ D. Serjeantson, “Birds,” 147.

⁹⁷ D.J. Stone, “The Consumption and Supply of Birds in Late Medieval England,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 155–160.

The situation was not uniform between England and France. English poultry seems to have been available at relatively modest prices as we can see in the 1378 *Ordinance of Cooks and Piebakers* (London):

The Ordinance of the Cooks, ordered by the Mayor and Aldermen, as to divers flesh-meat and poultry... Best roast capon, 6d. Best roast hen, 4d. Best roast pullet, 2½ d. Best roast rabbit, 4d. Best roast river mallard, 4½ d. Best roast dunghill mallard, 3½ d. Best roast teal, 2½ d., Best roast snyte, 1½ d. Five roast larks, 1½ d. Best roast wodecok, 2½ d. Best roast partridge, 3½ d.. Best roast plover, 2½ d. Best roast pheasant, 13d. Best roast curlew, 6½ d. Three roast thrushes, 2 d. Ten roast finches, 1 d. Best roast heron, 18 d. Best roast bittern, 20 d. Three roast pigeons, 2½ d. Ten eggs, one penny. For the paste, fire, and trouble upon a capon, 1½ d. For the paste, fire, and trouble upon a goose, 2d. The best capon baked in a pasty, 8 d. The best hen baked in a pasty, 5d. The best lamb, roasted, 7d.⁹⁸

These prices are slightly higher than those found by John Munro, based on the fifteenth-century *Bridge Masters' Rolls of the City of London*.⁹⁹ Using these sources, Munro found that while a hen still cost 4 d. in early fifteenth-century London, capons, possibly small in size, sold for 1½ d.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, Munro compared these prices against the average daily wage earned by master masons and carpenters in London at the same time, a wage Munro estimated at 8 d. per day, noting that most established working-class London households normally had enough household revenue to purchase capons and whole hens at least a few days per week.

Evidence for French prices is more difficult to come by, though some of our early fifteenth-century accounts offer insight into areas outside of Paris. In Dijon, for example, a diet account from the household of John II, Duke of Burgundy, dating from 12 August 1404 records

⁹⁸ “Ordinance of the Cooks and Pastelers, or Piebakers (2 Richard II. A.D. 1378). Letter-Book H. fol. xcix in “Memorials: 1378”, Memorials of London and London Life: In the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, ed. H. T. Riley (London: City of London, 1868) 415–428.

⁹⁹ Munro based these figures on the following sources: London Guildhall Manuscripts Library: MS 5174, vol. 1; Brewers' Guild, Warden's Accounts (1424–1562); Corporation of London Record Office: Bridge Master's Account Rolls, 1381–1398; Bridge Master's Accounts: Weekly Payment Series, 1404–1510 (Vols. I–III). See John Munro, *Oriental Spices and Their Costs in Medieval Cuisine: Luxuries or Necessities?*, A lecture delivered to the Canadian Perspectives Committee, Senior Alumni Association, University of Toronto, at University College, 8 November 1988 <<http://www.economics.utoronto.ca/munro5/SPICES1.htm>>.

¹⁰⁰ Munro, *Spices*, online.

that the duke's household received 213 capons¹⁰¹ for 8l.1 8s. 4d., around 7s per bird.¹⁰² These prices are quite high on the surface, but the value of coinage in France suffered from multiple and serious bouts of debasement throughout the fourteenth century, while continual adjustments in the value of coinage within England kept inflation at more controlled levels.¹⁰³ French poultry prices of the early 1400s do, however, correlate to later prices listed in the 1567 ordinance of the guild of *Rôtisseurs* of Paris: large capons were to be sold for 7 p.s., fat chickens for 5 p.s., plover for 3p.s..¹⁰⁴ Although one would expect to see some movement in prices related to regional and temporal variation, capon and hen prices, in France at least, seem to have remained consistently high after the Black Death and well into the early modern period.

¹⁰¹ chaps

¹⁰² my calculations, based on AN K/500/11.

¹⁰³ Peter Spufford, "The Scourge of Debasement" & "The Money of Europe around 1400," in *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 289–318, 319–338.

¹⁰⁴ "L'Ordonnances des Rotisseurs" [1567] in Nicholas de La Mare, *Traité de la Police*, Tome III, Livre III, Titre XXIII, Ch. VII (Paris: J. et P. Cot, 1729) 212–218.

	Eleanor of Brittany Bristol Castle 1225– 1226 ¹⁰⁵	Humbert II Château de Beauvoir- en-Royans 1336 ¹⁰⁶	Katherine de Norwich Suffolk/Norfolk 1336–1337 ¹⁰⁷	Alice de Bryene, Suffolk 1412– 1413 ¹⁰⁸	William de Mountford Warwickshire 1433–1434 ¹⁰⁹
Capon			X	X	
Dove					X
Goose			X	X	X
Hen/Chicken	X	X	X	X	X
Heron				X	
Lark			X		
Mallard			X		
Partridge			X	X	
Pheasant				X	
Pigeons				X	
Small Chicken		X	X	X	
Swan			X	X	X
Various birds	X				
Wild fowl	X				
Woodcock			X		

Table 3. Medieval great household poultry consumption, 1225–1434.

Turning our attention to a comparative examination of the types of birds consumed in our accounts, we can see that hen, goose, and swan were consumed by numerous household in our group, though swan was consumed very infrequently while hen was one of the most frequently

¹⁰⁵ NA E 101/350/11, original Latin transcription printed as “Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle, Including Those for the Household of Eleanor of Brittany, 7 June 1225 to 6 March 1226,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 126–150.

¹⁰⁶ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336”, *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins*, T. II, ed. Jean-Pierre Moret de Bourchenu Valbonnais (Geneva: Fabri & Barrillot, 1722) 308-318.

¹⁰⁷ BL Add. Roll 63207, original Latin transcription printed as “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 177–223.

¹⁰⁸ NA C47/4/8/B, as well as the English translation in Anon., *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412–1413*, ed. M.K. Dale & V.B. Redstone (Ipswich: W.E. Harrison, 1931).

¹⁰⁹ Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office MS DR/37/Box 73, original Latin transcription printed as “Household Accounts and Receiver’s Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 431–453.

ordered meat-day ingredients. Over the eighty-nine meat days included in the 1336–1337 account of Katherine de Norwich, the kitchen received hens (*gallinis*) on sixty separate days, geese (*auca*) on forty days, and various small birds (*volatilibus*) on twenty-two days.¹¹⁰ This pattern of regular hen, goose, and small bird consumption is evident in the earlier account of Eleanor of Brittany, but it is also present in the Mountford accounts which were recorded weekly: of the fifty-two weeks that were recorded in the 1433–1434 account, hens and chickens were received on thirty weeks of the year, small birds were received on fourteen separate weeks, while goose was received on nine separate weeks.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, clerical conventions that combined categories of poultry—small birds and various birds—obscure the exact composition of birds that were received on those days. Other popular varieties of bird that might be included in catchall classifications could include dove, pigeon, pheasant, and partridge, since they also appear with some frequency in the other accounts.¹¹²

Fewer poultry and game animals are mentioned explicitly in our French sources, though they held a similar place of importance in daily menus as seen in English noble households. In the household of Humphrey II, the 1336 *Ordonnance* indicates that hens and smaller chickens played the most important role of all types of poultry and game in terms of daily meat-day dining habits. At dinner time on Sundays, in addition to the fresh pork roasts noted earlier, Humbert's table was also served with either "one large hen" (*una gallina grossa*), or "two smaller hens"

¹¹⁰ BL Add. Roll 63207, original Latin transcription printed as "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337", *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 177-223; appendix II.I; spreadsheet.

¹¹¹ Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office MS DR/37/Box 73, original Latin transcription printed as "Household Accounts and Receiver's Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433-1434", *Household Accounts*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 453-431; appendix II.II; spreadsheet.

¹¹² NA E 101/350/11, original Latin transcription printed as "Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle, Including Those for the Household of Eleanor of Brittany, 7 June 1225 to 6 March 1226", *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 126-150; BL Add. Roll 63207, original Latin transcription printed as "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337", *Household Accounts*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 177-223; appendix II.I; spreadsheet; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office MS DR/37/Box 73, original Latin transcription printed as "Household Accounts and Receiver's Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433-1434", *Household Accounts*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, 453-431; appendix II.II; spreadsheet.

(*aut duobus pullis parvis*), if larger ones were not available.¹¹³ Humbert's table was not the only one at which hens were served; Humbert's military household (*militibus simplicibus*) was also served one large or two small hens and roast pork, while the ecclesiastical household (*capellanis nostris, religiosis et aliis ac clericis nostrae*) received either one hen, two smaller hens, or a portion of pork.¹¹⁴ All lesser servants received fresh pork without any poultry (*sine gallinis et pullis*).¹¹⁵ At supper time on Sundays, the ordinance specified that Humbert and his military household were to receive a hen in pastry (*in quolibet pasticio fit una gallina magna*), while the household received only roasted pork and the course of fruit and cheese that was included in Sunday nights' suppers.¹¹⁶ Poultry was not served on every meat day. On Mondays, no poultry was served, it was substituted with the simple pea soup with salt meat, as well as roasts of beef and mutton that were served in the varying amounts outlined earlier. Although not every meat day menu included hens and small chickens, when they were served they were served to a variety of the upper tables within the household. Other *comptes de bouche*¹¹⁷ indicate similar meat-day reliance on poultry. Duke John II of Burgundy's household was served 213 capons on Tuesday 12 August 1404, as noted above, and earlier in 1384 John's household received anywhere from sixty to more than five hundred on a single day.¹¹⁸

Overall, poultry was a highly important, regular element of late medieval French and English great household dietary regimes. Price disparity in poultry between the two kingdoms seems to have resulted in greater consumption of poultry across more social strata in England. In

¹¹³ "Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine" [1336], *Histoire de Dauphiné*, 311.

¹¹⁴ "Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine" [1336], *Histoire de Dauphiné*, 311.

¹¹⁵ "Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine" [1336], *Histoire de Dauphiné*, 311.

¹¹⁶ "Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine" [1336], *Histoire de Dauphiné*, 311.

¹¹⁷ "Diet accounts" or financial records that recorded spending on food, drink, and related expenses. This was a separate form of account from the more commonly-known household account (*compte de l'hôtel*) in that household accounts recorded overall expenditures in all departments which.

¹¹⁸ Anon., "Extraits des escroes de l'hôtel" [1384], *Mémoires: Comptes rendus des travaux*, ed. Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Dijon (Dijon: Rabutot, 1859) 284–309.

France high prices seem to have resulted in greater reliance on quadruped meat in feeding the lower domestic *familia*, while at upper tables a more evenly proportioned reliance on poultry and quadruped meat was the norm in so far as ordinary meat-day cookery was concerned.

Vegetables

Vegetables occupy a somewhat ambiguous place in medieval historiography. It is universally accepted that poor and working households subsisted and relied upon larger proportions of vegetables than elites.¹¹⁹ While this is true, it has led to some understatement of their importance in noble households. There were two primary reasons: First, vegetables were often simply boiled or served raw, requiring little in the way of written instruction in recipe manuals. Second, they were often obtained at no up-front cost from kitchen and cottage gardens, thereby avoiding entry into households' financial accounts.

The role of the medieval kitchen garden cannot be underestimated, especially within the domestic sphere. Recent research is shedding light on the regularity with which even smaller property owners and tenants maintained plots of land on which to grow vegetables and herbs.¹²⁰ Some scholars, like Christopher Dyer, even go so far as to say that most property owners,

¹¹⁹ Terrance Scully offers particularly fine discussion of fruit and vegetable consumption within the noble household context, and the pitfalls of relying on cookbooks as sources for raw preparations, in Scully *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages*, 69–71; also see Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, 5–14; L. Moffett, “The Archaeology of Medieval Plant Foods,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 27–40; some scholars note that items like peas and beans increased in their production and consumption during the late thirteenth century in France and the late fourteenth century in England, see Alfio Cortonesi, “Self-Sufficiency and the Market: Rural and Urban Diet in the Middle Ages,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 268–274; Susan Pinkard, working from cookery manuals and associated literature, concluded that vegetables largely fell out of use in noble households during the High Middle Ages, with gradual reintroduction occurring until the mid-seventeenth century, see Susan Pinkard, “Fusion Food: Cooking in the Middle Ages,” in *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 13–21.

¹²⁰ Christopher Dyer, “Gardens and Garden Produce in Later Medieval England,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 27–40; Sylvia Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003) 11–16; 27–32.

peasants, and tenants—in England at least—maintained vegetables and herb gardens, even if they were on rented plots outside cities and towns where land was scarcer.¹²¹ Dyer’s findings are supported in the French context by Nicole Crossley-Holland’s study of the household victualling patterns present in *Ménagier*, who found that even small-time property owners such as *Ménagier* maintained urban households with garden space.¹²² Crossley-Holland estimated that his Paris garden was roughly three hundred to four hundred square yards, based on her work on the original manuscript.¹²³ She noted that between his estate outside the city and his city garden, *Ménagier*’s household had the following production-to-consumption arrangement:

sorrel, cabbage, spinach, lettuces, perpetual beet, squash, turnip, peas, broad beans, leek, parsnips, marjoram, sage, dittany, mint, clary, savoury, parsley, fennel, houseleek, borage, rosemary, basil, goose berries, raspberries, plums, cherries.	onion, shallot, garlic, carrot, mushroom, chestnut, tansy, bay leaf, licorice, celery, cress, mustard, pomegranate, orange, fig, lemon, peaches, apples, pears, quinces, walnuts, hazelnuts, almonds. ¹²⁴
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Table 4. Fruit and vegetables mentioned by *Ménagier* as growing either in his rural or city gardens, c.1390s.

Table 5. Fruit and vegetables called for in *Ménagier*’s cookery treatise but not grown in his garden, c.1390s.

The *Ménagier*’s household offers an interesting example of the inter-reliance on estate produce and market vendors for a post-Black Death, urban gentleman. He seemed to put greater effort into growing medicinal herbs and fruits than he did into growing items like onion, garlic, apples, and pears. Despite the importance of onions in *Ménagier*’s recipes and despite clearly owning enough property to grow some onions, it seems that he economized by focusing his estate’s agricultural activities on more substantial root vegetables with aromatic and medicinal fruits and herbs. Onions, garlic, pears, and apples likely required more effort to grow, by the *Ménagier*’s estimation, than they did to buy on his household’s income.

¹²¹ Dyer, “Gardens and Garden Produce,” *Food in Medieval England*, 33.

¹²² Nicole Crossley-Holland, “The Parisian Residence,” “The Paris Garden,” “The Home Farm,” “The Country Estate,” in *Living and Dining in Medieval Paris: The Household of a Fourteenth-Century Knight* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996) 11–40, 41–49, 50–54, 55–60.

¹²³ Crossley-Holland, 44.

¹²⁴ Chart based on Crossley-Holland, 41-49.

	Eleanor of Brittany Bristol Castle 1225–1226 ¹²⁵	Humbert II Château de Beauvoir-en- Royans 1336 ¹²⁶	Katherine de Norwich Suffolk/Norfolk 1336–1337 ¹²⁷	Alice de Bryene, Suffolk 1412– 1413 ¹²⁸	William de Mountford Warwickshire 1433–1434 ¹²⁹
beans	X	X			
cabbage			X		
chickpea		X			
garlic	X				
onion	X		X		
peas	X	X		X	
scallion	X				
skirret			X		
turnip		X			

Table 6. Medieval English great household vegetable consumption according to diet accounts, 1225–1434.

Similar patterns of consumption can be found within our medieval groups of accounts, though interpretation of the findings must be done with caution. We know that legumes and turnips appeared weekly in Humbert II’s *Ordinance* of 1336, with Saturday’s bean soups even garnished with onions and olive oil.¹³⁰ Similarly, in the 1336 de Norwich account, Katherine’s household only recorded payment for onions four times over the course of the year. This is not because they rarely consumed onion, but rather that there were times during the year when the de

¹²⁵ NA E 101/350/11, original Latin transcription printed as “Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle, Including Those for the Household of Eleanor of Brittany, 7 June 1225 to 6 March 1226,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 126–150.

¹²⁶ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336,” in *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins*, T. II, ed. Jean-Pierre Moret de Bourchenu Valbonnais (Geneva: Fabri & Barrillot, 1722) 308–318.

¹²⁷ BL Add. Roll 63207, original Latin transcription printed as “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 177–223.

¹²⁸ NA C47/4/8/B, as well as the English translation in Anon., *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412–1413*, ed. M.K. Dale & V.B. Redstone (Ipswich: W.E. Harrison, 1931).

¹²⁹ Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office MS DR/37/Box 73, original Latin transcription printed as “Household Accounts and Receiver’s Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 431–453.

¹³⁰ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336,” in *Histoire de Dauphiné*, T.II, 312–313.

Norwich gardens did not produce vegetables, notably late autumn and winter, when all of the onion ordering occurred.¹³¹ Peas, beans, and onions were the vegetables that were shared with most frequency within our group, based on surviving textual sources. Or, at least, these were the vegetables whose consumption was shared most commonly among our accounts. Other vegetables like turnip and cabbage were likely consumed almost universally in our great households, though their popularity as common garden plants might obscure their frequencies as found within the accounts. Turnip was widely cultivated across Europe since the Roman period, so it is likely that it often found its way into more households than that of Humbert II, though it does not appear in others of our specific group of accounts.¹³² More surprising is the skirret consumed in January in the de Norwich household, once on the Feast of Epiphany (6 January 1336) and once on 20 January 1336 for the anniversary of the death of Katherine's husband, Walter de Norwich (*in anniversario domini Walteri de Norwyc*).¹³³ Most sources note the use of skirret in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries after more varieties arrived from Asia, though there are few if any documentary sources of its use between the fall of the Roman Empire and the sixteenth century.¹³⁴ Katherine's diet account is one of the few sources in which skirret-use is recorded during that period, and due to its cheap price at 1–2 d. each time it was ordered, we can assume that at least one variety was being cultivated somewhere close to Katherine's estates during the early fourteenth century. Curiously, no varieties of carrot appear in the accounts.

¹³¹ Appendix II.I; also see spreadsheet.

¹³² "Turnip," in *The Penguin Food Companion*, ed. Alan Davidson, originally published as *The Oxford Companion to Food*, 1999 (New York: Penguin, 2002) 977–978.

¹³³ "Die Lune in sequenti in festo Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani" in "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337," in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 204.

¹³⁴ Woolgar also agrees with the definition of "skyrewycz" as "skirret" (*sisum sisarum*); Joan Thirsk notes the arrival of two varieties of skirret from John Locke to his relative, Edward Clarke, during the 1680s in Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500–1760* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007) 129, 179, 288; the *Penguin Companion* notes that skirret is first described by a European in 1542, though the vegetable itself seems older, see "Skirret," *Penguin Companion*, 870.

Overall, vegetable use in the medieval great household tradition is somewhat overlooked. While meat and fish were important elements of the aristocratic diet, we can say with certainty that some of the most elite nobles of fourteenth-century France, like Humbert II, furnished all of their tables with vegetables on many days each week. In addition to ordinary dining, vegetables also played a special role in the de Norwich household at feasts and anniversaries, even though the menus on those days were already quite large. Just as in other areas of food consumption, when it came to vegetables, our medieval French and English great household cooks used vegetables enthusiastically in order to add variety in flavour, colour, and texture to offset some of the emphasis on meat consumption.

Fruit

Fruit consumption within the medieval great household context occupies a similar place to that of vegetable in terms of its ambiguity in historiography. Apples, oranges, and pears appeared in one percent or less of recipes in *Ménagier de Paris*, even fewer recipes in *Viandier of Taillevent*.¹³⁵ Fruits appeared with higher frequency in English sources, with *Forme of Curye* containing around five percent of recipes calling for apple and around three percent of recipes calling for pear. However, these frequencies are comparatively low.¹³⁶ Preserved fruits appeared more frequently in *Forme*: thirteen percent of recipes called for raisins, six percent called for currants, and four percent called for figs. Terrance Scully makes the valid assertion that we must be careful about looking to cookbooks for an idea of rates of consumption of items that may, in fact, have regularly been consumed uncooked.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Calculations based on the sources examined in Chapter One.

¹³⁶ Calculations based on the sources examined in Chapter One.

¹³⁷ Scully *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages*, 69–71.

	Eleanor of Brittany Bristol Castle 1225–1226 ¹³⁸	Humbert II Château de Beauvoir-en- Royans 1336 ¹³⁹	Katherine de Norwich Suffolk/Norfolk 1336–1337 ¹⁴⁰	Alice de Bryene, Suffolk 1412– 1413 ¹⁴¹	William de Mountford Warwickshire 1433–1434 ¹⁴²
apple	X		X		
date			X	X	X
fig			X	X	
“fruit”		X			
pear			X		X
raisin			X	X	

Table 7. Medieval English great household fruit consumption, 1225–1434.

Our accounts reveal that fruit did, indeed, play an important role in great household provisioning strategies. In the household of Humbert II, the 1336 *Ordinance* ordered fruit to be served as the second course at supper time on Sundays; in this case it was served along with cheese to the entire household (*omnibus in hospitio nostro et tenello comedentibus de caseo et fructibus*).¹⁴³ In the de Norwich accounts we can see that, like vegetables, fruits were purchased during the winter and spring because Katherine’s own stores of apples and fruits from the summer had likely been depleted. Information about fresh fruit consumption is less forthcoming from other accounts. As Scully noted, there is no way to know for certain whether or not apples and pears were consumed raw, and unfortunately there is no form of notation in the accounts that

¹³⁸ NA E 101/350/11, original Latin transcription printed as “Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle, including those for the Household of Eleanor of Brittany, 7 June 1225 to 6 March 1226,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 126–150.

¹³⁹ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336,” in *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins*, T. II, ed. Jean-Pierre Moret de Bourchenu Valbonnais (Geneva: Fabri & Barrillot, 1722) 308–318.

¹⁴⁰ BL Add. Roll 63207, original Latin transcription printed as “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 177–223.

¹⁴¹ NA C47/4/8/B, as well as the English translation in Anon., *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412–1413*, ed. M.K. Dale & V.B. Redstone (Ipswich: W.E. Harrison, 1931).

¹⁴² Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office MS DR/37/Box 73, original Latin transcription printed as “Household Accounts and Receiver’s Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 453–431.

¹⁴³ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336,” *Histoire de Dauphiné*, T. II, 311.

can tell us how they were processed once arriving in the kitchen. One would assume that people of all estates had experienced the joy of picking fresh fruits and berries in the summer, so it seems likely that at least some of the apples and pears recorded in the accounts were consumed in their fresh state. The fragrant, sweet, and tart flavours offered by fresh fruits were almost certainly attractive to medieval Europeans, given what we already know about the ways that they combined ingredients in recipe collections.

Unlike fresh fruit, varieties of preserved fruits were recorded in most of our English accounts. Dates appeared once in the Mountford account of 1433; figs, dates, and raisins appeared between three to five times in the 1336 de Norwich account, while the de Bryene household recorded receiving six pounds of dates, four pounds of figs, and two pounds of raisins in the 1413 account.¹⁴⁴ Dried fruits were likely used in cakes, biscuits, and braised dishes, though they may also have been used for garnishing porridges, blanchmanges and so on. Since they were grown and processed outside England, one would expect to see more frequent payment for dried fruits as opposed to fresh, local fruits. (Figs were the product of northern Africa and the eastern Mediterranean,¹⁴⁵ dates were products of the same regions as well as southern Spain,¹⁴⁶ while raisins could be imported from anywhere around the Mediterranean.)¹⁴⁷ The only fruit that was regularly consumed dried and indigenous to England was the currant.¹⁴⁸

There is one final aspect of fruit consumption within our particular group of households that should be mentioned: the department of the *fruiterie*¹⁴⁹ in French great households. The Archives nationales in Paris holds a number of French royal household ordinances dating from 1286 to 1316 (series JJ 57). Almost all of the MS in series JJ 57 outline the existence of a

¹⁴⁴ Appendix II.I; appendix II.II; Anon., *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412–1413*, 137.

¹⁴⁵ “Fig,” *Penguin Companion*, 355–356.

¹⁴⁶ “Date,” *Penguin Companion*, 292–293.

¹⁴⁷ “Raisin,” *Penguin Companion*, 779.

¹⁴⁸ “Currants,” *Penguin Companion*, 283–284.

¹⁴⁹ The department of the French royal household that oversaw fruit and vegetable service.

fruiterie department, which was subordinate to the kitchen and specially outfitted for the preparing and serving of fruit and cheese as well as the side task of distributing candles to the household. In the 1285 *Ordinance* of Philip IV, the fruiterie had six staff members, including a *fruiter*, two *sommeliers*, three *aideurs* (assistants), and a wagon driver for the running of errands.¹⁵⁰ In the *Ordinance* of 1316 of Philip V, the size of the department had risen to more than ten.¹⁵¹ In the household of Humbert II, the office of fruiterie was also among the offices that supported the kitchen, as the *super officio fructuaria* (supervisor of the *fruiterie*), and was staffed by a *magister fructuarius* (master fruiter) and a number of *somellerius et valletus* (*sommeliers* and helpers).¹⁵² Here, again, the primary job of the fruiterie was in distributing fruit to the household, with the secondary task of overseeing distribution of candles and torches to the household.¹⁵³

The existence of the fruiterie across so many different households is, in itself, evidence that there was daily demand for fruit preparation and distribution within medieval French great households. The composition of their tasks may also shed some light on Scully's questions surrounding consumption of raw fruit: Since the fruiterie was responsible for distribution of candles, one would expect that the department was free of large ovens, stoves, and other heat-producing equipment, or candle and tallow storage would become more difficult. In addition, the *porte chappes* (cooks) that staffed the kitchen and bakery in the ordinances were not listed among the workers of the fruiterie. It is most likely that the fruiterie did not cook fruit in the form of pies or confitures but rather distributed fresh fruit, cheeses, candles, and possibly portioned and served fruit tarts and jams that had been produced in other areas of the kitchen.

¹⁵⁰ "Ordonnance de l'hôtel P^h roy" [1285], AN JJ/57/ff. 3–4.

¹⁵¹ "C'est l'ordenance de l'ostel P^h. roy de France" [1316], AN JJ/57/ff.57.

¹⁵² "Ordinatio qua varia officiorum genera domo Dalphinali" [1340], *Histoire de Dauphiné*, T. II, 394.

¹⁵³ "Ordinatio" [1340], *Histoire de Dauphiné*, T. II, 394.

Fruit consumption, like that of vegetables, was recorded infrequently in accounts. Despite this, the existence of the fruiterie in French great households, the varieties of fresh and dried fruits recorded in English diet accounts indicate that fruit was an important element of dining regimens in the households of the late medieval French and English elite. Although rarely mentioned in cookery manuals, household ordinances and accounts do offer some insight into their use in varying the menu and the high regard in which medieval diners held their sweet, tart flavours.

Spices & Aromatics

Spices are among the most celebrated elements of the medieval elite table. As we saw in the first chapter, spices were associated with wealth, culture, the Late International Gothic culinary aesthetic, the Crusades, and were very often used in medicinal salves and balms.¹⁵⁴ Studies of their use have confirmed that they were central to late medieval cookery texts, though there is little examination of spice consumption within individual households.¹⁵⁵ In these cases, our accounts reveal some perplexing findings.

¹⁵⁴ Eliyahu Ashtor, "Spice Prices in the Near East in the Fifteenth Century," in *Studies on the Levantine Trade in the Middle Age: Collected Essays of Eliyahu Ashtor* (London: Variorum, 1978) 26–41; Ashtor, "The Volume of Mediaeval Spice Trade," *Journal of European Economic History* 9.3 (1980): 753–763; Paul Freedman, "Spices and Medieval Cuisine," in *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2008) 19–49; Mary O'Regan, "Medieval Spices and Spice Accounts," *The Ricardian: Journal of the Richard III Society* 5:68 (1980): 164–169; Johanna Maria van Winter, "A Sixteenth-Century Cookery Book: MS. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 476," in *Spices and Comfits: Collected Papers on Medieval Food*, ed. Johanna Maria van Winter (Blackawton: Prospect Books, 2007) 221–246; Mary Wondrausch, "Spice Containers and Salt Containers," in *Spicing Up the Palate: Studies of Flavourings, Ancient and Modern, Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, 1992*, ed. Harlan Walker (Chippenham, Wiltshire: Prospect Books, 1992) 285–289.

¹⁵⁵ A notable exception to the lack of scholarship in this area is Miranda Threlfal-Holmes, "Durham Cathedral Priory's Consumption of Imported Goods: Wine and Spices, 1464–1520," in *Revolution and Consumption in Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2001) 141–158.

	Eleanor of Brittany Bristol Castle 1225–1226 ¹⁵⁶	Katherine de Norwich Suffolk/Norfolk 1336–1337 ¹⁵⁷	Alice de Bryene, Suffolk 1412–1413 ¹⁵⁸	William de Mountford Warwickshire 1433–1434 ¹⁵⁹
cinnamon	X	X	X	
cloves		X	X	
ginger		X	X	
mace			X	
mustard seed			X	
pepper	X	X	X	
red sanders		X		
saffron		X	X	
sugar		X	X	

Table 8. Medieval English great household spices mentioned in medieval household group, 1225–1434.

Many accounts included no mention of spices. The 1433–34 Mountford account and the 1225–26 diet account of Eleanor of Brittany contained little to no mention of spices. While the diet account of the de Norwich household did contain mention of greater varieties of spice, their arrival was clustered around times of the year when celebratory preparations were happening: Christmas (December 22), and the anniversary of the death of Walter de Norwich (January 20). There was also an unexplained day on February 10.¹⁶⁰ Of the spices most commonly consumed, the de Norwich household received ginger eight times between 1336 and 1337, sugar three times, and the other spices listed in the chart above only once or twice.¹⁶¹ Some accounts offer annual

¹⁵⁶ NA E 101/350/11, original Latin transcription printed as “Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle, Including Those for the Household of Eleanor of Brittany, 7 June 1225 to 6 March 1226”, *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 126-150.

¹⁵⁷ BL Add. Roll 63207, original Latin transcription printed as “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337”, *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 177-223.

¹⁵⁸ NA C47/4/8/B, as well as the English translation in Anon., *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412-1413*, ed. M.K. Dale & V.B. Redstone (Ipswich: W.E. Harrison, 1931).

¹⁵⁹ Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office MS DR/37/Box 73, original Latin transcription printed as “Household Accounts and Receiver’s Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434,” in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 431–453.

¹⁶⁰ See spreadsheet.

¹⁶¹ See spreadsheet.

totals of spices consumed which offer greater insight into actual consumption rates. The clerk that created the 1412–1413 de Bryene account noted the following annual spice consumption rates:

pepper	lbs.	5
saffron	“	$\frac{3}{4}$
ginger	“	$2\frac{1}{2}$
cinnamon	“	3
mace	“	$1\frac{1}{4}$
cloves	“	$1\frac{1}{4}$

Table 9. Annual Spice Consumption de Bryene Household, Suffolk, 1412–1413.¹⁶²

The volumes of spice listed in the de Bryene account might move us closer to understanding average volumes of spice use in the medieval English great household context. Some items, like cinnamon, may have found more universal use in pottages, roasts, porridges, and sweets, so we should not allow the three-pound weight to surprise us, especially if the kitchen was feeding about fifty persons twice daily, 365 days per year. Similarly with pepper, five pounds is quite modest if we consider the size of her household and the number of meals the kitchen produced over the course of the year. The nearly one pound of saffron consumed over the year, however, does speak to some level of luxury within Alice’s household.

The spices consumed in our accounts did come from the core group of Late International Gothic seasonings identified in the first chapter. It seems that the average English great household, even in the fifteenth century, subsisted on a relatively small selection of spices. While the quantities they consumed may have been remarkable—especially the three pounds of cinnamon consumed in the de Bryene household—the varieties of spice represented in our accounts are far fewer than the varieties included in cookery manuals of the period. *Viandier of Taillevent’s* spices included ginger, saffron, cinnamon, grains of paradise, cloves, pepper,

¹⁶² Anon., *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412–1413*, 137.

nutmeg, cumin, galingale, and mace; *Forme of Curye*'s selection of spices was even greater: salt, saffron, ginger, pepper, cloves, galingale, mace, sandalwood, anise, cubebs, cumin, grains of paradise, and mustard.¹⁶³ Certainly some diet accounts do not reflect actual spice consumption rates within their associated household, though the ones that do list annual volumes indicate that only a small selection of the spices used in cookbooks—centring on cinnamon, ginger, clove, nutmeg, and pepper—were necessary for ordinary daily seasoning requirements in the average noble household.

While our accounts represent the most basic of spices usually understood to be used by medieval cooks, the varieties listed even in the most thorough account—the de Bryene household—paled in comparison to the varieties of spices included in the typical cookery manual of the period. It seems that recipe collections present tours de force of spice use intended to impress diners, while on a more ordinary basis, cooks made due with less piquant preparations.

Drinks & Cooking Liquids

Ale and wine consumption have been popular topic of study among medieval dietary historians.¹⁶⁴ Most studies point to the primary importance of ale, beer, and cider to working peasants of northern Europe, while in southern Europe elites and peasants more commonly drank wine. Northern elites imported wine.¹⁶⁵

In terms of drink provision within the French and English great household, the kitchen proper was not in charge of drink provision. Instead, the closely associated departments of the

¹⁶³ These are select lists; there are more spices in each collection.

¹⁶⁴ Richard Unger, "The Mature Industry: Levels of Production," "The Mature Industry: Levels of Consumption," in *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) 107–125, 126–142; Barbara Hanawalt, "Silkwomen, Brewsters, and Guilds," in *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 177–182; Threlfal-Holmes, "Durham Cathedral Priory's Consumption ... Wine and Spices, 1464–1520," 141–158; Scully, "Beverages," in *Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages*, 137–165; Weiss Adamson, "Beverages," *Food in Medieval Times*, 48–54.

¹⁶⁵ Susan Rose, *The Wine Trade in Medieval Europe 1000–1500* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

buttery in English great households, and the *eschançonnerie*¹⁶⁶ in French great households, were the departments charged with dispensing drink. The words “buttery” or “*eschançonnerie*” could be used to refer interchangeably to the overall departments of drink provision or to the areas of the household in which drink was stored and served. Known as cellars, massive wooden butts, or pipes, if wine and ale were stored there, and sometimes the “pycher-house”, or cup-house, if drink was portioned out for service in the hall. Under Edward IV, the offices under control of the *Butler of England*¹⁶⁷ were listed as the office of purveyor of wines,¹⁶⁸ the cellarer,¹⁶⁹ the buttery of ale,¹⁷⁰ the pitcher and cup houses,¹⁷¹ and the office of ale-takers.¹⁷² In the French royal household the *Grand bouteiller et échançon de France*¹⁷³ occupied a nearly synonymous position to the Butler of England, with a similar variety of *eschançons*¹⁷⁴, *clers de l'eschançonnerie*¹⁷⁵, *barilliers*¹⁷⁶, *boutiers*¹⁷⁷, *potiers*¹⁷⁸, as well *la charrete*¹⁷⁹ for running errands.¹⁸⁰

¹⁶⁶ The department of the French royal household that oversaw drink service.

¹⁶⁷ Chief officer of beverage provision for the entire household, Anon., “Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV” [c.1467], *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary*, Society of Antiquaries, ed. unknown (London: John Nichols, 1790)73–74.

¹⁶⁸ In charge of sourcing and organizing wine deliveries, *Liber Niger*, 74-75.

¹⁶⁹ Oversaw the cellars where wine was stored; a sergeant of the office served wine to the king directly at meals. *Liber Niger*, 75-77.

¹⁷⁰ In charge of receiving and storing ale and beer *Liber Niger*, 77-78.

¹⁷¹ In charge of receiving daily allotments of wine and ale from the buttery and cellar, keeping of pitchers and cups, and arranging of any linens related to the office, *Liber Niger*, 78.

¹⁷² In charge of arranging for beer and ale deliveries to the royal household; it seems that the royal household outsourced at least some of its brewing requirements, *Liber Niger*, 79.

¹⁷³ Great Cupbearer of France

¹⁷⁴ Minor Cupbearer

¹⁷⁵ Clerks for Recordkeeping

¹⁷⁶ Cellarers

¹⁷⁷ Servants who obtain wine and ale from the cellars

¹⁷⁸ Drink store guards

¹⁷⁹ Wagon Driver

¹⁸⁰ Spelling and exact organization of the department expanded over the centuries, but this was the basic organization established under Philip IV in 1286. The department expanded significantly under Philip V in the early fourteenth century. *Ordonnance de l'Hôtel* [1286], Philippe IV, AN JJ 57 F. 1-1. The department is also mentioned as part of the household of Duchess Mary of Burgundy (r.1477–1482) in *Les mémoires de messire Olivier de la Marche*, T. 10, ed. M. Petitot (Paris: Foucalt, 1825) 311. For a comprehensive outline of the office see Pierre de Guibours, “*Histoire généalogique et chronologique des Grands bouteillers et échançons de France*”, *Histoire généalogique de la maison royale de la France et des grands officiers de la couronne*, , T.VIII, 3rd ed. (Paris: La compagnie des libraires associez, 1733) 513–602.

Wine was the only drink represented in our French group of households. In Humbert II's household, the 1340 *Ordinance* recorded three types of wine: the highest grade wine for Humbert and his guests (*vinum videlicet de boucha pro persona nostra, et aliis in mensa nostra*), wine for the tables of knights (*vinum pro tenello, pro aliis militibus*), and other wine for servants (*vinum alterius generis pro familia*).¹⁸¹ The account did not mention beer at all. Similarly, the 1380 *Comptes de l'hôtel* of Charles VI mentioned frequent arrivals of wine (*vin*) from royal domains as well as from a number of convents near Paris: the nuns of the Abbay de Saussaie in Villejuif and the nuns of the Abbaye Notre-Dame du Val-de-Gif, both in Île-de-France, regularly sent wine to the royal household, likely produced in their own vineyards and sent into Paris by way of the Mérantaise, Orge, and Seine rivers.¹⁸² While there were numerous other sources of wine, the royal *eschanson* does not seem to have received any ale or beer in the 1380 account; like the household of Humbert II, the French royal household seems to have relied exclusively on wine as the drink of choice at meal times.

Unlike the French, our English great households largely relied on ale or beer.¹⁸³ The 1225–1226 account of Eleanor of Brittany at Bristol Castle recorded the amount of ale (*cervisia*) served at each meal, though wine was served to the entire household on feast days. For example, on an ordinary day such as Tuesday 17 December 1225, the household received 6d. worth of ale but no wine, yet ,on Christmas, 1225, ale was not received but six sesters, or about seventy gallons,¹⁸⁴ of wine was received for 5s. (*in vi sex. vini vs.*).¹⁸⁵ In the de Norwich household between 1336 and 1337, beer was the primary drink of choice on most days, including

¹⁸¹ “Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336”, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, T. II, 314.

¹⁸² Anon. [1380], “Dismes de pain et de vin,” *Comptes de l'hotel des rois de France aux xiv et xve siècles*, 39–41.

¹⁸³ The usual term for beer and

¹⁸⁴ Calculation based on Ronald Edward Zupko “Sester,” *A Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles: The Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985) 373–375.

¹⁸⁵ “Die jovis scilicet die Natalis Domini,” “Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle ... 1225–1226,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 144.

Christmas, although wine was received during Lent on 13 and 15 March 1336.¹⁸⁶ In this case, there seems not to be any pattern of significance to the receipt of wine. In fact, *vino aceto*¹⁸⁷ was received more often than wine in the de Norwich household.¹⁸⁸

By the fifteenth century there seems to have been increasing consumption of wine in English noble households. The 1412–1413 account of the de Bryene household listed wine and ale service on each day and even noted the varieties of wine held in store in the household cellars: red wine, white wine, Malmsey (*Malvasia*), and Rumney, or Greek, wine.¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately, though the clerk did prepare an entry to list the total amounts of ale and wine consumed within the household over the course of the year, he did not return to the entries to add the final measures once confirming them.

Dairy products were not universally consumed throughout medieval Europe. Hieatt has even asserted that use of almond milk was declining during fifteenth century; previously used in place of milk during fasts.¹⁹⁰ Depending on local livestock husbandry patterns, milk consumption varied between that of cattle, sheep, and ewe. Since milk in its raw state could not travel far, cheeses made from most types of milk were popular in many places throughout Europe.¹⁹¹ Woolgar asserts that cheese, butter, and cream consumption spread in popularity throughout

¹⁸⁶ “Die jovis in crastino Sancti Gregorii pape” [March 13] & “Die sabatti” [March 15], “Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle ... 1225-1226,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 216.

¹⁸⁷ Vinegar

¹⁸⁸ See spreadsheet.

¹⁸⁹ Anon., “Provision of diverse victuals for the household”, *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412–1413*, 119.

¹⁹⁰ Constance Hieatt, “Milk: Almond vs. Cow in Medieval English Courtly Cookery,” in *The Cooking Medium: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery*, 1986, ed. Tom Jaine (London: Prospect Books, 1986) 70–73.

¹⁹¹ C. M. Woolgar, “Meat and Dairy Products in Late Medieval England,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 88–101; Ken Albala, “Dairy,” in *The Banquet: Dining in the Great Courts of Late Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007) 45–55; Bruno Laurioux, “Mangeurs de beurre et buveurs de lait,” in *Manger au Moyen Âge: Pratiques et Discours Alimentaires en Europe aux XIVe et XVe Siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 2009) 27–29.

England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁹² Although it rarely appeared in most of our accounts, milk was occasionally ordered specifically for the kitchen (*lacte pro coquina*) in the 1336 de Norwich account. There is no indication of what the milk was used for in these cases. Milk was not mentioned in any of the medieval French accounts.

Overall our accounts reveal limited but valuable insight into the beverage consumption habits of a small group of medieval French and English great households. Although some patterns were predictable—the French relied on wine more than ale, for example—other trends were more surprising. The de Norwich household’s more regular receipt of vinegar than wine points to a preference for ale as opposed to a compelling desire to obtain wine; Katherine’s household was well stocked with wine on occasion, but ale was the primary drink of choice on more than ninety-five percent of days mentioned in the account. It seems that the English simply enjoyed ale as a daily drink more than wine; whereas it seems that the French either did not enjoy beer or did not see the need to go to all of the effort of brewing when good vineyards were within easy reach of the household. Overall, both regions seem to have been highly particular about the types of drinks they consumed but highly practical in the manners through which they were obtained and served.

Bread

Bread provision has received some attention in historiography.¹⁹³ Despite the coverage that bread consumption has received, scholars rarely discuss bread service in the great household context.

¹⁹² Woolgar, “Meat and Dairy,” *Food in Medieval England*, 95.

¹⁹³ Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, “The History of Bread and Cakes,” in *A History of Food* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley, 2009) 201–222; William Rubel, “Bread as a Social Marker,” in *Bread: A Global History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011) 39–58; Steven L. Kaplan, “White Bread: A Western Story,” in *Good Bread Is Back: A Contemporary History of French Bread* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press) 100–121; Weiss Adamson,

Like drink provision, bread provision was departmentalized in French and English great households. In the French royal household, baking and bread service for the king's table (*bouche*), the royal retainers and servants (*commun*), and the City of Paris itself were united under the office of the *Grand Panetier de France*.¹⁹⁴ As early as the late thirteenth century, the *paneterie* of the French royal household was divided into a variety of departments, some of which included pantlers, napkinry, chief bakers, bakers, wafer makers, a laundress of the napkins, and a wagon driver for running errands.¹⁹⁵ More complex variations on these arrangements existed with the *maison du roi* until the office was disbanded during the French Revolution. In England, the duties of baking and bread service were divided into three departments, all independent of the kitchen: the bake house, whose sergeant was in charge of “purveyors” who procured wheat, bakers, and other ministers of the bakery; the pantry, whose charge was also given to a sergeant, employed officers tasked with “mynistration and issueing” of bread to the household and monarch; and the wafery, which was responsible for providing sweet wafers and Eucharistic bread.¹⁹⁶

“Grains,” *Food in Medieval Times*, 1–5; Sylvia Lettice Thrupp, *A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Bakers of London* (Morgantown, W.V.: Galleon Press, 1933).

¹⁹⁴ From Fr. “*pain*” or “bread”; Since the High Middle Ages, the *paneterie* of the French royal household was overseen by an officer known as the *panetier de France* or the *grand panetier*. In addition to oversight of the royal bakeries, from 1333–1711, the grand panetiers' control also extended to the city bakeries of Paris. In this capacity they had the task of maintaining an office through which they could regulate the craft within the city setting prices for bread, admitting masters and apprentices, and maintaining a jury of masters that could oversee the *ordeals* or tests bakers had to undergo to progress from apprentice through to journeyman and master. See Anselm de Guibours, “Histoire généalogique et chronologique des Grands Panetiers de France,” in *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, et des grands officiers de la couronne*, T.VIII (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires Associez, 1733) 603–682. Also see Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, 221.

¹⁹⁵ *panetiers, somelier des napes et valet, galerans des napes, portes chapes, pastoiers, oubloiers, lavendiere des napes, charreste de la paneterie*, see *Ordonnance de l'Hôtel* [1286], Philippe IV, AN JJ 57 F. 1-1

¹⁹⁶ The kitchen, bake house, pantry, and wafery all reported directly to the counting house, or central accountancy bureau of the English royal household, across the late medieval and early modern periods. The kitchen had its own clerks for making accountancy records and reports to the counting house, but the bake house and pantry reported directly to the counting house through their sergeants. See *Liber Niger* of Edward IV, *A Collection of Ordinances*, 68-73; also see the “Eltham Ordinance” [1526], *A Collection of Ordinances*, 140.

Various types of bread existed in medieval and early modern Europe. In fact, the *Assize of Bread* of 1267 mentioned no less than five different types of bread: wastel,¹⁹⁷ simnel,¹⁹⁸ bultel,¹⁹⁹ cocket,²⁰⁰ and treat.²⁰¹ Additionally, trenchers, or thick slices of dried bread, were often used as dining plates.²⁰² Within our great households, various of these grades of bread were represented and distributed to individuals based on rank and occupation. In the 1336 *Ordinance* of Humbert II, Humbert's table was served with four manchet loaves and eight trenchers every day (*in prandio serviatur nobis pro persona nostra de quatuor panibus albis de bocha ... et de octo panibus parvis ... pro incisorio faciendo*).²⁰³ Since the ordinance specified that manchet was to weigh one pound, we can be assured that Humbert did not consume all of the bread placed before him; some twelve pounds of bread per meal in total. Instead, the loaves were usually arranged near his place and would have been sliced by a *panetier* as Humbert requested; trenchers would have been placed before him to dine from as the meal progressed and to allow servants to perform the various assays that punctuated royal meals.²⁰⁴ Barons, other nobles, clerks, and the domestic *familia* were ordered only to receive two manchet loaves and four trenchers (*duo panes albi de boucha, et quatuor panes parvi pro incisorio faciendo*).²⁰⁵ Despite all of the other meats, eggs, and vegetables consumed in Humbert's household, bread was still an

¹⁹⁷ Also called "manchet"; white bread made from fine white flour.

¹⁹⁸ A cake still eaten at Easter time in the U.K., made from a spiced, fruit-garnished batter baked around a layer of marzipan.

¹⁹⁹ Unknown.

²⁰⁰ Unknown; possibly biscuit.

²⁰¹ Anon. [c.1267], "*Assisa Cervisie*," in *The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third, in Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain*, vol. I (London: Record Commission, 1810–1828) 199–200.

²⁰² Trenchers could also be made from wood; when made from bread, they were often gathered by the almoner and distributed to the poor after the meal, see Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, 166–170.

²⁰³ We know that *parvis* refers to the grade rather than the size, since the ordinance specified that both grades of bread are to be issued in the form of one-pound loaves (*fit ponderis unius librae cum dimidia vel circa*), see "Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336," *Histoire de Dauphiné*, T. II, 313.

²⁰⁴ The ceremony of assay was used in most royal households and involved a series of taste-tests wherein bread was dipped into sauces and touched to roasts and then consumed by the officers of the *bouche* in order to test for flavour and adulteration, see Peter Brears, *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* (Totnes, U.K.: Prospect Books, 2008) 474–482.

²⁰⁵ "Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336", *Histoire de Dauphiné*, T. II, 313.

important element of the meal and represented a large amount of work from the bakers' perspectives.

Our medieval English households show a similar pattern of two-grade bread provision, depending on the occasion and an individual's status. In the de Norwich household, manchet was usually reserved for the head tables except on major feasts and celebrations. On ordinary days, Katherine's household was supplied with bread baked from flour that had arrived from the de Norwich estates. On the January 21 anniversary of her husband's death, however, Katherine spent the extraordinary sum of 4 s. on two hundred manchet loaves for the poor (*in CC de gastellis pro pauperibus iiii.*) in addition to the household baker baking 420 loaves from a shipment of flour that was received from Katherine's manor at Howe, Norfolk, on the same day (*eodem die in pane furnito i qr. di frumenti de manero de Howe precium ix s. xxi^{xx} panes*).²⁰⁶ Additionally, Katherine's kitchen was occasionally supplied with bread (*pane pro coquina*), usually only amounting to 1 or 2 d. worth, which was likely used for small tasks like thickening sauces, making sops, and so on.²⁰⁷ In regards to bread, Katherine's household was far from exceptional; most accounts surveyed here included very regular receipt either of loaves of bread or flour for baking bread.²⁰⁸

Each great household surveyed here included large amounts of bread as a primary element of their dietary regimen. Although we usually associate the medieval nobleman's household with meat and game, bread was also a large portion of the diet and required a great

²⁰⁶ "Die Lune in sequenti in festo Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani" in "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337," *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 204.

²⁰⁷ We have met breadcrumb-thickened sauces and sops in our examination of the *Menagier's* recipes in the first chapter. Breadcrumbs were used as a thickening agent before roux became popular during the late seventeenth century, while sops were simply slices of bread fried with various seasonings, and served with varied combinations of broth, meat, and sauce.

²⁰⁸ The household of Eleanor of Brittany at Bristol Castle may have relied on outside vendors for bread. Bread is entered with a price each day, but large shipments of flour do not appear and the bread itself is simply listed as "pane". This could either be a cumulative price spent on baking bread that day, or a cumulative price that was paid to outside vendors for bread; it is impossible to know from the 1225-1226 account alone.

deal of skill in terms of always providing the right amount whether through household bakers or officials tasked with sourcing loaves from outside bakers.

Everyday Cookery vs. Feast-Day Cookery

Breakfast, lunch, and dinner entailed significantly different practices in the late medieval great household than we would associate with them today. Breakfast, usually in the form of bread, ale, and sometimes cheese, was likely consumed by most people, though some assert that its consumption was restricted to elites alone. Woolgar asserts that breakfast was rarely eaten by more than a select few, mostly masters of great households and upper officers, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although other scholars assert that most people would have eaten something before or shortly after beginning work for the day.²⁰⁹ The royal household may have had a cooked breakfast, Woolgar asserts, but only for the monarch.²¹⁰ Our modern breakfast classic—bacon and eggs—did exist by the fifteenth century, but it may not have been a breakfast dish. On 6 February 1434, the Mountford household ordered “eggs for bacon rashers” (*ovis emptis pro colops*), although the account does not reveal at which meal these were consumed.²¹¹

Dinner was the midday meal throughout the medieval period, usually consumed between 10am and 1pm, with most households usually completing dinner service by noon.²¹² In great households, this was the first meal of the day in which the household would assemble to consume cooked food. Preparations for dinner usually began between 5 to 7am, depending on the season, when household ordinances reveal that gatehouse staff was required to open the gates

²⁰⁹ Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, 155–156; Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, 87–88.

²¹⁰ Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, 87–88.

²¹¹ “*Colops*” is an ancient name for pork rashers, see Woolgar’s glossary.

²¹² Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, 87–88; Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, 155–157; Lauriou, *Manger au Moyen Âge*, 185–188.

and assume their posts in order to allow the household to receive victuals.²¹³ Between the same hours, bakery and kitchen assistants began the task of lighting ovens and laying fires in the hearth in so that fresh bread would be ready and the hearth hot enough to roast large volumes of meat for dinner. Since great households often had more staff than could fit in the great hall at once, or because some staff needed to serve while others ate, many households maintained two dinner services. When this happened, the first service of dinner could occur as early as 9am with the second beginning as late as 11am.²¹⁴

Supper was the later cooked meal of the day throughout medieval Europe. Again, in great households, supper was usually divided into two services, the earlier beginning at around 4pm and the second finishing by about 6pm.²¹⁵ Menus at lunch and dinner, as we saw in the first chapter, did not differ significantly. Whereas we would consider quiche and egg flans a dish for breakfast or brunch, dishes did not have a dinner or supper association during the medieval period. Supper, like dinner, consisted of usually two courses, both containing meat, bread, soup. After supper, servants would have had to clean the great hall and kitchen, wood and peat would need to be replenished in preparation for lighting the hearth and ovens in the morning, and ash and other garbage removed. After post-supper cleanup was completed, daylight hours were limited and servants were expected to be in bed by 8 or 9pm.²¹⁶ Great households usually closed their gates between 8 and 10pm each day.²¹⁷

On normal, non-celebratory days, medieval great household diet accounts reflect little in the way of extraordinary ingredients. Leading up to Christmas, 1225, Eleanor of Brittany's

²¹³ Woolgar, "Table 6," *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, 85. Most households ran on a summer cycle and winter cycle in terms of daily routines of servants. Earlier starts occurred in the summer when there were more daylight hours while later starts happened in the winter when the days were shorter.

²¹⁴ Woolgar, "Table 6," *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, 85.

²¹⁵ Woolgar, "Table 6," *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, 85.

²¹⁶ Woolgar, "Table 6," *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, 85.

²¹⁷ Woolgar, "Table 6," *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, 85.

household dined variously on meals of conger, haddock, hake, chicken, and wild fowl. Even when more expensive ingredients like chicken and wild fowl were included in the day's costs, their cost was exceeded by that of more mundane foodstuffs. On Sunday 22 December 1225, the expense for fowl was 4 d. and chicken 6 d.²¹⁸ On the same day, the household consumed 14 d. worth of eggs and 14 d. worth of conger, both items costing more in their own right than the combined total for fowl and hen and were likely for servants' and household officers' meals.²¹⁹ In the de Norwich household, residing at Mettingham in Suffolk for the Christmas season of 1336, the supplies for Sunday 22 December included supplies for consumption that day as well as stocks for use at the Christmas feast. For the day's meals on Sunday 22 December 1336, Katherine's household ordered fourteen hens, beef meat, and pork meat. Unlike Eleanor of Brittany's household, the de Norwich household did not mix fish and meat on that day.²²⁰ Extra supplies for the Christmas season also arrived on the December 22: two mutton from the Manor of Blackworth, 200 eggs, 1 s. worth of saffron, 4 d. worth of ginger, 12 d. worth of sugar, and six new strainers.²²¹

On feast days, the ingredients on offer increased both in terms of volume and variety. On Christmas day, Eleanor of Brittany offered her entire household 2s. 2d. in game birds plus apples, mead, wine, and eggs were received into the kitchen; the eggs may have been intended for an egg tart or some other substantial egg dish at dinner, while the apples might have been

²¹⁸ "Die dominica" [22 December], "Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle ...1225–1226," *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 144.

²¹⁹ "Die dominica" [22 December], "Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle ...1225–1226," *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 144.

²²⁰ "Die dominica" [22 December], "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337," *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 197.

²²¹ "Die dominica" [22 December], "Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337," *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 197.

made into a tart.²²² To ensure that her extra guests would have enough dining vessels, cups, pitchers, and bowls were ordered along with a kitchen axe for butchering meat.²²³

When feasts happened in the de Norwich household, Katherine made sure to host in impressive fashion. As the Christmas holidays of 1336 closed in, increasing numbers of guests arrived. On December 22, twenty-two guests (*extranei*) arrived in the household and required meals.²²⁴ This was up from the normal daily average of between two and six. On Christmas Eve the number of guests in the household jumped to forty, while on Christmas day Katherine hosted sixty-two guests in her household.²²⁵ To cope with the extra numbers and the celebratory nature of the meals, the kitchen increased the size of its daily orders, while gradually ordering extra equipment and luxury goods as needed. Despite the extra guests arriving on 22 December, the menu served does not seem to have been extraordinary: hen, beef, and pork. Large numbers in-house, then, did not necessarily mean that a feast was necessary; only larger volumes of daily victuals. On Christmas Eve, since it was the vigil of a major feast, the entire household fasted, consuming only red and pickled herring.²²⁶ Also on Christmas Eve, more ginger arrived in the

²²² “Die jovis scilicet die Natalis Domini,” “Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle ...1225–1226,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 144.

²²³ While certainly hosting an impressive and charitable feast for her household, especially with the primary meat being game birds, her accounts leading up to Christmas barely mention the many spices touted by recipe historians. Before Christmas, the only orders for spices occurred in early October when her household purchased 14 d. worth of saffron on 3 and 4 October, 5d. worth of pepper on 10 October, and 2 d. worth of pepper and cinnamon on 14 October. Since spices had to be bought, it would seem that these reserves were the spices used for dining throughout October, November, December, and January, for everyday cookery and for feasts such as All Saints, Christmas, and Epiphany. There may well have been larger stores of spices within the house, though there is no mention of them in the accounts. Spices were used for medicinal balms, salves, and so on so it is surprising that around 6d. of pepper and around 1d. of cinnamon would be sufficient for medicinal and culinary purposes over four months for a member of the royal household with her own domestic *familia*. Although Eleanor was held under house arrest, the household at Bristol was enlarged upon her arrival to maintain her in appropriate estate. Also see Woolgar, *Introduction to Eleanor of Brittany's Account*, 126.

²²⁴ “Natali Domini,” “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 198.

²²⁵ This is in addition to the dozen paupers that were fed daily. On Christmas Day of 1336 the paupers were given day-old bread and red herring.

²²⁶ “Vigila natalis Domini,” “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 197–198.

kitchen, along with a delivery of galantine sauce.²²⁷ On Christmas day, Katherine offered her household and its sixty-two guests a menu that consisted of ale, beef, pork, veal, mutton, various poultry, piglet, swan, goose, hen, partridge, and eggs.²²⁸ In total, Katherine spent over £1.7s. 0d. on ingredients for Christmas day alone; the vast portion of it on meat.

In comparison to the amount of daily victuals that we have seen throughout most of this chapter, it is clear that celebrations were occasions when tables overflowed with food and when eager diners crowded around to nourish themselves and celebrate each other's company. Eleanor and Katherine were not usually ostentatious in their dining habits, nor did they maintain households that supported excess. Instead, at carefully chosen moments throughout the year, they and nobles like them saw fit to fill their tables with assortments of food that would impress guests. In royal contexts this obviously necessitated staggering volumes of food, volumes contemporary media like to portray when showing medieval lords dining at tables filled with food and drink. This reality did exist for some, but it was a carefully deployed reality that was bound by moderation, fasting, and less voluminous menus on most of the days of the year.

*Conclusion: Comparative Diet Account Analysis:
A New Model for Medieval Culinary Labour Analysis*

Comparative examination of diet accounts associated within the medieval French and English great household context has offered us a more practical understanding of daily consumption of foodstuffs as opposed to the feasting and banquet menus that we examined in the first chapter. Feasting menus were, by design, extraordinary. The diet accounts, however, tell us

²²⁷ “Vigila natalis Domini,” “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 197–198.

²²⁸ “Natali Domini,” “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, 198.

what types of ingredients great household cooks were surrounded by during the more than ninety percent of the days of the year when celebrations and feasts did not occur. Although sometimes overlooked in light of exciting feast menus and remarkable entremet courses, it was really in the area of daily cookery that great household cooks earned their keep so to speak.

Victualling patterns indicate that cooks had to be ready with recipes on the fly each day in order to vary the menu based on what the household had on hand and what could be purchased from outside vendors. Especially in the case of fast days, great household cooks had to have many dozens of fish recipes memorized and ready to prepare depending on the types of fish that arrived from markets each Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. Some reliance on pickled and dried fish could be tolerated, but masters, especially, would quickly tire of their cooks if they could not prepare tasty dishes from whatever combination of flat fish, round fish, crustaceans, and molluscs that were obtained at the market. An even greater test of the cook's skill in varying the menu came during the forty-day Lenten fast. If cooks could not quickly devise fish menus twice daily for forty days in a row, they would have been of little use, even if they could prepare nice feasts. While this was true of fast days, much the same was true during ordinary meat days as well: beef, pork, mutton, and poultry all required care in preparation and attention to variation in the final dishes based on the household's recent menu selections. Further, as largely unlettered, low-status workers, cooks produced recipes that would have to be either memorized or improvised, based on their skill. Far too much work would have been required to employ literate clerks to stand in the kitchen and read recipes to cooks. Therefore, our diet accounts indicate that memorization of recipes and the ability to quickly adapt to the varieties of ingredients that presented themselves, daily, was one of the most important and valuable skills successful great household cooks possessed.

We have also been able to assess the impact that the shift between manorial and cash economies had on household supply networks. Indeed, all of the households surveyed here relied on networks of manors and markets in order to provide foodstuffs. Some items like grain, malt, beef, and poultry were best to have available on the estate since they could be easily and economically produced there, but other items like wines, cheeses, and even sometimes breads were often bought from local vendors. However skilful cooks were, by the later fourteenth century they were able to rely increasingly on outside markets and vendors. With the decline in manorial food rents, the increasingly cash-based economy was proving attractive to many of our households. Armed with more real cash from tenants, lords were able to broaden the types of victuals they consumed by integrating the livestock and produce available on their landed estates and home gardens with that which was for sale by local vendors.

The accounts have also revealed a better idea of the amounts of food that was typically served in medieval households on a daily basis. Far from tables overflowing with a bounty of game, poultry, our accounts reveal that medieval lords like Humbert II, Sir William Mountford, Eleanor of Brittany, and Katherine de Norwich all accepted relatively simple daily menus based on one or two varieties of fresh meat, some preserved fish on fast days, as well as eggs, cheese, and vegetables. These were not the great menus filled with boundless amounts of poultry and game outlined by Chiquart. Feasts may have called for excessive displays of spice and largesse, but ordinary menus were simple affairs with little in the way of extravagance. In some respects, there was a greater element of equality to this arrangement than we will see in later centuries. While lords and senior household officials were always treated to more extensive menus, their menus were modest and very similar to servant menus: everyone, the high and low alike, could be observed humbling themselves by eating simple menus on fast days, a practice that would

decline in Protestant regions in the centuries to come. If we contrast the demands placed on great household cooks on ordinary days with those they encountered on feast days, we can see that feasts required amounts of work that were many orders above the work required for ordinary daily cookery.

I belabour this point because it highlights the differences between using cookery manuals and diet accounts as sources: daily cookery was far removed from feast cookery, even in the great household context. While cooks had their work cut out for them on ordinary days, feast menus were designed to impress people who were already used to large volumes of hearty food. The dozens of varieties of fowl, poultry, meat pies, roasts, entremets currently associated with aristocratic cookery in historiography were typical only of extraordinary days. Such varieties are present in our accounts at Christmas, Easter, and other important days, but they absolutely were not expected on a daily basis. Daily cookery in the medieval French and English great household was always tasteful and refined, but it was also economical, practical, and based on a small selection of meats, fish, eggs, and vegetables.

Finally, these new understandings have only been possible to ascertain by conducting a comparative analysis of categories of ingredient use based on diet accounts. Information surrounding the range of meats and other ingredients served each day is only possible to ascertain through diet accounts. Important elements of cookery patterns, like the weekly Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday fasts, are not usually considered by food historians, though the constant transfer between meat and fish cookery three times weekly would have shaped many of the patterns cooks experienced in their working lives. Other items, like volumes of food served, types of vegetables served and to whom, all of this information must be carefully extracted from diet accounts and household books. Unfortunately, Chiquart was the only medieval cookbook

author to offer any advice on kitchen management, though this was all in the form of arranging extra-domiciliary feasting kitchens. Since there is not a single, concise source telling us how food and ingredients were procured, processed, and presented in the great household context on a daily basis, one of the best ways to gather the data is through a comparative survey methodology as presented here. Although each household can only represent itself and every household operated differently, many habits were shared. By carefully extrapolating the patterns present in some households, it is possible to arrive at a clearer understanding of the differences between ordinary daily cookery and the feast cookery within medieval French and English noble and royal households.

Chapter Four

Great Household Kitchen Ingredients in Flux, 1500–1665?

In number of dishes and change of meat the nobility of England (whose cooks are for the most part musical-headed Frenchmen and strangers) do most exceed, sith there is no day in manner that passeth over their heads wherein they have not only beef, mutton, veal, lamb, kid, pork, cony, capon, pig, or so many of these as the season yieldeth, but also some portion of the red or fallow deer, beside great variety of fish and wild fowl, and thereto sundry other delicates wherein the sweet hand of the seafaring Portugal is not wanting.

William Harrison
*A Description Of England, 1587*¹

As we saw in the first chapter, the period between 1650 and 1700 has been identified by some food scholars as a period of revolution in terms of French and English cookery.² The heavy reliance on seasonings like cinnamon, clove, nutmeg, ginger, and mace, typical of the Late International Gothic style, began to give way to a new palate that relied more on herbs, roux, ragouts, fricassees, reductions, and emulsified sauces and less on the large roasts, layers of piquant seasoning, and acidic sauces typical of the Middle Ages, a change in habits that scholars assert can be found emerging in French cookbooks during the second half of the seventeenth century.³ The Italian Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, the rise of more complex overseas

¹ William Harrison, *Description of Elizabethan England* (London: Walter Scott, 1577) 88.

² Susan Pinkard, “Refined Consumption, 1660–1735,” in *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 123–154; Roy Strong, “A Culinary Revolution,” in *Feast: A History of Grand Eating* (London: Cape, 2002) 224–230.

³ Jean-Louis Flandrin, “Dietary Choices and Culinary Technique, 1500–1800,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, originally published as *Histoire de l'alimentation*, ed. Massimo Montanari and Jean-Louis Flandrin, trans. Clarissa Botsford et al. (New York: Penguin Books, 1999) 403–417; Hazel Forsyth, “Sixteenth-Century,” in *London Eats Out: Five Hundred Years of Capital Dining*, ed. Edwina Ehrman et al. (London: Museum of London, 1999) 12–27; Annette Hope, *Londoner's Larder: English Cuisine from Chaucer to the Present* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2005); Alison Sim, *Food and Feast in Early Modern England* (Stroud, U.K.: Sutton, 1997); Peter Brears, “Seventeenth-Century Britain,” in *A Taste of History: 10,000 Years of Food in Britain*, ed. Peter Brears et al. (London: British Heritage and British Museum Press, 1993) 180–215; Laura Lunger Knoppers, “Opening the Queen’s Closet: Henrietta Maria, Elizabeth Cromwell, and the Politics of Cookery,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007): 464–499;

colonies, and cookbooks by authors like La Varenne, Bonnefons, and Massialot are all thought to have converged in varying intensities to result in a radical new approach to cookery and dining aesthetic in later seventeenth-century France that gradually spilled out of France and influenced English cookery by the eighteenth century.⁴

This is one currently accepted narrative, but some scholars have made calls to investigate household accounts in order to erect a more complete picture of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century French and English diet accounts, a call that has yet to be taken up in large part.⁵ Unlike recipe books, household accounts tell us what combinations of ingredients arrived into noble kitchens on a daily basis; a level of detail that is important when assessing the impact of the mid-seventeenth-century revolution in taste within the kitchens of the elite.

Gilly Lehmann, "Politics in the Kitchen," *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 23.2 (1999): 71–83; Philip and Mary Hyman, "Cooking Methods and Mediums in Sixteenth-Century France," in *The Cooking Medium. Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, 1986*, ed. Tom Jaine (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1986) 85–88; Philip and Mary Hyman, "Les Livres de Cuisine et le Commerce des Recettes en France aux XVe et XVIe Siècles," in *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de L'université de Montréal, 1992) 59–68; Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, "Culinary Configurations," in *Accounting for Taste: the Triumph of French Cuisine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) 15–48.

⁴ Brian Cowan, "New Worlds, New Tastes: Food Fashions After the Renaissance," in *Food: The History of Taste* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007) 197–232; Pinkard, "The French Kitchen in the 1560s," in *Revolution in Taste*, 95–122; Stephen Mennell, "Haute Cuisine: From Italy to France," in *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986) 69–83; Sarah Peterson, "Inventing the Modern World," in *Acquired Taste: The French Origins of Modern Cooking* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994) 163–182; Barbara Wheaton, "The Beginnings of Fine Cookery," in *Savouring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300–1789* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1983) 113–128.

⁵ Pauline Moirez, "L'approvisionnement de l'Hôtel du Roi de France à la Fin du XIVe Siècle d'après les Sources Comptables," in *La Cuisine et la table dans la France de la Fin du Moyen Âge: Contenus et contenants du XIVe au XVIe siècle*, ed. Fabienne Ravoire and Anne Dietrich (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2009) 79–86; Christopher Dyer, "Do Household Accounts Provide an Accurate Picture of Late Medieval Diet and Food Culture?," in *La Vie Matérielle au Moyen Âge: L'apport des Sources Littéraires, Normatives et de la Pratique. Actes du Colloque International de Louvain-la-Neuve, 3–5 octobre 1996*, ed. Emmanuelle Rassart-Eeckhout, et al. Jean-Pierre Sosson Claude Thiry, and Tania Van Hemelryck (Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Médiévales, 1997) 109–125; Jeanne Allard, "Nola: Rupture ou Continuité?," in *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de L'université de Montréal, 1992) 149–161; Eszter Kisban, "Food Habits in Change: The Example of Europe," in *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisban (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1986) 2–10. A notable exception to the lack of work on household accounts is Mark Dawson, *Plenti and Grase: Food and Drink in a Sixteenth-Century Household* (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2009).

Here we will examine two groups of diet accounts—French and English—ranging in date from between 1500 and 1670—in order to examine the ingredient-consumption patterns that present themselves and evaluate the degree to which change permeated noble household kitchens. Our accounts indicate that significant shifts were already occurring within the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century elite milieu, but not in ways we might expect based on current historiography. The period 1450–1660 saw a remarkable shift toward augmentation of the variety of fish, game, and quadruped meats required for daily food service in most noble households as well as increased frequency and variety in terms of fruit and vegetable service required to achieve authenticity in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century aristocratic cookery. These shifts can only be perceived by way of comparison with the data presented in the second chapter. Our analysis of medieval diet accounts revealed much about the norms of ordinary daily aristocratic food service, norms that are remarkable but not for their magnitude in ingredient variety. The relative simplicity with which nobles like Humbert II, Katherine de Norwich, and Sir William de Mountford dined on a daily basis revealed that tables overflowing with quadruped, poultry and game meat were the stuff of feasts and celebrations. Daily food service in the medieval household was refined but simple. Simple, at least, in comparison to the period we will examine here. In other words, by the time roux, emulsions, and other elements of the later seventeenth-century revolution in taste appeared in la Varenne's *Le cuisinier françois* (1651), Bonnefons's *Le jardinier françois* (1654), and Massialot's *Nouveau cuisinier royal et bourgeois* (1691), English and French aristocratic cookery had been already undergoing more than a century of marked dietary change whose nature was no less significant than the revolution in taste of 1650 and later.

The protracted nature of this move toward increasingly sophisticated and varied daily ingredient consumption patterns ranging between c.1450 and extending beyond 1650 somewhat challenges notions of culinary revolution. Especially in England under Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, elite households began including significantly more variety in daily ingredients than seen in any of our medieval accounts. As a canon of Windsor, William Harrison (1534-1593) noted, “sith there is no day in manner that passeth over their heads wherein they have not only beef, mutton, veal, lamb, kid, pork, cony, capon, pig, or so many of these as the season yieldeth.”⁶ We will see that Harrison was not exaggerating and, moreover, he was commenting on a trend that was an innovation beyond the medieval standards of aristocratic ordinary-day consumption patterns. In France a slightly different picture emerges. Although some change can be detected in the *comptes de bouche*, it was much more muted in the early portion of the seventeenth century. Ordinary daily menus in French great households were not as extravagant as those in contemporaneous English great households during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Therefore, culinary change happened at different rates and found different manifestations in France and England, none of which stand out as particularly revolutionary given the protracted length of time over which these innovations played out. Since change was gradual, and in light of the many continuities in cookery over the period, I will avoid the term “revolution” as an description for the changes we will examine here.

The diet accounts that we will examine come from a variety of French and English archives, though these three primary sources proved to be particularly rich: the Archives nationales of France, the National Archives of the U.K., and the collection belonging to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth House. The 1541–1542 *Diet Account* related to

⁶ Harrison, *Description*, 109.

meeting days of Henry VIII's Council⁷ and the Lord Steward's diet accounts related to the household of Charles II from between 1660 and 1664⁸ are both available at the National Archives in London. The Archives Nationales holds most of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *comptes de bouche* of the royal household.⁹ The French and English royal diet accounts are particularly useful in tracking dietary habits within arguably the most influential households in their respective kingdoms, but they do not tell the entire story. To understand habits in noble households, albeit households of the high nobility, I have also included diet accounts from the households of three English noblemen that were close to the royal court between 1575 and 1622: a diet account dating from 1575–1577 from the household of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland (1558–1605), 13th Baron Clifford;¹⁰ an account dating from 1622 from the household of Lionel Cranfield, 1st Earl of Middlesex (1575–1645);¹¹ and an account from 1623 from the household of Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland (1559–1641).¹² In addition to these, I have included a *compte de bouche* from 1508, held at the Archives nationales, created in the household of Catherine de' Medici's maternal grandmother, Duchess Jeanne de Bourbon (1465–1511).¹³ None of the accounts were extraordinary in light of their temporal and social contexts. Rather, each was chosen for their normalcy and the length of their temporal runs. In order to discuss frequencies of ingredient use, I have entered each days ingredient list into an excel spreadsheet, whose findings are graphed in the appendices.

By examining our early modern diet account group in a comparative context that tracks ingredient-consumption shifts in French and English contexts, we will be able to test some of the

⁷ NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

⁸ NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward's Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

⁹ *Comptes de Bouche, Cartons des rois*, AN, Series K; Appendix II.VIII; spreadsheet.

¹⁰ CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

¹¹ LP MS/1228, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex, 1622–1623*; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

¹² *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*, CH MS/SC/67; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

¹³ *Comptes de Bouche de Duchesse Jeanne de Bourbon, Septembre 1508*, AN K/504/5/f.1-30.

assertions made by food historians working on more narrative sources like cookery books. In fact, this entire question of change and periodization brings to the forefront even more complex questions: Were culinary shifts influenced by recipe texts and collections? Or were the shifts recorded in cookery books reflective of innovations that were already occurring in French and English elite kitchens? Cooks, including those who created cookbooks, like Chiquart, were mostly illiterate.¹⁴ The notion of short, intense periods of revolution driven by cookbooks is one that the findings presented here will challenge.

Fish and Fasting

Fasting habits are one of the most complex aspects of the present study.¹⁵ We saw in Chapter Two that medieval fasting habits revolved around weekly Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday fasts, the forty-day Lenten fast, as well as incidental fasts on occasions like All Souls, rogation days, the vigils preceding Easter and Christmas, and numerous other occasions that

¹⁴ Chiquart thanked his scribe, Jehan de Dudens, a local notary, in a short poem at the end of *Du fait de cuisine*.

¹⁵ A great deal of work exists on the topic including Bridget Ann Henisch, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (University Park, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976); Ewald Kislinger, “Christians of the East: Rules and Realities of the Byzantine Diet,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin & Massimo Montanari (New York: Penguin, 2000) 194–206; Roy Strong, “The Christian Table and the Birth of Manners,” in *Feast: A History of Grand Eating* (London: Johnathan Cape, 2002) 50–55; Terence Scully, “Religious Strictures” & “Religious Rules,” in *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995) 58–64, 124–126; Caroline Walker-Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Christopher Woolgar, “Fast and Feast: Conspicuous Consumption and the Diet of the Nobility in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Revolution and Consumption in Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2001) 7–25; Richard C. Hoffmann, “Aquaculture in Champagne before the Black Death of 1348–1350,” in *Archéologie du poisson. 30 ans d’archéo-ichtyologie au CNRS. Hommage aux travaux de Jean Desse et Nathalie Desse-Berset*, ed. P. Béarez, S. Grouard, and B. Clavel, (Antibes: Éditions APDCA, 2008) 67–82; Dominique Michel, “Les poissons” *Vatel et la naissance de la gastronomie* (Paris: Fayard, 1999) 256–261; D. Serjeantson and C. M. Woolgar, “Fish Consumption in Medieval England,” in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 102–130; Armelle Querrien, “Pêche et consommation du poisson en Berry au Moyen Age,” in *Pêche et pisciculture en eau douce: la rivière et l’étang au Moyen Age, Actes des 1^{es} rencontres internationales de Liessies, 27, 28 et 29 avril 1998*, ed. P. Benoît, F. Loridant, O. Matteoni (Lille: Conseil général du Nord, 2004) unpaginated.

varied by locale and household.¹⁶ The Protestant Reformation, however, brought new approaches to good works like fasting. Despite the evidence presented in Chapter Two regarding declining sixteenth- and seventeenth-century fish species due to the Protestant Reformation and other factors, our accounts show surprising results when it comes to fish consumption within the great household context in Reformed England.¹⁷ By the 1540s, a decade after the onset of the English Reformation, Henry VIII's household maintained weekly fasts each Friday and occasionally on Wednesdays and Saturdays.¹⁸ In fact, when Henry's Council met at the Palace of Westminster between 1541 and 1542, fish days were observed one hundred percent of the time on Fridays, and occasionally on each of the other days of the week:¹⁹

Day	Council Meeting day	Fish day observed	%
Monday	11	3	27
Tuesday	7	4	57
Wednesday	7	1	14
Thursday	9	2	22
Friday	10	10	100
Saturday	3	2	66
Sunday	1	1	100

Table 1. Henry VIII's Council's fasting habits on meeting days at the Palace of Westminster. 1541-1542.

The Council's fasting habits are less surprising within the general context of the more Catholic nature of the English Reformation, especially under the model of very gradual change put forward by Eamon Duffy.²⁰ Regular Friday fasts clearly presented no theological challenges at

¹⁶ Bruno Laurioux, "Les obligations religieuses," in *Manger au Moyen Âge: Pratiques et Discours Alimentaires en Europe aux XIVe et XVe Siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 2009) 101-122; Melitta Weiss Adamson, "Food and Religion," in *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004) 181-204.

¹⁷ Pinkard, *Revolution in Taste*, 143-144; Flandrin, "Dietary Choices, 1500-1800," 405; also see discussion in chapter two.

¹⁸ NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541-1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

¹⁹ NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541-1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

²⁰ Eamon Duffy, "Introduction," in *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (Yale University Press, 2005) 5. Also see Appendix II.III. The Council met at various times throughout the year. The accounts do not reveal fasting patterns of the entire royal household for 365 days; instead, they reveal the contents of food deliveries to the palace kitchen on days when The Council met. Therefore, NA E 101/93/3 does not contain incoming food orders for one hundred percent of the days of the year, but it does record incoming food orders on one hundred percent of the days that the Council met at Westminster.

the English royal court, even ten years into the Reformation, but Wednesdays were the least favoured day of the week on which to observe a fast. This is a much different trend than one would expect based on historiographical conclusions, since it indicates that fasting habits had partially followed ideas like Zwingli's—that one should “fast as often as the spirit of true belief urges him”—but the English also held on to some of the older fasting habits with the preservation of Friday fasts.

Examination of other great households over the period demonstrates similar trends. George Clifford, owner of Skipton Castle, maintained similar patterns within his own household between 1575 and 1577.²¹ While spending the winter and spring of 1575–1576 at Bolton Abbey, North Yorkshire, the Clifford household maintained regular Friday and Saturday fasts, while only maintaining a small number of Wednesday fasts.²² The household did observe Great Lent as a continual fast in both 1576 and 1577.²³ In addition to these patterns, emergence of a new fasting pattern can also be seen in the 1575–1577 Clifford account: mixed meat and fish days each Wednesday in Ordinary Time.²⁴ On Wednesday 16 November 1575, the menu served in the Clifford household included stockfish, mutton, capon, woodcock, and eggs.²⁵ Properly speaking,

²¹ CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; the account records the Earl's dining habits while at Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire (see photo appendix, # 2). The Clifford MS are now held at Chatsworth House since Baroness Charlotte Clifford (1731–1754) married William Cavendish (1720–1764), 4th Duke of Devonshire. Charlotte was the sole heiress of the previous Baron Clifford, the 3rd Earl of Burlington, Richard Boyle (1694–1753). Baron Clifford is a title that can be inherited by sole female heiresses in their own right. Her titles and lands went to their son, William (1748–1811), 5th Duke of Devonshire. Bolton Abbey is the only major Clifford property still possessed by the Dukes of Devonshire; Skipton Castle has passed out of the family. The title Baron Clifford passed out of the Cavendish family with the death of the childless 6th Duke of Devonshire in 1858, reverting to another line of the Clifford family and remaining extant. The Burlington properties and titles remained with the Devonshire Dukedom, the title traditionally being used as a courtesy title for the Duke's oldest grandson. The Clifford papers remained at Chatsworth.

²² CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

²³ CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet, also contains a portion of diet accounts from Lent of 1577, see Appendix II.IV. The MS was kept at Bolton Abbey as opposed to following the earl around to his various residences throughout the year, which explains the large gaps in some portions of the temporal runs.

²⁴ CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

²⁵ “Wedneseday xvi of November 1575,” CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

this was a violation of Cecil's Fast, most recently proclaimed earlier in 1575, since the "straitest observation of fish days" was not being maintained in the Clifford household. Perhaps as a nod toward the new rules, stockfish was included in order to provide at least one fish option for the day. However, Wednesday fasts were clearly on the way out in so far as the Cliffords were concerned.

It was only by the early seventeenth century that fish days had nearly disappeared altogether. Francis Clifford (1559–1641), 4th Earl of Cumberland, maintained even fewer fast days when he resided at Skipton Castle during the 1620s.²⁶ Having done away entirely with the Wednesday fast and the forty-day Lenten fast, Francis's household still maintained a small number of fish days on Fridays and Saturdays during Lent.²⁷ At the same time, Francis's formidable contemporary, Lionel Cranfield (1575–1645), 1st Earl of Middlesex, banned fish-only days entirely in his household, preferring to mix fish and meat on each day of the week.²⁸ Even the royal household dropped fish-only days as early as the 1660s. Despite his secret Catholic persuasions, Charles II did not maintain a single fish-only day between 1663 and 1664 when staying at Whitehall.²⁹ This does not mean that fish was never served; indeed, we will see shortly that Tudor and Stuart elites enjoyed many varieties of fish, though they were comfortable mixing meat and fish together any day of the week.

Sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century *comptes de bouche* also show some surprising results in French great households. Jeanne, Duchess of Bourbon (1465–1511), grandmother of Catherine de' Medici, maintained a household that mirrored the medieval precedent of fasting habits. While staying at her Paris city residence during the month of September 1508, the full

²⁶ CH MS SK/67; Appendix II.VI.

²⁷ CH MS SK/67; Appendix II.VI.

²⁸ LP MS 1228; Appendix II.V.

²⁹ NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward's Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

round of fasting continued to be practiced weekly; each Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, no meat was recorded in her diet accounts.³⁰ Slightly later, by the mid-sixteenth century, Wednesday fasts began not to be observed within the French royal household, while the Friday and Saturday fasts continued to be observed.³¹ In the *comptes de bouche* of Henry II, ranging from August to November 1557, Wednesdays and Saturdays outside of Lent remained fish-only days.³² However, by the reigns of Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry IV, the *comptes de bouche* reveal that Wednesday fasts outside of Lent had been dropped.³³ Therefore, while weekly Wednesday fasts had fallen out of practice by the mid-sixteenth century within the French royal household, Lent continued to be a period of dietary abstinence during which the fast was observed.

Unfortunately, the case of Saturday fasts during Ordinary Time is less clear. The clerks of the French royal household occasionally only recorded a total cost of food spent that day, obscuring the composition of ingredients arriving at the royal kitchen. Two accounts survive for Saturdays under the formerly Calvinist Henry IV, one of which shows that the *cuisine de bouche*³⁴ received mutton, veal, chicken, turkey, partridge, pigeons, lark, marrow bones, as well as carp, pike, and eel on 1 September 1592.³⁵ The other Saturday diet account existing for Henry IV's household, that of 14 September 1592 simply recorded the total cost of "*poisson*" served that day, without elaborating on the exact ingredients received.³⁶ Therefore, by the mid-seventeenth century, the French royal household maintained the Friday fast each week, but only

³⁰ AN K/504/5/f.1-30; Appendix II.IX.

³¹ Appendix II.IX, also see spreadsheet for a more detailed breakdown of fasting habits.

³² AN K/92/4/1-13.

³³ A.N. Francis II: K 92/36/1/4, K 92/36/1/11, K 92/36/2/3, K 92/36/2/10, K 92/31/3, K 92/31/10, K 92/31/12; Charles IX: K 98/52/1/10; Henry III: K 100/47/1/1, K 100/47/1/2, K 100/47/1/8, K 100/47/2/4; Henry IV: K 105/A/9. Also see spreadsheet.

³⁴ The king's personal kitchen; synonymous with the English privy kitchen.

³⁵ AN K/105/A/4; spreadsheet.

³⁶ AN K/105/A/5; spreadsheet.

occasionally observed the Saturday fasts, while Wednesday fasts had already been discontinued under previous monarchs.³⁷

Although some scholars have asserted that fish consumption generally declined during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, our accounts indicate that noble households expanded the types of fish they received into their kitchens markedly beyond what we saw in the medieval accounts.³⁸

	Council, Westminster 1541 ³⁹	3 rd Earl Cumberland 1575–1577 ⁴⁰	Middlesex, Chelsea 1622 ⁴¹	Clifford, “London” 1623 ⁴²	Royal, Whitehall 1663 ⁴³	French Royal 1508–1653 ⁴⁴
Carp			x	x	x	x
Cockle		x	x	x		x
Cod	x	x	x	x	x	
Conch				x		
Conger	x	x		x		x
Crab				x	x	
Crayfish				x		
Eel	x	x	x	x	x	x
Flounder	x		x	x	x	
Greenfish			x	x		
Haddock		x		x		
Herring		x	x	x	x	x
Lamprey	x		x		x	x
Ling	x	x	x	x		x
Lobster			x	x	x	
Mackerel					x	x
Mussels		x				
Oysters	x		x	x	x	x
Perch					x	x
Pickle oysters			x			x
Pike	x	x		x	x	x
Pickerel		x				
Plaice		x	x	x	x	x
Red herring		x	x			x
Roach			x			x
Salmon	x	x	x	x	x	x
Salt salmon	x		x	x		x

³⁷ AN K/105/A/9; K/105/A/3; spreadsheet.

³⁸ Pinkard, *Revolution in Taste*, 143–144; Flandrin, “Dietary Choices, 1500–1800,” 405.

³⁹ NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

⁴⁰ CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

⁴¹ LP MS/1228, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex, 1622–1623*; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

⁴² *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*, CH MS/SC/67; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

⁴³ NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward’s Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

⁴⁴ *Comptes de Bouche, Cartons des rois*, AN, Series K; Appendix II.VIII; spreadsheet.

Scallop					x	
Shrimp		x		x	x	
Skate					x	x
Smelt		x	x	x	x	
Sole	x		x		x	x
Sprat		x				
Stockfish	x	x		x	x	
Sturgeon			x		x	x
Trout			x		x	x
Turbot	x	x		x		x
White herring		x	x			
Whiting	x	x	x	x	x	x

Table 2. Great household fish consumption, 1540–1663.

In the case of France, early fifteenth-century *comptes de bouche* indicate little movement in varieties of fish relied upon by great households. By way of contrast, the quarterly account for autumn of 1380 show that the household of Charles VI mostly consumed carp, northern pike, varieties of eel, tench, bream, perch, and plaice.⁴⁵ The *compte de bouche* for September 1508 from the household of Jeanne, Duchess of Bourbon, reveal that her household of around sixty members consumed mostly salted cod or stockfish,⁴⁶ trout, and perch.⁴⁷ Since Jeanne's clerk often simply entered "*poisson*" and a total sum expended on fish for the day, accountancy operations obscure some detail in the manuscript. By the mid-sixteenth century, however, the varieties of fish consumed within the French royal household increased considerably. Between 1508 and 1560, the varieties of fish recorded in the French royal *comptes de bouche* included barbay, burbot, carp, cockle, cod, conger, herring, lamprey, ling, loach, mackerel, merlin, perch, pike, plaice, red herring, roaches, salmon, salt salmon, salted oysters, skate, sole, sturgeon, trout, turbot, and "Fish."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ [1380] Anon., "Autre recepte, pour poissons des estans le roy," *Comptes de l'hôtel des rois de France aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, ed. Louis Claude Douët d'Arcq (Paris: J. Renouard, 1865) 11–12.

⁴⁶ *morue seche*

⁴⁷ AN K 504/5 *eschançonnerie de bouche de Jeanne, duchesse de Bourbon, Septembre 1508*; Appendix II.IX; spreadsheet.

⁴⁸ Appendix II.IX; spreadsheet.

Once expanded, the varieties of fish arriving into the French royal kitchens shifted little over the next century: between 1550 and 1660, composition of fish orders arriving into the royal kitchen on fish days was nearly identical: barbay, carp, cockle, cod, conger, eel, herring, lamprey, ling, loach, mackerel, oysters, perch, pike, plaice, red herring, salmon, salt salmon, skate, sole, trout, turbot, whiting, and “fish.”⁴⁹ Although there was some variation, the records indicate that, within the royal household and presumably the households of other high nobles of France, early seventeenth-century fast-day cookery demanded significant variety in terms of species of fish, much more so than listed in the medieval *comptes de bouche*. This sits in opposition to Flandrin’s assertions regarding decreasing consumption of fish, though the sample is small and commentary here is confined only to the most elite household within the kingdom. Despite this, the French great household context was not the only one to see expansion of varieties of fish consumed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Surprisingly, the reformed households of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English elites show dramatic increases in the varieties of fish recorded in their diet accounts, variety that is at least as impressive as that noted in our medieval analysis. The 1336–1337 de Norwich household accounts and the 1433–1434 Mountford household accounts indicated that red and white herring, cod (stockfish), eel, and smaller amounts of whiting, haddock, smelt, salmon, fresh or dried oysters, and mussels formed the core types of fish consumed in modest late medieval English great households.⁵⁰ By the 1540s, Henry VIII’s Council consumed menus comprised mostly of pike, stockfish, ling, flounder, turbot, salmon, sole, conger, salt salmon,

⁴⁹ Appendix II.X; spreadsheet.

⁵⁰ BL Add. Roll 63207, original Latin transcription printed as “Accounts for the Household of Katherine de Norwich, September 1336 to September 1337,” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. I, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 177–223; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office MS DR/37/Box 73, original Latin transcription printed as “Household Accounts and Receiver’s Account for Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire, 1433–1434” *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, vol. II, ed. C.M. Woolgar, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 453–431; Appendices II.I, II.II; spreadsheet.

lamprey, whiting, cod, oysters on days when they met at Westminster Palace.⁵¹ During the 1570s when George Clifford, was staying at Bolton Abbey in the Midlands and his London townhouse, the types of fish his household consumed included cockle, cod, conger, haddock, herring, ling, mussels, oysters, pike, pickerel, plaice, red herring, salmon, smelt, sprat, stockfish, turbot, white herring, and whiting.⁵²

By the 1620s, despite the decline in maintaining the fast, the varieties consumed in London great households was increasing dramatically over the medieval precedent. In the household of Lionel Cranfield, the varieties of fish consumed between 1622 and 1623 included carp, cockle, cod, flounder, greenfish, herring, lamprey, ling, lobster, oysters, pickle oysters, plaice, red herring, roach, salmon, salt salmon, shrimp, smelt, sole, sturgeon, trout, white herring, whiting, and varieties of eel.⁵³ During 1623–1624 Lionel's great contemporary, Francis Clifford served carp, cockle, cod, conch, conger, crab, crayfish, flounder, greenfish, haddock, herring, ling, lobster, oysters, pickle oysters, pike, plaice, salmon, salt salmon, shrimp, smelt, stockfish, turbot, whiting, and varieties of eel in his townhouse at London and at Skipton Castle in the Midlands.⁵⁴ Even in the royal household after the Restoration, Charles II's officers served carp, cod, crab, eel, flounder, herring, lamprey, lobster, mackerel, oysters, perch, pike, plaice, salmon, scallop, shrimp, skate, smelt, sole, stockfish, sturgeon, white herring, and whiting.⁵⁵

Even the combinations of fish species served on single days were markedly expanded over the medieval precedent. For example, despite having abandoned Lenten fasts, the cooks of Lionel Cranfield, working in the kitchen at Beaufort House, London, prepared a menu based on beef, mutton, pork cheeks, lamb, chicken, pigeon, whiting, white herring, red herring, roach,

⁵¹ NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

⁵² CH MS BA/13 *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

⁵³ LP MS/1228, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex, 1622–1623*; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

⁵⁴ CH MS SC/67, *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland, 1623–1624*; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

⁵⁵ NA LS/9/1 *Lord Steward's Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

plaice, smelt, salmon, lamprey, eel, flounder, ling, and greenfish for the earl and his household for Tuesday 12 March 1622.⁵⁶ Although meat was still served, what had traditionally been a Lenten fast day was still being marked with large amounts of fish, much more so than any of the ordinary fast-day menus in the medieval accounts. Similarly during the previous year when Lord Clifford was staying at his London townhouse, his cooks prepared a menu based on rabbit, pigeon, woodcock, cod, lobster, turbot, ling, other “fish,” eggs, and oatmeal.⁵⁷ It is truly ironic that reformed English lords in our sample served far more species and varieties of fish than their medieval counterparts, despite not observing fasts on either of the days mentioned above and despite the fact that these were ordinary weekdays.

Although fasting habits declined, and proclamations had to be made to encourage fasting for the sake of the English merchant navy, early to mid-seventeenth-century Protestant English great households continued to demand fish and in staggering variety. Commoners may have chosen to consume less fish, but this was not so for the elites included in our sample.

Our findings from both French and English diet accounts are highly surprising, especially in light of assertions regarding a general decline in fish consumption in France and England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁸ Even during the 1630’s, cooks were still occasionally rounded up and imprisoned for serving meat on fast days. Charles I’s 1630 arrest of London cooks who served meat on fish days highlighted continuing concerns over maintenance of fish days. However, it cannot be denied that our sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century great household diet accounts in both France and England reveal continual and increasingly diverse varieties of fish appearing on any day of the week. Even more surprisingly, our sixteenth- and

⁵⁶ “Tewesday, the 12th of March Anno 1621” [OS], LP MS/1228/ f.39, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex, 1622–1623*; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

⁵⁷ “Wednesday the 28th of March”, CH MS SC/67, *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland, 1623–1624*; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

⁵⁸ Pinkard, *Revolution in Taste*, 143–144; Flandrin, “Dietary Choices, 1500–1800.” 405.

seventeenth-century English accounts list many more varieties than the royal and ducal *comptes de bouche* included in our French great household group, despite the fact that each of the French households included here was Catholic and maintained some semblance of the medieval fasting habits. It is difficult to explain the discrepancy between current historiography surrounding fish consumption after the Reformation, although the general trend as far as elite dining was concerned—in terms of meat and fish—was toward increasing varieties of species and cuts of meat; expansion of fish palates is consistent with this trend.

Quadruped and Large Game Consumption

While fish consumption certainly evolved throughout the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French and English great household context, the situation surrounding quadruped consumption as reflected in our household accounts differs from current historiographical assertions on the role of quadruped meats in noble households. Flandrin noted: “As early as the fourteenth or fifteenth century, cooks in aristocratic households turned up their noses at goats and sheep (male or female). They did on occasion serve the meat of cows (equivalent in status to steer meat) and specific parts of the animal such as the udder, as well as the meat of kid, which was recommended by dieticians.”⁵⁹ While it might be true that recipes for mutton and beef decrease in occurrence in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century recipe collections, and it is certainly true that meat consumption was becoming rarer in general after 1550, our household

⁵⁹ Flandrin, “Dietary Choices, 1500–1800.” 405. Brackets in original text.

accounts reveal a very different pattern in terms of great household cooks and their relation to quadruped cookery.⁶⁰

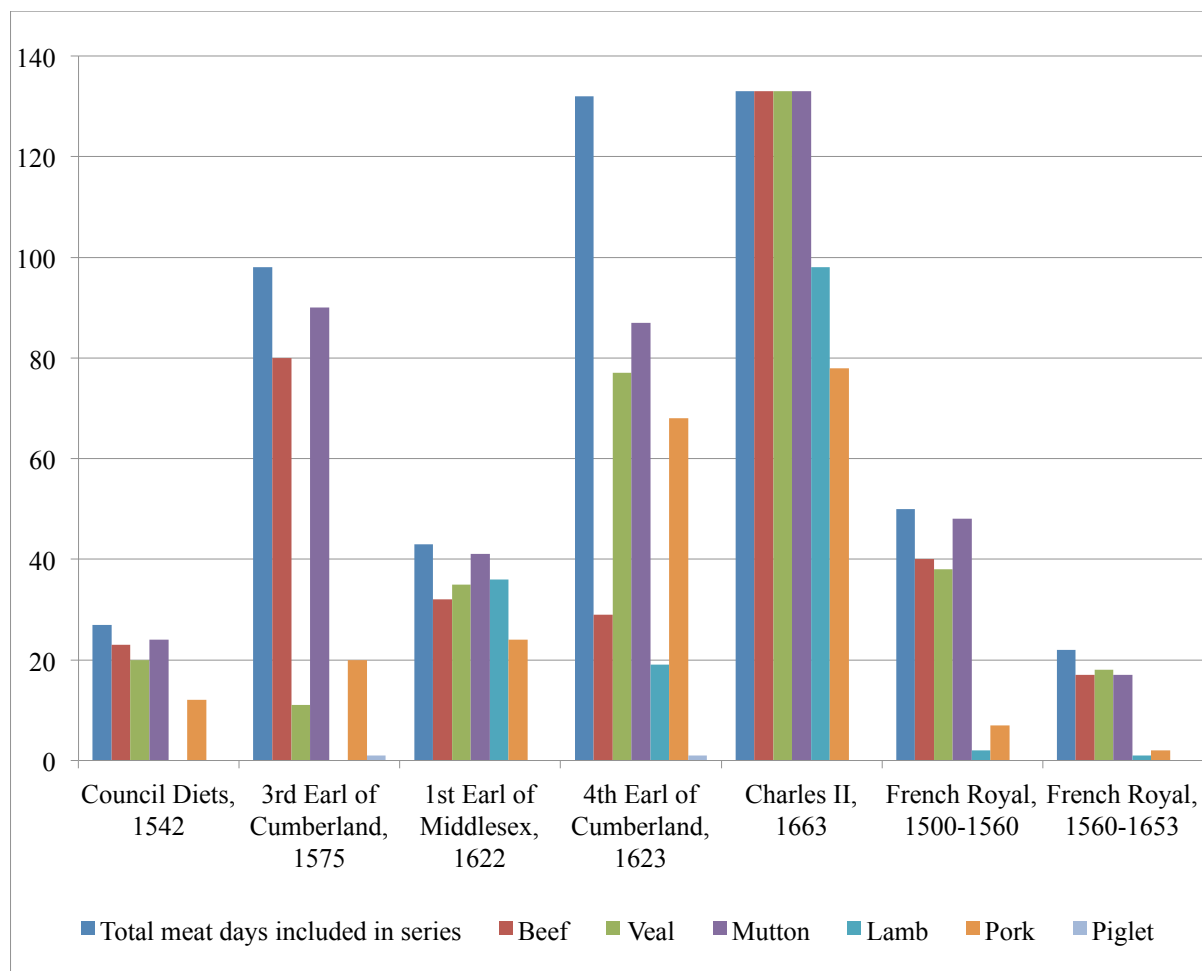


Figure 1. Comparative quadruped consumption in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French and English great households.⁶¹

Our accounts indicate that quadruped meats, in particular beef, veal, and mutton, continued to play an important, daily role in meat-day cookery within the French and English great household context. Although we are examining households that are closely associated with

⁶⁰ Fernand Braudel, “The Decline in Meat Consumption After 1550,” in *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century: The Structure of Everyday Life*, vol. I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 194–223.

⁶¹ NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; LP MS/1228, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex, 1622–1623*; CH MS SC/67, *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland, 1623–1624*; NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward’s Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; AN K 504/5, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1–30, 1508*; AN K 118/64, K 105/A, K 100/47/1&2, K 98/52/1&2, K 92/36/1&2, K 92/31, K 92/4, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche*; also see appendices and spreadsheets.

haute cookery, kitchen workers of these households would have spent a great deal of time each day preparing wholesome but lower cost, less extravagant dishes for the domestic *familia*. How do we know that quadruped meat comprised the bulk of proteins served on meat-day servants' tables? The volumes of quadruped meat recorded in accounts indicate that it usually comprised the bulk of meat-day provisions both in terms of volume and cost indicating that the majority of diners within the households each day—the domestic *familia*—relied on quadruped meats as the primary components of their meals.

For example, when Henry VIII's Council met during the 1540s, meat-day menus relied heavily of massive cuts of beef, veal, and mutton, in addition to large amounts of poultry. On a typical meeting day, for example, 3 October 1541, a Monday, these provisions were recorded for Henry VIII's Council:

<i>“Lune iii^{io} die octobr [1541]”</i>								
The Council								
<u>Quadruped Cuts</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>d</u>		<u>Poultry and Game</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>d</u>
Stewing beef ⁶²	0	2	4		1 swan	0	6	0
2 loins of veal	0	0	16		1 goose	0	0	8
2 loins of mutton	0	0	12		3 capons	0	6	4
1 breast of mutton ⁶³	0	0	8		6 rabbits	0	0	18
2 breasts of veal	0	0	16		36 larks	0	2	0
1 leg of veal ⁶⁴	0	0	8		16 plover	0	4	8
Marrow bones for stock ⁶⁵	0	0	12		16 pigeons	0	0	16
<u>Total</u>	0	5	8		<u>Total</u>	1	2	5
Total meat expenditure for day: £1 8s 1d								

Table 3. Monday October 3rd, 1541,” NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*.⁶⁶

Although it accounted for less than twenty-five percent of the cost of poultry and game, quadruped meats comprised the major portion of proteins received into the kitchen that day by weight: diced beef, numerous loins of veal and mutton, a number of forequarters of veal and

⁶² “boylyng byf”.

⁶³ “abrest”.

⁶⁴ “allege”.

⁶⁵ “marybones”.

⁶⁶ “ Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

mutton, as well as “alegge” (hip) of veal.⁶⁷ Taking into consideration that the Council numbered only around twenty or so members, the large mass of quadruped cuts served that day dominated the menus of the Council’s many retainers. The many valuable poultry and game meats served that day—accounting for £1.2s.5d. worth of the £1.8s.1d. spent on meat that day—was likely more than enough for the twenty Council members due; its small volume and exorbitant cost reflecting the small number of Council members and their elite status. Extra food from both upper and lower tables was collected by the almoner and distributed to the poor from the almonry.⁶⁸ Despite accounting for far less in cost, cheaper quadruped meats still comprised the major portion of meats received, prepared, and cooked for Henry’s Council when they met on meat days at the Palace of Westminster during the 1540s.

Reliance on beef, mutton, and pork in great household victualling strategies extended beyond the Council itself. On a typical meat day during the 1570s, George Clifford’s household at Bolton Abbey, North Yorkshire, would receive four pecks of beef,⁶⁹ three joints of mutton,

⁶⁷ “Monday October 3rd, 1541,” NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

⁶⁸ The role of the almoner remained relatively consistent over our period. The royal household ordinance of 1526, known as the *Eltham Ordinance*, outlines the office’s role: “Cap. 54. Relicts And Fragments Of Meate And Drinkes: And because heretofore the relicts and fragments of such meate and drinke, as dayly hath been spent in the King and Queen's chamber and household, have not been duely distributed unto poore folkes, by way of almes, as was convenient; it is therefore the King's pleasure, that from henceforth speciall regard be had, that all the said reliques and fragments be saved and gathered by the officers of the almonrv, and from day to day to be given to poore people at the utter court gate, by oversight of the under almnor; without diminishing, embesselling, or purloyning any parte thereof; and that neither in the chamber, nor other place where allowance of meate is had, the meate be given away by any sitting or wayting there; but the relliques to be employed to the almes as is aforesaid.” Anon., “Ordinances for the Household, made at Eltham in the 27th Year of King Henry VIII. A. D. 1526,” in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III To King William And Queen Mary*, ed. unknown (London: John Nichols & the Society of Antiquaries, 1790) 154.

⁶⁹ Weights and measures varied greatly over the periods and the regions covered in this survey. Ronald Edward Zupko settled on around four litres for the Winchester peck as a general figure for the English regions considered here, though the entry for the word “peck” in his *Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles* spans five pages of variations in the measurement used throughout England. In terms of the peck’s relevance to other measures, most sources collected by Zupko indicate that “4 peckes makith a bushell of Winchester measure, according to the owld standadt,” see Zupko, “Peck”, *A Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles: The Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985) 276–280; quote on 277. Using Zupko’s calculations, four pecks is roughly equivalent to fifteen to sixteen litres. Since it is a measure of volume, it is possible that meat arriving by the peck was stewing beef.

more “mutton ffor potte,” a portion of red deer that was to be “carvid,”⁷⁰ one capon, one goose, six snipe, and twelve lark.⁷¹

““Sunday the sixth of november, 1575”” ⁷² George Clifford, 3 rd Earl of Cumberland Skipton Castle			
Quadruped Cuts	Count		Poultry and Game
beef	4 peck		red deer
mutton	2 q. [1/4]		1 loin ⁷³
			capon
			2
			goose
			1
			snipe
			7
			lark
			12

Table 4. “Sunday the sixth of november, 1575,” CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*.

With the large number of poultry that were also included in the daily order, it seems likely that the fifteen or more litres of beef and three joints of mutton that arrived in the kitchen were used to feed the domestic *familia*.⁷⁴

By the early seventeenth century, quadruped meats played even greater roles in English great households. In the 1620s household of Francis Clifford, veal, mutton, lamb, and pork played primary roles.⁷⁵ Beef offal, especially tongue and udders, frequently appeared in the earl’s kitchen, although the accounts do not reveal the exact modes of preparation for these items. For example, on a typical weekend in the 1620s, Saturday 9 of December 1623, the earl’s cooks received one-half of a veal carcass, one-quarter of a mutton carcass, three pigs, six tongues, four

⁷⁰ Possibly a loin.

⁷¹ “Sunday the sixth of november, 1575,” CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

⁷² See Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet; this account does not include costs of food; it is the receivers account of food and drink arriving in the kitchen, also including items returned to the household stores.

⁷³ Simply listed as “carvid,” “Sunday the sixth of november, 1575,” CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

⁷⁴ The account records that about forty-eight individuals were present at both dinner and supper that day “Den[dinner] iiiii d | Sop[supper] iiiii d.” “d” indicates dozen, CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

⁷⁵ Appendix II.VI.

udders, calves' feet, one goose, one bittern, one pigeon, seven snipe, and twelve cod and herring.⁷⁶

"Saturday the ix th of decemb ^r ." [1623]" Francis Clifford, 4 th Earl of Cumberland, Skipton Castle													
Quadruped Cuts	£	s	d		Poultry and Game	£	s	d		Fish	£	s	D
½ a veal	0	3	0		1 goose	0	2	4		1 doz. cod and herring	0	1	0
3 pigs	0	3	8		1 bittern	0	0	10					
6 tongues	0	0	1		1 pigeon	0	0	3					
4 udders, calves' feet	0	0	3		7 snipe	0	1	1					
¼ mutton	s ⁷⁷	s	s										
<u>Total</u>	0	7	3		<u>Total</u>	0	4	6		<u>Total</u>	0	1	0
Total meat expenditure for day: 12s 9d													

Table 5. CH MS SC/67/f.6r-7r., *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland, 1623–1624*.⁷⁸

In this case we can see even more clearly that the cost and work associated with feeding the domestic *familia* was not a small consideration. Quadruped meats cost nearly double that of poultry and game received on December 9. Unfortunately the account does not reveal the number of individuals present in the household that day, although we can make a reasonable guess that the domestic *familia* numbered about fifty persons, given that the third earl kept a *familia* of about forty-eight. It is also possible that the fourth earl was distributing alms to locals, since the volume of food was so great. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Francis and his countess, Grisold, likely dined on the poultry and game and possibly some fish, while their servants and household officers consumed the half-veal and three pigs.

Considerations for the domestic *familia* in other seventeenth-century English great households closely parallel the arrangements seen in the Cumberland household. Even

⁷⁶ "Saturday the ixth of decemb^r." [1623]" CH MS SC/67/f.6r., *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland, 1623–1624*; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

⁷⁷ *s* is short for "store." This refers to mutton received from the household store. In this case, it was not recorded with a monetary value.

⁷⁸ "Saturday the ixth of decemb^r." I have added the provisions received on Sunday to the Saturday account since Sunday contained only two ingredients: mutton and flour; it is clear that the order for Saturday was meant to last two days. On Monday 11 December, the provisions received into the kitchen return to normal levels, CH MS SC/67/f.6r-7r., *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland, 1623–1624*; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

households that consumed large amounts of poultry, beef, veal, and mutton still played central roles in household provisioning strategies. The gourmand Lionel Cranfield, whose household regularly received extraordinary varieties of game and poultry, also relied, daily, on some combination of beef, veal, mutton, lamb, and pork at his Chelsea city residence.⁷⁹ Even during Lent, the Middlesex household would consume vast amounts of quadruped meat. Although not an exhaustive list, some of the types of quadruped meats received into the earl's kitchens included tongue, veal head, veal feet, pork head, sausages, tripe, udders, bacon, Westphalian gammon, pork cheeks, and a small amount of venison.⁸⁰ Similarly, after the Restoration the royal household under Charles II household consumed beef, veal, and mutton on one hundred percent of the days the court was in residence at Whitehall during the winter and spring of 1663–1664.⁸¹

Although the fasting situation in France differed greatly from that of Protestant England, meat-day quadruped consumption in our sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French group of accounts reflected a very similar reliance on beef, veal, and mutton. In 1508, the sixty-strong domestic *familia* of Duchess Jeanne of Bourbon relied mostly on beef and mutton. On 11 September 1508, for example, the duchess's household received beef, mutton, capons, poussin, and pigeons, as illustrated below:

⁷⁹ Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

⁸⁰ see spreadsheet.

⁸¹ Appendix II.VII; spreadsheet.

"Le Lund xi ^e du septembr" ⁸² Jeanne, Duchess of Bourbon Paris city residence.								
Quadruped Cuts	liv	s	d		Poultry and Game	liv	s	d
Beef ⁸³	0	7	6		2 capons	0	2	6
1 mutton ⁸⁴	0	12	8		4 poussin	0	2	0
					6 pigeons		1	6
Total	1	0	2		Total	0	6	0
Total meat expenditure for day: 1liv.6s.2d.								

Table 6. AN K 504/5/f21, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1–30, 1508*.

While the twelve game birds together cost 6s, quadruped meat cost nearly four times more at 1liv 0s 2d. Duchess Jeanne's *comptes de bouche*, like our contemporaneous English sources, indicate that the major portion of meat entering her kitchen each day was usually in the form of large cuts of beef and whole mutton; both by cost and volume.⁸⁵ One, again, suspects that Jeanne's domestic *familia* primarily consumed quadruped meat on meat-days, while the far less voluminous poultry and game birds received into the kitchen were destined to be transformed into dishes for Jeanne's table. This could be related to Braudel's assertion that meat consumption in France decreased during the sixteenth century, though he thought that this trend was most prevalent after 1550.

⁸² AN K 504/5/f21, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1–30, 1508*; Appendix II.IX, spreadsheet.

⁸³ "omaille" "Le lund xi jour du septembr", AN K 504/5/f21, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1–30, 1508*; Godefroy's dictionary of historic French dialects notes that "omaille" is a variant of the word "almaille," originally coming from the Latin "animalia." In medieval French, "almaille" and "omaille" were used to refer to any large quadruped—beef, horse, mutton, goat—but the term was more regularly linked to cattle (*bêtes à cornes*). See Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du ix^e au xv^e siècle* 1881 (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1881) 226.

⁸⁴ "moton," "Le lund xi jour du septembr," AN K 504/5/f21, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1–30, 1508*.

⁸⁵ See spreadsheet.

The *comptes de bouche* of Henry II and Francis II of France reflect similar dependence on veal and mutton within the mid-sixteenth-century French royal household.⁸⁶ Since the royal household was much larger than Duchess Jeanne's household, the division of foodstuffs recorded in royal accounts was much more complex.⁸⁷ Incoming foodstuffs were recorded according to the kitchen that received and processed them—the *cuisine commun*, *cuisine de bouche*, or the *cuisine de bouche de la reine*—offering clearer understanding of the distribution of foodstuffs within the household.⁸⁸ On a typical meat day in the royal household under Francis II, 1 October 1559 for example, quadruped meat arrived at the *cuisines de bouche* and *commun* in a variety of forms.⁸⁹ The *cuisine de bouche* received beef in the forms of *boullon*,⁹⁰ *royale*,⁹¹ and *grosse*,⁹² while two whole mutton⁹³, four lamb,⁹⁴ and one veal⁹⁵ also arrived.⁹⁶ On the same day, the *cuisine commun* received *boullon*, *royale*, and *grosse* beef, thirteen whole mutton, and two veal.⁹⁷ Certainly the royal household was exceptionally large, especially compared to the fifty-strong household of Duchess Jeanne, though the reliance on quadruped meats is represented in both the *cuisines de bouche* and *commun*.

The cooks who staffed the royal *cuisines de bouche* and *commun* clearly spent considerable time and resources preparing and cooking quadruped meat, despite the august status

⁸⁶ *Comptes de bouche, Henri II, August–November, 1557*, A.N. K 92/4/1-18; *Comptes de bouche, 1559*, K 92/31/1-13; *Comptes de bouche, François II, October 1-15 1559*, K 92/36/1/1-15; *Comptes de bouche, François II, October 16–30, 1559*, K 92/36/2/1-15. Also see Appendix II.IX.

⁸⁷ In terms of categorical divisions.

⁸⁸ The *cuisine commun* was the kitchen within which the royal court's food was cooked, both for servants and officers. The *cuisine de bouche* catered to the king's household. The *cuisine de bouche de la reine* catered to the queen's household.

⁸⁹ A.N. K 92/36/1/1, *Comptes de bouche, Francis II, October 1, 1559*.

⁹⁰ unknown.

⁹¹ unknown.

⁹² "large" cuts, possibly a cut from the hip or rib.

⁹³ "*dux moutons*".

⁹⁴ "*quatre agnux*".

⁹⁵ "*ung veau*".

⁹⁶ A.N. K 92/36/1/1, *Comptes de bouche, Francis II, October 1, 1559*.

⁹⁷ A.N. K 92/36/1/1, *Comptes de bouche, Francis II, October 1, 1559*.

of the household. We would normally assume that the cuisine *be bouche* produced finer or more refined food than the *commun*, though the king's household had a large domestic *familia* that was also fed from the cuisine *de bouche*; even in this case, the royal cooks still spent considerable time preparing beef, mutton, and veal.

Later, between the late sixteenth- and mid-seventeenth century, surviving royal French *comptes de bouche* reveal almost the same dependence on beef, veal, and mutton. Of the twenty-two surviving meat-day royal *comptes de bouche* held in the Archives nationales dating between the early 1560s and the early 1650s, veal was present in the *comptes* on eighteen days, beef and mutton on seventeen days, while pork was only listed twice and lamb only once.⁹⁸ It is not possible to reconstruct a full understanding of the foods moving through the French royal kitchens due to the patchy survival rates of *comptes de bouche*, though it seems certain that the beef, veal, and mutton played a central role in victualling strategies, while pork seems to have played a lesser role.

One element of quadruped meat that is relatively poorly represented in the accounts is venison. The only household in our group of accounts to consume any significant portion of venison was that of George Clifford, whose cooks prepared venison on at least forty-three separate days, according to the 1575 diet account.⁹⁹ In other households it was rarely served: in the household of Lionel Cranfield in 1622 venison appeared only twice, while venison did not appear at all in the 1623 account of Francis Clifford.¹⁰⁰ Earlier than either of these examples, venison played an important role in dining arrangements when Henry VIII of England met Francis I of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. On the occasion, the royal household of England spent at least £35 7s 10d to procure many hundreds of venison and to

⁹⁸ See Appendix II.X. This includes entries for “*porc*” and “*cochon*.”

⁹⁹ CH MS BA/13 *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

¹⁰⁰ LP MS/1228, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex, 1622–1623*; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

further bake them into pasties at Dover, and then carefully transport them by sea and land to the Field.¹⁰¹ Venison was the only meat that was procured and baked into pasties before transport to Calais, likely due to the difficulty of obtaining venison in what was left of the limited English domains in France. Instead, Henry's household officers obtained and butchered it in England, then transported it in the highly portable form of pasties, all on account of impressing the French delegation on their arrival to the field. Still, venison seems not to have been a regular element of most households after the early seventeenth century. Deer parks continued to frame many country houses, but their role in ordinary daily victualling habits seems to have decreased sharply by the early seventeenth century.

Overall, the role of quadruped meats in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French and English great household provisioning strategies was fundamental. Some scholars assert that poultry and game increased in prominence in cookery collections of the seventeenth century, but this obscures the fact that more humble meats played a significant role in the overall volume and cost of proteins served in the average French and English noble household. Our great household cooks still spent considerable amounts of time preparing beef, veal, and mutton for the domestic *familia*. Beef and mutton undoubtedly made appearances on masters' tables in one form or another, though the accounts reveal that the normal volumes in which it was received indicate that it was used largely used for feeding domestic *familia*. Somewhat surprisingly, venison and large game played relatively minor roles in both our medieval and early modern groups of accounts.

Ultimately, despite this increasing emphasis on poultry and game that is reflected in recipe collections, each account included in this survey revealed that masters invested significant

¹⁰¹ Anon., "Expenses at Guisnes for the Interview," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 3: 1519–1523*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London: Longmans *et al.*, 1867) 334–335.

sums of both money and servants' time in feeding their domestic *familia*. It would, therefore, be incorrect to think that the cooks working in great households—at least the ones included in this survey—were ever removed from the cookery of more humble quadruped meats.

Poultry & Small Game

While quadruped consumption was rarely associated with sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century French and English great households, poultry and fowl are traditionally closely associated with the noble household context.¹⁰² Some scholars have asserted that poultry—hen, poussin, capon, etc.—came to be more highly prized in noble households during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. On the topic, Flandrin noted:

First, the number of animal species served on the better tables decreased (while the number of plant species increased). Between 1500–1650, cormorant, stork, swan, crane, bittern, spoonbill, heron, and peacock—large birds once featured at aristocratic feasts but deemed inedible today—vanished from cookbooks and markets.¹⁰³

We know that Serjeantson's recent analysis of archaeological excavations at medieval English manorial and village dump sites found that both types of sites contained large ratios of butchered poultry remains; villages had greater proportions of mature carcasses, while excavations at medieval noble household sites indicate higher consumption rates of juvenile birds.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, leading up to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was a long tradition of associating poultry with noble households. This was both a real trend, as evidenced by the mature and

¹⁰² Allen Greico, "Food and Social Class," in *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Massimo Montanari and Jean-Louis Flandrin, trans. Clarissa Botsford *et al.*, originally published as *Histoire de l'alimentation* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000) 302–312; Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, vol. I (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969); Jack Goody, "The High and the Low Culinary Culture in Asia and Europe," in *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 97–153; Fernand Braudel, "Luxury and the Foods of the Masses," in *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century: The Structure of Everyday Life*, vol. I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 187–193.

¹⁰³ Flandrin, "Dietary Choices, 1500–1800," 404–405. Brackets in original text.

¹⁰⁴ D. Serjeantson, "Birds: Food and a Mark of Status," in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. D. Serjeantson, C. M. Woolgar & T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 131–147.

juvenile poultry remains found at noble household sites, but it was also supposed that peasant households, at least in England, also enjoyed occasional consumption of poultry.

Our accounts indicate that varieties of poultry were, indeed, very important within the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century French and English great household context. Despite assertions surrounding decreasing rates of game fowl consumption, the accounts also reveal that most varieties of fowl that we met in the medieval accounts—goose, lark, mallard, partridge, swan, and woodcock—also appeared in our early modern French and English accounts:

	Council 1541–1542 ¹⁰⁵	3 rd Earl Cumberland 1575–1577 ¹⁰⁶	1 st Earl Middlesex 1622–1623 ¹⁰⁷	4 th Earl Cumberland 1623–1624 ¹⁰⁸	Charles II 1663–1664 ¹⁰⁹	French Royal 1508–1653 ¹¹⁰
Bittern	x	x		x		x
Bunting				x		x
Capon	x	x	x	x	x	x
Chicken	x	x	x	x	x	x
Crane	x					
Curlew		x				
Dove						
Duck			x		x	
Goose	x	x	x	x	x	x
Hen	x	x	x	x		
Heron	x			x		
Lark	x			x	x	x
Mallard		x	x	x	x	
Partridge	x	x	x	x	x	x
Pheasant			x	x	x	x
Pigeons	x	x	x	x	x	x
Plover	x	x	x	x	x	x
Quail					x	
Rabbit	x		x	x	x	x
Small chickens						x
Snipe	x	x		x	x	
Swan	x	x		x	x	
Teal		x	x	x	x	
Turkey		x	x	x	x	x
Various birds		x				x
Woodcock	x	x				x

Table 7. Poultry and game consumption in French and English great households, 1500–1660

¹⁰⁵ NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

¹⁰⁶ CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

¹⁰⁷ *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

¹⁰⁸ *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*, CH MS SC 67; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

¹⁰⁹ NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward's Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

¹¹⁰ *Comptes de Bouche, Cartons des rois*, AN, Series K; Appendix II.VIII; spreadsheet.

The varieties of poultry and fowl recorded in our sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century accounts reveal consumption of much expanded varieties species of poultry and small game as compared to the medieval precedent.

By the 1540s it was clearly very important to Henry that his Council was provided with wide varieties of poultry on the days that they met. Bittern, heron, crane, and swan appear in the Council diet accounts, but so too do many other varieties of poultry and small game: geese, partridge, plover, pigeons, snipe, lark, chicken, capon, and hen among them.¹¹¹ The entry for 3 October 1541 offers a sense of the usual daily quantity necessary for the Council:

<i>“Lune iii^{io} die octobr [1541]”</i>			
The Council			
<u>Poultry and Game</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>d</u>
1 swan	0	6	0
1 goose	0	0	8
3 capons	0	6	4
6 rabbets	0	0	18
36 larks	0	2	0
16 plover	0	4	8
16 pigeons	0	0	16
<u>Total</u>	1	2	5

Table 8. “Monday October 3rd, 1541,” NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*.¹¹²

It included six rabbets, possibly used for meat pies, plus five large birds (swan, goose, and capon) in addition to sixty-eight small birds (lark, plover, pigeon). It is likely that these amounts were enough only for dinner, as most Council members had city residences to return to in the evening, though it gives us a sense of the variety of birds mid-sixteenth-century English elites expected at their tables, even on ordinary, non-feast days.

¹¹¹ See Appendix II.III.

¹¹² See Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

The array of birds and small game that Henry VIII's household offered to his Council was impressive, but an even greater variety of birds was included in the 1570s diet accounts of George Clifford. Between October and April 1575–1576, George Clifford, included many birds that we can also see listed in the Council diet accounts: capon, bittern, goose, hen, chicken, partridge, pigeons, plover, snipe, swan, and woodcock.¹¹³ In addition to these, the kitchen also prepared curlew, mallard, and teal.¹¹⁴ Importantly, beyond variety, Lord Clifford also caused his table to be supplied with turkey freshly arrived from the New World. In the 1575–1576 account, turkey was served on more than twenty-one separate days.¹¹⁵ This did not radically change the Earl's household provisioning strategies; instead, turkey was served alongside dozens of familiar Old World birds on each of the days that it was served. Therefore, providing dozens of poultry and small game birds was not only a custom of the Tudor royal household; noble great households had also expanded varieties of game birds and poultry on offer, up considerably from the selections we saw in the medieval analysis.

Once this expansion in ordinary meat-day poultry and small game consumption had increased in England during the sixteenth century, the trend remained stable throughout the early and mid-seventeenth century. Although Lionel Cranfield's kitchens did not receive some of the more traditional medieval birds like bittern and swan, his cooks were familiar with preparing a formidable selection of game birds including goose, mallard, partridge, pheasant, pigeons, plover, teal, as well as poultry such as hen, chicken, capon, and turkey.¹¹⁶ If we look at comparative rates of consumption within the earl's household, between February and July 1622, the earl's table was set with pigeons on thirty-nine days, chicken on thirty-five days, hen on

¹¹³ CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

¹¹⁴ CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

¹¹⁵ CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

¹¹⁶ See spreadsheet.

twenty-one days, turkey on thirteen days, and capons on twelve.¹¹⁷ Similarly, during the winter and spring of 1623, the household of Francis Clifford consumed bittern, bunting, capon, chicken, goose, heron, lark, mallard, partridge, pheasant, pigeons, plover, rabbit, snipe, swan, teal, and turkey.¹¹⁸ As in the Middlesex accounts, Francis's household consumed some combination of hen or capon, always with a combination of small game fowl. During the 1660s, the taste for many varieties of poultry and small game was sustained in the royal household. The Lord Steward's accounts for the household of Charles II of England between 1662 and 1663 listed capon, chicken, goose, lark, partridge, pheasant, pigeon, plover, quail, teal, swan, and turkey.¹¹⁹

The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English accounts list far more varieties of poultry and small game than any of the medieval accounts. This is somewhat perplexing since we usually associate medieval lords' tables with large amounts of poultry and game. As we saw in Chapter Two, however, tables overflowing with game and poultry were only usually a reality during feasts and celebrations; daily victualling called for far less substantial menus. Thus it seems that the tradition of daily tables overflowing with poultry and small game was truer of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English nobility than it ever typically was of the medieval English nobility. The case, however, was not the same across Europe.

In France, smaller varieties of poultry and small game were consumed on a daily basis within the early sixteenth-century great household context, though the general trend was toward increasing varieties leading up to the mid-seventeenth century. Jeanne de Bourbon's 1508 *compte de bouche* indicates that in September her cooks received mostly poussin, capon,

¹¹⁷ LP MS 1228, Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

¹¹⁸ CH MS SC 67, Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

¹¹⁹ NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward's Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

partridge, pigeon, and capon in addition to the beef and whole mutton served to her domestic *familia*. On any given day, only a small number of poultry and fowl were served, noted below:

“ <i>Le Lund xi^e du septembur</i> ” Jeanne, Duchess of Bourbon Paris city residence.			
Poultry and Game	liv	s	d
2 capons	0	2	6
4 poussin	0	2	0
6 pigeons		1	6
Total	0	6	0
Total meat expenditure for day (including beef and mutton): 1liv.6s.2d.			

Table 9. AN K 504/5/f21, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1-30, 1508*.¹²⁰

With two substantial meals per day, this would average about one large bird and five smaller birds per meal. These amounts were modest, though in keeping with the relatively modest arrangements we examined in the household of Humbert II during the early fourteenth century. While Jeanne did not assert ducal majesty through staggering displays of poultry on a daily basis, the amounts of poultry served in her house each day as well as the quadruped meats served to her domestic *familia* – certainly did underscore her household's elevated status and ability to procure and prepare many types of meats within short periods of time.¹²¹

Within the royal household, *comptes de bouche* indicate that more varieties of poultry and small game were consumed, especially after the mid-sixteenth century. On a daily basis the types of birds found on the king's table often included capon, pigeon, poussin, partridge, and

¹²⁰ See Appendix II.IX, spreadsheet.

¹²¹ Of about sixty or so; listed in the first few pages of AN K 504/5, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1-30, 1508*.

woodcock played primary roles in poultry consumption between 1500 and 1560.¹²² Turkeys first appear in the royal *comptes de bouche* under Francis II in 1559, though other than its introduction, there is little in the way of perceptible shifts in poultry consumption in the surviving accounts between 1550 and 1650.¹²³ Between 1560 and 1650, turkey appeared in twelve of the twenty-two surviving meat day accounts, while poussin appeared in only two accounts.¹²⁴ The sample is too small to truly say that a preference for small poultry was declining in favour of small game birds, though it is notable that chicken also only appeared on five days in the accounts; both seemingly replaced by the trusty old capon and a newfound love for turkey.¹²⁵ In addition to these, and in common with English palates, the French royal cooks regularly prepared pigeons, partridge, pheasant, and woodcock according to the surviving accounts. On 17 September 1592, for example, Henry IV's cooks prepared two turkeys, twenty-four capons, twenty-four pigeons, twelve partridges, two woodcocks, and twelve larks; a normal volume for royal French *comptes de bouche* of the late sixteenth- and mid-seventeenth centuries.¹²⁶ Although they did not experience the expansion in varieties of poultry and game bird consumption that was noted in English great households, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *comptes de bouche* indicate that French royal cooks prepared a considerable variety of poultry and fowl daily.

Overall, both groups of French and English diet accounts indicate that palates for poultry were expanding in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though not at the same rate, and unusually, with English lords seeming to require more variety and abundance at their tables. Far from seeing a decrease in medieval poultry and fowl consumption practices, it seems that many

¹²² See Appendix II.IX; spreadsheet.

¹²³ ““30 Août, 1559”, AN K 92/31/10, *Compte de bouche, François II*, “30 ; also see spreadsheet.

¹²⁴ See Appendix II.X; spreadsheet.

¹²⁵ See Appendix II.X; spreadsheet.

¹²⁶ “Septembre 17, 1592,” AN K 105/A/8, *Compte de bouche, Henri IV*.

of the old medieval birds—hen, capon, pigeon, plover partridge, and even the occasional swan—found their way to seventeenth-century lords just as they did to medieval noble tables. What seems to have changed was the variety of other meats with which they were combined, and the volume of other dishes alongside which they were presented. Although the De Norwich, Mountford, and Eleanor of Brittany’s households averaged about five different varieties of poultry per account, our sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts average about fifteen to sixteen different varieties per account, a threefold increase over our medieval great household group.¹²⁷

Although “revolution” may not be the right word, by the mid-sixteenth century a shift had taken place in England that saw more elites include a greater variety of poultry and fowl into their diets than their medieval counterparts. This is not a hard and fast rule, but the general trend of incorporating increasing varieties of poultry and fowl into their victualling strategies is notable for its abrupt, post–Black Death increase. This cannot be attributed to increasing size in the domestic *familia* alone, since it is really the variation in species rather than a mass increase in daily volumes of food served that is the notable pattern here. In England, at least, there was an undeniable push to incorporate greater varieties of fauna into elite dining routines certainly an ironic trend given that it coincides with the decline in feudal food rents. It seems as if by converting rents largely to cash payments, lords were freeing themselves from the continual bombardment of manorial fauna in favour of specifically-chosen, vendor-procured foodstuffs.

¹²⁷ This is in terms of the varieties listed in the medieval and early modern poultry charts.

Vegetables

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century vegetable consumption has attracted some commentary from scholars over the past decade.¹²⁸ As we saw in the first chapter, recipes for vegetables increased in French recipe collections during the later portion of the seventeenth century, especially with the publication of La Varenne's *Cuisinier françois* and Nicolas Bonnefons's *Jardinier françois*. Specifically, scholars have noted a turning away from root vegetables in favour of less starchy, above-ground species: mushrooms, cardoons, artichokes, asparagus.¹²⁹ Our sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century French and English account groups reveal that a taste for increased varieties of vegetable consumption had been established before the publication of the cookbooks noted above.

¹²⁸ Ken Albala, "Legumes," "Root Vegetables," "Leafy Vegetables," in *Food in Early Modern Europe* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003) 27–29, 33–36, 36–39; Anne Wilson, "From Garden to Table: How Produce was Prepared for Immediate Consumption," in *The Country House Kitchen Garden 1600–1950: How Produce was Grown and How it was Used*, ed. Anne Wilson (London: Sutton & National Trust Enterprises, 1998) 144–161; Susan Campbell, *Charleston Kidding: A History of Kitchen Gardening* (London: Ebury Press, 1996); Katarina Frost, et al., "The Royal Kitchen Garden at Strömsholm Castle: Evaluating Archaeological Methods," *Garden History* 32.2 (Winter, 2004): 261–271; Joan Thirsk, "Preserving the Fruit and Vegetable Harvest, 1600–1700," in *The Country House Kitchen Garden, 1600–1950* (Stroud, U.K.: Sutton, 1998) 162–176; Susan Campbell, *Charleston Kidding: A History of Kitchen Gardening* (London: Ebury Press, 1996).

¹²⁹ Flandrin, "Dietary Choices, 1500–1800," 404.

	Council 1541–1542 ¹³⁰	3 rd Earl Cumberland 1575–1577 ¹³¹	1 st Earl Middlesex 1622–1623 ¹³²	4 th Earl Cumberland 1623–1624 ¹³³	Charles II 1663–1664 ¹³⁴	French Royal 1508–1653 ¹³⁵
Artichoke			x			
Asparagus					x	
Cabbage			x	x		
Capers			x	x		
Carrots			x			
Cucumbers			x	x		
Herbs	x					
Leek					x	
Mushrooms					x	
Olives				x		
Onions	x	x	x	x		
Parsnips			x	x		
Peas			x		x	
Potato			x			
Rocket				x		
Salad			x			x ¹³⁶
Shallots			x			
Skirret			x		x	
Spinach	x					
Turnip			x			

Table 10. Vegetable consumption in French and English great households, 1500–1660.

Only three vegetables maintain a marked presence across the medieval and early modern English accounts: onion, garden peas, and skirret.¹³⁷ Varieties of the *allium* family of vegetables—containing onion and related vegetables—were the most common across our period. Onion was the most frequently used vegetable in medieval and early modern cookery collections, serving the same purpose that it does today: as foundation for layers of flavour to be built upon. Onions were recorded on one hundred percent of days when the Council met, and also appeared in George Clifford’s diet account of 1575, Lionel Cranfield’s diet account of 1622, and Francis

¹³⁰ NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

¹³¹ CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

¹³² *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

¹³³ *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*, CH MS SC 67; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

¹³⁴ NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward’s Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

¹³⁵ *Comptes de Bouche, Cartons des rois*, AN, Series K; Appendix II.VIII; spreadsheet.

¹³⁶ “*Salade*”, appears after 1550, listed under expenses for the department known as the “*fruiterie*,” see spreadsheet; *Comptes de bouche, Henri IV, Avril 1-20, 1579*, AN K 100/47/1&2.

¹³⁷ Compare above chart with chart contained in discussion of medieval great households vegetable consumption.

Clifford's diet account of 1623.¹³⁸ Shallot appeared once in the 1622 Middlesex account.¹³⁹ Leek appeared three times in the 1663–1664 English royal diet account.¹⁴⁰

Garden peas (*Pisum sativum*) seems to have been prized across the periods for the variety, colour, and fresh flavour they added to the table, especially during the summer months. Charles II's cooks received peas on seventy-eight of the 133 days included in the 1663–1664 diet account.¹⁴¹ They were only received in the 1663 account during the summer months, indicating that they were likely simply boiled and served or used as a garnish in more complex dishes as we do today.

Skirret, the vegetable Katherine de Norwich enjoyed serving at important feasts in her fourteenth-century household, also appeared in our seventeenth-century accounts: George Clifford enjoyed skirret three times in the 1622–1623 account, while the cooks of Charles II prepared it five times in the 1663–1664 diet account.¹⁴²

Other, medieval vegetables continued to appear in our early modern group of accounts. The Middlesex household, in addition to the vegetables listed already, consumed turnip, carrot,

¹³⁸ CH MS BA/13 *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; LP MS/1228, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex, 1622–1623*; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.; CH MS SC/67, *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland, 1623–1624*; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

¹³⁹ “Saterdag the 23 of Februsry, Anno 1622”, LP MS/1228, f.17, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex, 1622–1623*; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

¹⁴⁰ NA LS/9/1 *Lord Steward's Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

¹⁴¹ Recorded as *piso* in Eleanor of Brittany's diet account; see Woolgar, *Household Accounts*, vol. 1, 127–163; for the royal household under Charles II see NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward's Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

¹⁴² Three times in the *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet; five times in the NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward's Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet. The *Penguin Companion to Food* states that skirret is of East Asian origin and may not have arrived in Europe until the sixteenth century. According to William Salmon's 1710 *Botanologia, English Herbal or History of Plants*, skirret came in two varieties: garden skirret and field skirret. The garden skirret had numerous long, narrow tubers that grow in clusters, while Salmon's field skirret was dominated by a single large root; both are illustrated in William Salmon, *Botanologia, English Herbal, or, History of Plants* (London: I. Dawks, 1710) 1037. Skirret also appears as *skyrewycz* in the De Norwich account (listed in Woolgar's glossary) as well as in a number of other medieval diet accounts. It is possible that the name has been used for a variety of vegetables over the ages, or that skirret was present in Europe earlier than the *Companion* notes.

skirret, parsnip, and cucumbers in the 1622–1623 account.¹⁴³ The 1623–1624 account of the earl's great contemporary, Francis Clifford, also included receipts for parsnips and cucumbers.¹⁴⁴

Some vegetable dishes appeared with new frequency between 1550 and 1660. Salad (*slade*), not appearing in any of the pre-1570s royal French diet accounts, suddenly appeared twenty-one times in the twenty-nine days of the 1579 *comptes de bouche* of Henry IV and once in the two *comptes de bouche* of 1653 under Louis XIV.¹⁴⁵ Unfortunately, since French royal kitchen clerks favoured entering fruits and vegetables in totals spent on the *fruiterie*¹⁴⁶ for the day, it is impossible to know what ingredients went into these salads, though locally grown lettuces and herbs are the primary candidates. Salad greens also appear in the Middlesex account of 1622 on six separate days between February and July, while rocket was received three times in the spring of 1624 in Francis Clifford's household.¹⁴⁷ We know from the examination of recipe collections in the first chapter that *salat* was known as a dish in late medieval Europe, so varieties of salads were likely on the table throughout the course of our period.¹⁴⁸

In addition, some Old World vegetables were seeing newfound vogue, including artichokes and capers.¹⁴⁹ Although the caper, of Mediterranean origin, is relatively insignificant as a foodstuff, especially since they are almost always salted or brined, some scholars associate

¹⁴³ *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

¹⁴⁴ *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*, CH MS SC 67; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

¹⁴⁵ *Comptes de bouche, Henri IV, avril, juillet, septembre*, AN K 100/47/1/1-10, K 100/47/2/1-9; *comptes de bouche, Louis XIV, octobre* 6, 28, 1653, K 118/64/1-2; also see spreadsheet.

¹⁴⁶ The fruit and vegetable larder. This is a designation that is shared in common between all French *comptes de bouche* surveyed here.

¹⁴⁷ *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

¹⁴⁸ Garden vegetables present special challenges to historians of diet accounts. Many great residences included a kitchen garden whose produce may or may not have been recorded in various household accountancy regimes. Some of our accounts only show purchased items, while others were receivers' accounts of ingredients that arrived into the kitchens.

¹⁴⁹ Appendix II.V; spreadsheet *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*, CH MS SC 67; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

them with the late seventeenth-century French food aesthetic shift.¹⁵⁰ They did see some use earlier in the sixteenth century: Henry VIII included an order for sixteen pounds of capers at a cost of 5s. for the entertainments held at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.¹⁵¹ Capers were also received on two days in the Middlesex account, and on eleven days in Francis Clifford's 1623–1624 account.¹⁵² During the early 1660s, Charles II's household included a number of other, newly fashionable vegetables: on one day mushrooms were served, while on eleven days, asparagus was prepared.¹⁵³ Artichoke, originating from the Mediterranean, was increasingly cultivated throughout France during the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁴ They appeared twice in July of 1623 on the Middlesex table, indicating that they were also being grown in England by the early seventeenth century or that they were imported in their preserved form.¹⁵⁵

Although New World ingredients—tomato, sweet potato, white potato, maize, and all varieties of *Capsicum* peppers—arrived in Europe throughout the sixteenth century, only one New World vegetable appears in our early modern group of accounts: the potato. Whether it was the sweet or white varieties is uncertain, but we know that they had arrived from the New World in England during the 1580s or 1590s.¹⁵⁶ The household of William Cavendish, 1st Earl of

¹⁵⁰ Of Mediterranean origin, the *Companion* does not offer much in the way of information about the caper's historical origins, noting only that Spain, Italy, and Southern France were centres of noted production, see *Penguin Companion to Food*, 158.

¹⁵¹ Anon., 'Expenses at Guisnes for the Interview,' *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 3: 1519–1523*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London: Longmans *et al.*, 1867) 336.

¹⁵² *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet. *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*, CH MS SC 67; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

¹⁵³ *Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II*, NA LS 9/1; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet

¹⁵⁴ More of a Mediterranean ingredient, the *Companion* notes that artichokes were only beginning to appear in Florentine sources in 1466, while Barbara Wheaton notes that other scholars have found mention of artichoke beds in various regions of Italy and France throughout the sixteenth century, see *Penguin Companion to Food*, 43, and Wheaton, *Savoring the Past*, 66–67.

¹⁵⁵ LP MS 1228, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

¹⁵⁶ Its arrival in England is sometimes associated with the New World voyages of Raleigh and Drake. See *Penguin Companion to Food*, 752–755. It has also been associated with the Thomas Harriot's (1560–1621) 1585–1586 sojourn in the ill-fated Roanoke Colony, in present-day North Carolina. Harriot returned from the settlement in 1586 and set to work on *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, published in 1588. In it, Harriot noted about the potato "openavk [potato] are a kind of roots of round forme, some of the bignes of walnuts, some far greater, which are found in moist & marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, or as thogh

Devonshire, received twenty shillings worth of potatoes in preparation for the banquet held in commemoration of the death of his mother, Bess of Hardwick, in May 1608.¹⁵⁷ Potato also appeared three times in the 1622–1623 Middlesex account, in this case being delivered to the household “salsary” for boiling.¹⁵⁸ Interestingly, although the potato does not appear regularly in any of the seventeenth-century diet accounts, its muted presence in the Middlesex account and its presence at Bess of Hardwick’s funeral observances reflects an early, warm reception of the vegetable among the elites of early seventeenth-century England, despite the lack of continued consumption within the great household context.

Though insignificant by cost and volume, the increased frequency of including varied groups of vegetables in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century noble tables points toward a different perspective of dietary innovation within the great household context. As we saw in the first chapter, current historiographical models usually attribute culinary change to the cookery manuals of Bonnefons (1651) and La Varenne (1651).¹⁵⁹ Our sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century French and English great household accounts reveal that change was already afoot among the palates and expectations of the French and English elite. Whereas the medieval accounts listed very few varieties of vegetables, and then only irregularly, our mid-sixteenth- and mid-seventeenth-century accounts indicate that many types of vegetables were bought for masters’ tables in addition to those that were inevitably grown in their kitchen gardens as well.

they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden they are very good meate.” See Harriot, *Report*, 16. Roanoke Colony would become infamous in 1590 when English supply ships arrived only to find that the original 115 or so colonists had disappeared without a trace, their village dismantled.

¹⁵⁷ “April, 1608,” *Household Account of William Cavendish, 1st Earl of Devonshire*, CH MS HM/29, fol. 6 r. The potatoes were included in the 1608 Hardwick account under the heading “Stuff bought for the banquet.” Bess died in February, 1608, but her funeral did not take place until May of 1608 at Derby Cathedral. The banquet—a special reception consisting of sweets, distillations, confections, fruit tarts and so on—was held on the occasion of the funeral. Bess was one of the wealthiest women in England when she died, and was a close friend of Elizabeth I. In case one would worry about the long delay between death and burial, CH MS HM/12 also contains an entry for embalming services.

¹⁵⁸ The saucery was a department of the kitchen responsible for boiling meats, vegetables, and making stocks; also see LP MS 1228, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

¹⁵⁹ See discussion in first chapter.

Were cooks following the fads and innovations of cookbooks or were cookbooks reporting on shifts that had already taken place in sixteenth-century great household kitchens? The answer likely lays somewhere in the middle of that range. The old and new mingled together in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century cookery and came together in a less revolutionary way than is sometimes suggested in current historiography.

Fruits

Fruit consumption patterns, especially when residences included large gardens, are difficult to fully assess. In the French royal household, kitchen clerks did not itemize fruit and vegetable orders making the exact content of orders for the *fruiterie* unknown. Sometimes items like *comfit* appeared under the entries for the *fruiterie*, although it is uncertain the exact type of fruit these preserves would have been made from.¹⁶⁰ In the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English accounts, fruits were usually itemized and included either within the main group of victuals received for the day, or under the saucery department whose job it was to make soups, broths, sauces, and blanched or boiled vegetables. In these cases, it is possible to get a sense of the types of fruits that were being purchased for great household tables. Complementing the habit of increasing vegetable consumption, our early modern English group of accounts reveal that by the 1620s English noble households were significantly increasing the varieties of fruits that they were providing to their cooks:

¹⁶⁰ AN K 105/A/6, K 105/A/7, K 105/A/8, K 105/A/9, September 15–18, 1592, *comptes de bouche*, Henri IV.

	Council 1541–1542 ¹⁶¹	3 rd Earl Cumberland 1575–1577 ¹⁶²	1 st Earl Middlesex 1622–1623 ¹⁶³	4 th Earl Cumberland 1623–1624 ¹⁶⁴	Charles II 1663–1664 ¹⁶⁵	French Royal 1508–1653 ¹⁶⁶
apples	x	x	x	x		
barberries					x	
currants				x		
dates			x	x		
figs				x		
gooseberries					x	
green apples	x					
lemon			x			
lime			x			
oranges	x		x	x		
pears	x	x	x	x		
prunes	x		x	x		
quince	x					
raisin				x		
strawberries	x		x			

Table 11. Fruit consumption in French and English great households, 1500–1660.

Apples, pears, and seasonal berries were the most popular fruit mentioned in the accounts, and for the first time, we have verification that fruits were sometimes consumed in their raw state. In the Council diet accounts of 1541–1542, dessert was usually composed of a cooked fruit and a raw fruit. For example, on 5 October 1541, the king’s cooks received both quinces and apples.¹⁶⁷ While the quinces were simply listed as “quynces”—likely consumed in their raw state—the apples were listed as “appuls for tart.”¹⁶⁸ In this case it does not seem that the tart was part of a formal banquet; it was a normal day in terms of the Council’s diet so it seems that the apple tart was simply a small dessert to be served at the Council’s meal. Henry’s cooks relied on apples throughout the year, likely stored from the autumn harvests, while

¹⁶¹ NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

¹⁶² CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

¹⁶³ LP MS 1228, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

¹⁶⁴ CH MS SC 67, *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

¹⁶⁵ NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward’s Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

¹⁶⁶ The French royal *comptes de bouche* do not itemize fruit and vegetable orders. The department of the *fruiterie* existed in all of the *comptes de bouche* surveyed here, and the department itself also appears in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French royal household ordinances; see *Comptes de Bouche, Cartons des rois*, AN, Series K; and the *Ordonnances de l’hôtel du roi* (1286–1316) contained in A.N. JJ/57.

¹⁶⁷ “V^t die octobr”, NA E/101/96/27, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

¹⁶⁸ “V^t die octobr”, NA E/101/96/27, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

seasonal and preserved fruits were also used to give the menu some variety. When it was colder, for example, on 28 October 1541, the cooks received apples, quinces, and “proynes for tart”: two fresh varieties of fruit, and one preserved fruit created into a dessert.¹⁶⁹ During the warmer months, the royal cooks prepared more seasonal fruits, relying heavily on strawberries.¹⁷⁰ Enjoying them five times throughout June 1542, the cooks served them both raw and baked, sometimes at the same meal. On 4 June 1542, for example, the accounts list “strawberes to eate” and “strawberes for tart,” so bowls of fresh strawberries were on the tables that day as well as fresh strawberry tart.¹⁷¹ In the case of fresh, seasonal fruits, it seems to have been acceptable to decrease the variety of fruit served at meals, and increase the variety in serving or cooking method.

Fruit continued to appear regularly in the early seventeenth-century English accounts. In 1622, the Middlesex household received a similar selection of fruits, as seen in the mid-sixteenth-century Council diet accounts, and additionally dates, lemon, and lime.¹⁷² Francis Clifford’s accounts of 1624 show very similar groups of fruits as seen in the Council diet account, but with the addition of figs, raisins, and currants, largely fruits that were well known during the medieval period. Strangely, the royal accounts under Charles II list only barberries, and then almost every day, and occasionally gooseberries.¹⁷³ Certainly the royal gardens produced more species of fruit than that, but for an unknown reason they were an especially regularly consumed foodstuff within the royal household.

¹⁶⁹ “xxviii^o die octobr”, NA E/101/96/27, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

¹⁷⁰ See spreadsheet.

¹⁷¹ “Jovis iiii^{to} die juni”, NA E/101/96/27, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

¹⁷² *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet. Certainly the Council cooks would have relied on dates, too, but they did not appear in NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

¹⁷³ NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward’s Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

Certainly on a normal day, fruits played a steady but minor role in the larger great household dietary regime, though this was not the case when it came to celebrations and special observances. In these cases, when dietary norms were magnified many times over, it is possible to get a better sense of the importance of fruits in the Tudor and early Stuart diet. When Tudor and early Stuart elites wanted to impress guests, fruit played a most crucial role.

When Henry VII traveled to Calais to meet the future Philip I of Castile at St. Peter's church in June of 1500, strawberries and cream were a highlight of the menu, as were the seven cart loads of cherries that were delivered to the royal cooks for the occasion, with one clerk noting that "[t]he plente was so moche that the peple cowde not spende hit that day, wherefore the kyng command [ed] hit to be spent on the morue amonge the peisaunce be ther."¹⁷⁴ Henry's son, Henry VIII, would not be outdone by his father on his own trip to France in 1520. When meeting with Francis II at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June of 1520, Henry's officers procured more than 5,000 oranges, over 8,000 pippin apples, and 200 lemons in addition to strawberries and cherries for the saucery¹⁷⁵ likely made into compotes, and dishes of apples, pears, cherries, and strawberries laid out in the garderobes.¹⁷⁶ Although the c. 13,000 oranges and apples procured for the event were no small consideration, they were also only a small portion of the overall preparations made for the event, in similar proportion to daily entries of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English great household accounts. Fruit procurement in itself was a major task, both at the Field of the Cloth of Gold and even within the normal sixteenth- and seventeenth-century great household dietary regime.

¹⁷⁴ "Ther were ordeyned vij. horselode of cherys; ther lakked noo creme, strawberys, nor sugar..." Anon., "Meeting of King Henry VII and the Archduke Philip, at St. Peter's, near Calais, June 9th, 1500," in *The Chronicle of Calais*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: J.R. Nichols & Son, 1846) 50.

¹⁷⁵The *salsaria* or saucery was a kitchen in which meats were simmered and in which sauces and compotes were made.

¹⁷⁶ "Expenses at Guisnes for the Interview," in ', *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII: July 1520*, Volume 3: 1519–1523, ed. J. S. Brewer (London: Longmans, 1867) 331–345.

The importance of fruit-based sweets and desserts at special feasts seems to have intensified around the turn of the seventeenth century. In May of 1608, the servants of Bess of Hardwick's son, William Cavendish, organized a most spectacular funereal banquet on the occasion of Bess's death. Adhering very strictly to the new vogue of incorporating variety in the menu, the earl's household received two enormous orders of fruit, fruit-based confections, and other sweets designed to reflect Bess's position as one of the premier ladies of the realm.

Included were

“ plums of Genoa 1lb, 12s.; single apricots, 1lb, 10s.; varios amber plums, 1lb, 10s.; Italian plums, 1lb 6s.8d; Plums of [?] ¹⁷⁷ 2 lb, 10s.; Damson plums, 1lb, 6s. 8d.; impiall plums, 1lb, 6s. 8d.; dried province ¹⁷⁸ plums 1 lb, 10s.; French apricots 1lb, 10s.; prones valenc ¹⁷⁹ 1lb, 6s. 8d.; pigat plums 1 lb, 6s. 8d.; arabian plums 1 lb, 6s. 8d.; Buchones ¹⁸⁰ of Genoa 1 lb, 6s. 8d.; paste of Genoa ¹⁸¹ 6s.; paste of apricots 1lb, 6s. 6d.; paste of quines 1lb, 4s.; paste of barberies, 1lb, 4s.; dried plums 1 lb, 3s. 4d.; paste of roses 1 lb, 3s. 4d.; paste of cherries 1lb, 3s. 4d.; paste of dates & plums 1lb, 3s. 4d.; paste of oranges 1lb, 3s. 4d.; paste of lemons 1lb, 5s. 6d.; paste of gooseberries 1lb, 3s. 4d.; proines of Brunella ¹⁸² 2lb, 6s. 4d.; Macarons ¹⁸³ 1lb, 4s. 6d.; candied lemons, 1lb, 5s.; candied orings 1 lb, 8s.; Preserved: white raspberries 3 lb, 10s. 10d.; red raspberries 3 lb, 10s. 10d.; red plums 2 lb, 6s. 8d.; olive plums 3lb 8oz, 11s. 8d.;
...¹⁸⁴
...¹⁸⁵ .

and:

“Stuff bought for the banquet: candied marigolds 1lb, 5s.; candied roses 1lb, 5s.; candied paste 1lb, 5s.; candied almond 1lb, 5s.; candied pear-plums 1lb, 5s.; candied paste [of] plums 1lb, 5s.; candied pippins 1lb, 5s.; candied paste of orange 1lb, 5s.; candied pynamond ¹⁸⁵ 1lb, 5s.; candied orengs 1lb, 5s.; candied pear-plums 1lb, 5s.; candied peares 1lb, 5s.; candied pomecytrons ¹⁸⁶ 1lb, 5s.; candied paste of lemons 1lb, 5s.; candied lemons 1lb, 5s.; dried peares 1lb, 3s.; paste of lemons 1lb, 3s.; paste of Genoa 1lb, 5s.; paste of pippins 1lb, 3s.; paste of peare-plums 1lb, 3s.; paste of lemons 1lb, 3s.; half pippins 1lb, 3s.; ...; paste

¹⁷⁷ “m.collnl.”

¹⁷⁸ Probably Provence, Fr.

¹⁷⁹ Prunes from Valencia?

¹⁸⁰ Unknown. Possibly a small candy.

¹⁸¹ A type of sugared & spiced fruit paste.

¹⁸² Likely prunes of Brunello di Montalcino, It.

¹⁸³ Likely: macaroons, a very early incidence of their explicit mention in English diet texts. The *Companion* notes their appearance in late seventeenth-century English cookery texts, see *Companion*, 558.

¹⁸⁴ “April 1608, Preserves,” CH MS HM/29, fol. 6v.

¹⁸⁵ Unknown. Possibly pine nut.

¹⁸⁶ Pomecitron: a citrus fruit, larger but less acidic than a lemon, with a thick rind. See Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500–1760* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007) 298.

of pomecytrons 1lb, 3s.; paste of abricots 1lb, 3s.; ...; sugar candie white 2lb, 5s.; potatoes 6 [?], 20s.; ... some books of gold¹⁸⁷ ...”¹⁸⁸

With a sum total of £27.7s.7d., Bess’s funeral banquette seems to have included every imaginable type of fruit and fruit paste, a truly astounding collection of ingredient flavour and regional origin brought together as a conspicuous display of the refinement of the Cavendish family. In addition, new items played a strong presence on the menu. The potato played a part of the banquette, as mentioned in the analysis of vegetables, but so too did macaroons. There is much debate on the origins of the macaroon, but it seems to have been a new confection of early modern origins. The *Companion* notes that it began to appear in English cookery collections during the late seventeenth century, though here we see them nearly a century earlier, in 1608.

Although fruit did not always play a strong role in great household diet accounts, its place at the table cannot be underestimated. Fruits seem to have been present on most days throughout the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts, and despite not existing in itemized lists in the *comptes de bouche*, the existence of the *fruiterie* across the medieval and early modern periods reinforces the notion that fruit was important and regularly included in French royal victualling strategies. Although the varieties in fruit mustered for Bess of Hardwick’s funeral banquette was exceptional, it highlights just how important fruits were to the cream of Elizabethan society.

Spices & Aromatics

Spices continued to play an important role in cookery across our period, though like fruit and vegetables, they do not always appear in diet accounts. In larger households that included the office of spicer or apothecary, including the French and English royal households, spice accounts were usually kept separately from other victuals by clerks working in the spicery.¹⁸⁹ The larger the household and more

¹⁸⁷ Probably gold leaf for endoring.

¹⁸⁸ “April 1608, Stuff bought for the banquette”, CH MS HM/29, fol. 7r.

¹⁸⁹ The *Eltham Ordinances* [1526, Eltham Palace], created for the royal household under Henry VIII, offers the most explicit overview of the office of spicer: “Clerkes of the Spicery: it is ordeyned that the clerkes of the spicery, or two of them at the least, be dayly resident in their office, to see the issueing and comeing in as well of all manner of spice, waxe, and other, as it may be used to the King's most honour and proffit, and to see the issue and expence of

extensive the bureaucracy, the less likely it is that spices appear in diet accounts. In other cases, such as the Council diet accounts of 1541–1542, and occasionally in Francis Clifford’s household, spices and herbs would be entered under the catchall phrases “spices” or “herbs”. Therefore, although diet accounts can allow some investigation of spice consumption habits within the great household context, they do not allow for a complete understanding of consumption.

	Council 1541–1542 ¹⁹⁰	3 rd Earl Cumberland 1575–1577 ¹⁹¹	1 st Earl Middlesex 1622–1623 ¹⁹²	4 th Earl Cumberland 1623–1624 ¹⁹³	Charles II 1663–1664 ¹⁹⁴	French Royal 1508–1653 ¹⁹⁵
herbs	x					
spices	x			x		
cinnamon				x		
cloves		x	x			
ginger		x	x	x		
grains of paradise		x				
mace			x	x		
nutmeg		x	x	x		
pepper			x	x		
saffron			x			
salt	x		x	x		
sugar		x	x	x		

Table 12. Spice consumption in early modern group of French and English great household accounts, 1500–1660

Among smaller great households in whose diet accounts spices appear, salt and sugar were the two most readily consumed spices.¹⁹⁶ Sugar played a very prominent role in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cookery collections, especially in banquet and dessert cookery, while

waxe that shall be dayly spent in the King's household, and that the stuffe of waxe pertyning to the said office be good and not mixed with tallow, and of the best according to the auntient customes and rules of the King's household.” Anon., “Ordinances for the Household, made at Eltham in the 27th Year of King Henry VIII. A. D. 1526,” in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary*, Society of Antiquaries, ed. unknown (London: John Nichols, 1790) 141. Under Elizabeth I, the office was charged with similar tasks: “The Spicery: Chefe Clerke ... 20s. a moneth for his expence in receiving of spice at the storehouse, and sending of spice from the storehouse to the court”, Anon., “The Booke of the Household of Queene Elizabeth, as it was ordered in the 4th yeare of her Reign,” in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary*, Society of Antiquaries, ed. unknown (London: John Nichols, 1790) 285. For the medievel spicery, see Woolgar, Great Household, 144.

¹⁹⁰ NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

¹⁹¹ CH MS BA/13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland, 1575–1577*; Appendix II.IV; spreadsheet.

¹⁹² *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228; Appendix II.V; spreadsheet.

¹⁹³ *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*, CH MS SC 67; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

¹⁹⁴ NA LS/9/1, *Lord Steward's Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663–1664*; Appendix II.VII, spreadsheet.

¹⁹⁵ *Comptes de Bouche, Cartons des rois*, AN, Series K; Appendix II.VIII; spreadsheet.

¹⁹⁶ Sugar and salt were usually considered spices.

salt played a similarly important role in savoury courses. Within the Council diet accounts, salt was received every day, while sugar does not appear in the account, despite the strong likelihood that the kitchen was using it since we know they were making various types of tarts for dessert. Sugar is more readily represented across the accounts. It appeared on one day in George Clifford's 1575 diet account, once in the 1622 Middlesex account, but it appeared twenty-nine times in Francis Clifford's 1622 diet account.¹⁹⁷ Salt appeared in Francis Clifford's household as well as the Middlesex household, but always infrequently.¹⁹⁸

Certainly both salt and sugar were crucial to great household cookery in both France and England, despite not ever appearing in the *comptes de bouche* nor the lord steward's accounts under England's Charles II. The frequencies with which they appear in accounts serve less to reflect actual consumption patterns, and more to reinforce the notion that their shared importance across a variety of households was a mark of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cookery.

Other spices were shared among the early modern English noble household group. Many of the spices associated with medieval cookery manuals—ginger, nutmeg, cinnamon, clove, and mace—continued to appear. In Francis Clifford's 1622 diet account, nutmeg appeared twenty-four times, pepper twenty-three times, mace fourteen times, cinnamon five times, and ginger twice.¹⁹⁹ In the 1622 Middlesex account, sugar, ginger, mace, saffron, cloves, nutmeg all appeared once, while pepper appeared twice.²⁰⁰ Although it is impossible to do any meaningful comparative quantitative analysis of these frequencies, the continued use of spices closely associated with the Late International Gothic seasoning aesthetic is notable in itself. As we saw in the survey of cookery collections, the seventeenth-century English habit was to retain some

¹⁹⁷ See spreadsheet.

¹⁹⁸ See spreadsheet.

¹⁹⁹ CH MS SC 67, *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*; Appendix II.VI; spreadsheet.

²⁰⁰ LP MS 1228, *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*; spreadsheet.

use of spices and aesthetics that were associated with the medieval past, while the French revolution in taste, occurring during and after the 1650s, favoured a seasoning aesthetic that relied upon herbs, reductions, and simplified flavours.

This may seem late to be using such a group of spices; however, the early seventeenth-century continuity in consumption of spices related to medieval culinary aesthetics also reflects their continued appearance in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English cookery collections. While the early modern period may have brought some change to European palates, the overall nature of seasoning aesthetic, at least within the trendy Middlesex household and in the Cumberland household. Some spices, at least, remained important in the English great household context.

Other spices, notably saffron and grains of paradise, were ordered more infrequently than most in the early modern English group of accounts. Both appeared only once across the group. Grains appeared in preparation for Christmas in George Clifford's household on 17 December 1575, while the Middlesex household was the only to record having received saffron, on 9 July, 1622.²⁰¹ While grains of paradise were rare even among medieval cookery manuscripts, only appearing twice in *Forme of Cury*, it is surprising that they were still being used in the Cumberland household. Saffron, however, is a more notable omission from most of the accounts. Saffron was the only spice on our list that was produced locally in England; the market town of Saffron Waldon, Essex, became a centre of large-scale production in the later Middle Ages, with the town's charter and saffron-bearing coat of arms granted by Edward VI in 1550.²⁰² Still, despite the sixteenth-century notability of the town's production, most of our great households did not record any.

²⁰¹ *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland*, CH MS BA 13; *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228; spreadsheet.

²⁰² Henry Phillips, *History of Cultivated Vegetables*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn and Company, 1822) 185.

One should be cautious about reading too far into this sixteenth- and seventeenth-century decline in saffron consumption as recorded in the accounts. As we have seen, diet accounts, even the ones that did contain mention of spices, did not record everything about great household spice consumption. The decline of saffron consumption in the seventeenth-century English diet accounts could be due to an actual shift, such as a decline in scarcity of saffron due to increased domestic production, or it could simply reflect the intermittent nature of spice orders to the kitchen due to the existence of a household spicery and associated clerks as in the case of the accounts of the royal households. Despite limitations, diet accounts that included spice orders tell us much about the types of spices that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English elites were consuming, an indication that the Late International Gothic seasoning aesthetic survived the medieval period, and accompanied the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century more toward increased variety in fish, poultry, fruit, and vegetable consumption.

Drinks, Cooking Liquids, Oils and Fats

Although drink provision was removed from the duties of the kitchen proper, as we saw in the second chapter, it should bear some mention since drink was always included in the diet accounts examined here. As in our medieval account group, the French continued to rely almost exclusively on wine as the drink of choice for both master and servant, while English great households continued to rely primarily on ale, some wine, and the newly admired beer.

Ale was the most common beverage in medieval England, although hops were introduced into the brewing process throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁰³ When commercial

²⁰³ Richard Unger, *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) 306–309.

production of beer took off in the Low Countries during the early sixteenth century, the English avidly imported both beer and recipes for beer from the Dutch.²⁰⁴ Tudor physician Andrew Boorde's *Compendyous Regyment* (1557) described the situation regarding English beer and ale consumption by noting that "[a]le for an Euglysahe man is a natorall diyнк...Bere is made of malte, of hoppes, and water: it is a naturall drynke for a Dutche man. And nowe of late dayes it is moche vsed in England."²⁰⁵

Our sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English account groups reflect the same reliance on ale and introduction of beer as outlined by Boorde. Both beer and ale were served at meals prepared for Henry VIII's Council during the 1540s. On an average day, 5 October 1541 for example, the buttery served the Council 2s.-worth of ale and 4d.-worth of beer; on rare occasions the buttery required 3s.-worth of ale, but even on these days, the cost of beer served still amounted to 4d.²⁰⁶ The 1267 *Assize of Bread and Ale* set the price of ale throughout the late medieval, Tudor, and Stuart periods, setting a scale of between two and three gallons of ale per penny,²⁰⁷ at this rate, the Council's ale consumption per meeting day was somewhere between fifty to seventy gallons, or around four hundred to five hundred and fifty pints of ale, and about ten gallons of beer, or about sixty pints.²⁰⁸ Not all of this would be consumed, but this was the

²⁰⁴ Unger, *Beer*, 308–309.

²⁰⁵ Andrew Boorde, *A Compendyous Regyment, compyled by Andrew Boorde, of physycke doctour* [c.1557], ed. F.J. Furnivall (London: N.T. Trübner & Co, 1870) 256.

²⁰⁶ "V^t die octobr," NA E/101/96/27, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*, an example of a day when 3s.-worth of ale, 4d.-worth of beer was served can be found on "Lune x^{imo} die octobr NA E/101/96/27, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*.

²⁰⁷ The full text of the Assize is transcribed in *The Statutes of the Realm*, "Assize of Beer [1267]: When a quarter of Wheat is sold for 3s. or 3s. 4d. and a Quarter of Barley for 20d. or 2s., and a Quarter of Oats for 16d., then Brewers in cities ought and may well afford to sell two gallons of beer or ale for a penny, and out of cities to sell 3 gallons for a penny. And when in a town 3 gallons are sold for a penny, out of a town they ought and may sell four; and this Assize ought to be holden throughout all England." Anon. [1267], "Assisa Cervisie," in *The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third, in Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain*, vol. I (London: Record Commission, 1810–1828) 199–200.

²⁰⁸ Calculations based on the prices established in the *Assize of Bread and Ale*, and on the entry for "Gallon" in Zupko's *Dictionary of Weights and Measures*, 163. Zupko notes that the beer gallon could vary in measurement, but it was set at 8 pints to the gallon under Elizabeth I. One would suspect a similar measure was used in Henry VIII's

standard volume of ale and beer that was required to be on hand to adequately meet the Council and its retainers' needs. Council meeting days generally did not happen on major holidays, so it seems that the absence of wine could be related to fact that these were everyday meals, though still quite refined.

In George Clifford's household, beer seemed to take primary importance over ale: the 1575 account only recorded beer provision, even on high feasts such as Christmas.²⁰⁹ In addition to beer served in the household, the earl's porters dispensed beer at the castle gate; each day of the 1575 account shows that at least a few quarts-worth of beer—or about six to ten pints—were “Ex^p by porter at the gate.”²¹⁰ Except for the almonries of the French and English royal households, none of our other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century noble accounts mention anything about feeding the poor. We know that the household of Katherine de Norwich maintained a dozen paupers each day, but the tradition seems to have been in decline by the fifteenth century. Beer expended at the gate of Bolton Abbey by the third earl's porters was listed as an expense in the accounts; it is possible that beer disbursement at the gate was one of the last vestiges of the medieval tradition of feeding paupers. Wine was not mentioned in George Clifford's 1575 account. Similarly, the 1622 diet account of Lionel Cranfield also reflected only beer consumption within the household; wine and ale were not mentioned. Further, the 1622 Middlesex account reveals that while the household depended on beer for mealtime drink, there was always at least two types of beer: “ordinary beere” and “stronge beer.”²¹¹ Each weekly tally in the Middlesex account indicated that strong beer was the beer more commonly consumed within the household, while ordinary or small beer—beer that

household. My calculations have been approximated. Exact calculations result in 48-72 gallons of ale per meeting day, totaling 384-576 pints; 8-12 gallons of beer per meeting day, totaling 64-96 pints.

²⁰⁹ “Sundaye the xxv daye of december, 1575,” CH MS BA 13, *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland*.

²¹⁰ “Thursday the xx of october 1575,” CH MS BA 13 *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland*. This is only an example, the same note can be found on each day of the account.

²¹¹ *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228.

contains a lower percentage of alcohol, usually made from the second brewing of mash—always appeared in lesser volumes. Strong beer appeared listed in the Middlesex accounts each day, while small beer appeared with less frequency, but still maintaining a presence throughout the account.

In France, wine took pride of place. In Duchess Jehanne’s *compte* of 1508, the only beverage that appeared during the month of September was wine.²¹² The Duchess’s wine (*vin de bouche*) was always listed separately from wine served to household officers’ tables (*vin de gentlez hommes*).²¹³ On 4 September 1508, Jeanne’s table received one potell of wine while her servants’ tables received seven.²¹⁴ In larger French households, the royal household for example, *comptes de bouche* record a complex trail of wine receipt and disbursement. In addition to dividing the *eschançonnerie*²¹⁵ into wine for the king (*eschançonnerie bouche*) and wine for servants’ tables (*eschançonnerie commun*), the royal *comptes de bouche* sometimes detail on the source of the wine. The *compte* for 1 April 1579, records that the *eschançonnerie bouche* served Henry III wine (*vin*) procured from Jehan de Champagne.²¹⁶ On the same day, the *eschançonnerie commun* served wine (*vin*) and claret (*vin claret*), also procured from Jehan de Champagne, in addition to white wine (*vin blanc*) procured from “Martin.”²¹⁷ While vendors and volumes served could vary from day to day, the *comptes de bouche* reflect the survival of the *eschançonnerie* across the medieval and early modern periods and highlight the department’s focus on wine service within larger and small French great households.

²¹² AN K 504/5, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1–30, 1508*; Appendix II.IX, spreadsheet.

²¹³ AN K 504/5, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1–30, 1508*; Appendix II.IX, spreadsheet.

²¹⁴ “Le dimanche iii jour d. septembre”, AN K 504/5/£7, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1–30, 1508*; Appendix II.IX, spreadsheet. A potell is equivalent to around four pints. Zupko’s dictionary notes: “ii quarts maketh a potell” and “ii pynts maketh a quart” Zupko, *Dictionary of Weights and Measures*, 313; 336.

²¹⁵ The department of the royal household that served drink to both the monarch’s table and servants’.

²¹⁶ “Mercredy premier jour d’april,” AN K 100/47/1/1 *compte de bouche*.

²¹⁷ “Mercredy premier jour d’april,” AN K 100/47/1/1 *compte de bouche*, Henri III, AN K 100/47/1/1.

In addition to alcohol, milk and cream regularly appeared in most of the accounts. Both milk and cream were provided for daily when the Council dined in the 1542 account, as well as in all of the daily entries for the households of George Clifford in 1575, Lionel Cranfield in 1622, Francis Clifford in 1623.²¹⁸ It is uncertain what their exact use was—whether for drinking, cooking, or both—though they appear with high frequency across the early modern English accounts.²¹⁹ Some medieval and early modern recipes called for milk, though they remained relatively few in number across the period. For example:

Date, location	Collection	Total # recipes.	Recipes calling for Milk		Recipes Calling for Cream	
1380s, France	<i>Le Viandier de Taillevent</i>	222	19	9 %	1	0.4 %
1420, France	<i>Du fait de cuisine</i>	81	13	16 %	2	1 %
1430, England	<i>Liber cure cocorum</i>	135	29	16 %	2	1 %
1596, England	<i>The Good Housewife's Jewell</i>	166	5	3 %	10	6 %

Table 13. Milk vs. cream in selected collections.²²⁰

Although the exact use for so much milk and cream is unknown, the patterns present suggest that milk was possibly being consumed as a drink by some, or more likely, that there were some dishes that were served every day, like porridges, puddings, and custards.

Milk by-products, especially butter and cheese, served important roles in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century French and English great household dietary strategies. Butter appeared daily in each of the early modern English accounts, although it did not appear in the *comptes de bouche*.²²¹ On the other hand, the French *comptes de bouche* reveal heavy reliance on *fromage* (cheese), appearing listed under the *fruiterie* each day of the accounts, while the early modern

²¹⁸ *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland*, CH MS BA 13; *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228 Middlesex; CH MS SC 67, *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*; milk and cream did not appear in the early modern French group of accounts.

²¹⁹ See spreadsheet.

²²⁰ My own calculations.

²²¹ I suspect butter and oil were kept as cellarer's stock accounts in the French royal household, but the accounts have not survived.

English accounts did not include mention of cheese.²²² Surely the French royal household used butter and oil and English great households consumed cheese, but in our group of early modern French and English accounts, the patterns of consumption reflect only what the kitchen had use for; table items like cheese and butter may have been prepared outside the kitchen in various households.

There were two other fats and liquids derived from quadrupeds that were important in some great household provisioning strategies: suet and meat broth. Suet was ordered frequently in George Clifford's household, and it was always on hand in the 1622 Middlesex account.²²³ Although it was not used each week, the household kept around twenty pounds on hand at most times.²²⁴ Suet was likely used for tarts, larding meats, and in making coffins and tart crusts.

Ingredients for meat broth, made from either beef or mutton, appeared regularly in most of the English accounts. "Marybones", or marrow bones, appeared on a number of days in the 1541 Council diet accounts of 1575, and they also appeared as neats feet regularly in the 1622 Middlesex Account, while George Clifford's 1575 diet account noted that "mutton ffor potte" arrived in the kitchen each day.²²⁵ The term "marrow bones" today refers to roasted beef or veal bones, the marrow of which is removed by the diner with specialized utensils. It is unlikely that the "merry bones", "neats feet", and mutton bones that appear in our examples were roasted and served as we do today, since Tudor and early Stuart roasting technology relied on spit-roasting; bones are nearly impossible to affix to a spit.

²²² *Comptes de Bouche, Cartons des rois*, AN, Series K; Appendix II.VIII; spreadsheet.

²²³ CH MS BA 13 *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland*; LP MS 1228 *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*.

²²⁴ LP MS 1228 *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*. For example, the week ending March 8th, 1622, notes "Venit: sewett xxiii^{po} || Remanet: sewett xxiii^{po}".

²²⁵ NA E/101/96/27, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; LP MS 1228 *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*; CH MS BA 13 *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland*.

These patterns complement the notion that wine played a more important role in French great households, while ale and beer played a more important role in English great households. English servants, and possibly some masters, consumed beer or ale as the daily drink of choice during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with very little wine appearing in any of the diet accounts analyzed here. English elites certainly consumed wine very often, but even Mary I, Henry VIII, Mary Queen of Scots, and Elizabeth I were all known to begin their days with a breakfast of ale, beef broth, and bread, so we know for certain that beer and ale, in addition to wine, played a central role in master and servant daily provision.²²⁶ Dairy, despite its infrequent mention in culinary collections of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as some combination of cream, milk, cheese and butter played a regular and important role in both French and English households.

Bread

Bread was always a crucial element of the daily food supply within all great households examined here. Within the household of Duchess Jeanne de Bourbon, the *paneterie* served three types of bread in the account of September, 1508: *pan de bouche*²²⁷, *pan blanc*²²⁸, and *pan de com[mun]*²²⁹.²³⁰ Jeanne's clerk did not record associated costs, but they did record the number of loaves served in each category. On an average day, 4 September 1508 for example, Jeanne's household *panetier*, Hughes Soyard, served eighteen *pan de bouche*, fourteen *pan blanc*, and

²²⁶ Ian Spencer Hornsey, "From the Norman Conquest to the End of the Tudors," in *A History of Beer and Brewing* (Cambridge: Royal Society of Chemistry, 2003) 282–364.

²²⁷ Bread for the head table.

²²⁸ White bread or manchet.

²²⁹ Bread for the domestic *familia*.

²³⁰ AN K 504/5, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1–30, 1508*; Appendix II.IX, spreadsheet.

fourteen *pan de commun* to Jeanne's household.²³¹ Sometimes clerks recorded the number of loaves served per day, and the division of the household within which it was served. For example, in the household of Henry II, on 1 August 1557, seven-dozen loaves were served to the *bouche* and seven dozen loaves to the *commun*.²³² Other times, clerks simply offered a combined total: on 28 October 1653, in the household of Louis XIV, a total of thirty-four loaves used between the *bouche* and the *commun*.²³³

Within sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English great households, bread played a similarly important role in daily dietary regimes. In the 1542 Council diet account, for example, the pantlers received between 2s.6d. to 3s. of bread each day.²³⁴ Although the account does not indicate which type of bread was consumed, it does tell us that the bread arrived as bread, not as raw ingredients.²³⁵ One would suspect that it was of superior quality: manchet or some variation of wastel or simnel. Between 2s.6d. to 3s.- worth of bread, depending on the price of wheat was delivered to the pantlers each meeting day. Since we know from the *Assize of Bread* that manchet loaves sold for a penny (d.) while lesser loaves sold for a halfpenny (ob.), 3s. could result in about forty to sixty loaves of bread, depending on the quality of loaves obtained.²³⁶

Other accounts recorded bread consumption with greater specificity. In George Clifford's 1575 diet account, clerks recorded bread entries for the pantry according to their own categorizations. The entry for 19 October 1575, for example, notes that the pantry distributed

²³¹ AN K 504/5/ 6v, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon Sept 1–30, 1508*; Appendix II.IX, spreadsheet.

²³² "1 aout", *compte de bouche, Henri II*, AN K 92/4/1.

²³³ the compte of 28 October 1653 reads simply "*au boullange pour B. et Com. xxxiii^{ds}*" see "28 10^{brc} 1653," *compte de bouche, Louis XIV* AN K 118/64/2.

²³⁴ NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

²³⁵ Flour does appear in the account, but I suspect that flour was combined with the suet that is also listed in order to make "coffyns" for meat pies. NA E/101/96/3, *Account Book, Diet, The Council, 1541–1542*; Appendix II.III; spreadsheet.

²³⁶ To accommodate price fluctuation, the size of loaves was increased or decreased according to the going rate for wheat. Also see William Rubel, *Bread: A Global History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011) 45–47. This may seem like a small amount of bread, but the Council and their retainers' diet seems primarily to have revolved around protein consumption.

“manc[hēt] for my Ladye” in her chamber during the morning, while three loaves were used for her meal in the great chamber later that day.²³⁷ On the same day, the Earl’s household received a type of bread classified by the clerks as “ho[usehold] breaid,” with varying amounts consumed at dinner and supper.²³⁸ In the 1622 Middlesex account, manchet and “cheat,” or bread made from less pure flour, were listed in combined tallies that record the consumption of around one hundred dozen loaves per week, or about 170 loaves per day.²³⁹

Some households only baked bread every few days. Francis Clifford’s 1622 diet account indicates that bread for the household was likely baked but bread for the earl and countess was likely bought: approximately once per week the household baker baked about 165 loaves of “howsholde bread,” but each daily entry also listed dozens of loaves of manchet bought for the going market value of 1d.²⁴⁰ Sometimes baking occurred more often than once a week, though it seems that some households did not bake fresh bread each day, but instead relied on local bakers for fresh manchet for masters’ tables.

Bread played a crucial role in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French and English great household dietary strategies, one that is often underemphasized in food histories. While the diets of elites and their retainers were dominated by meat, their dining activities also, evidently, required adequate provision of bread. Although we typically associate bread consumption with the poor, its production and distribution played a key role in daily baking and serving requirements in both French and English great households across our period.

²³⁷ “Weddensday the xixth of octobr 1575,” CH MS BA 13 *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland*, .

²³⁸ “Weddensday the xixth of octobr 1575,” CH MS BA 13. *Diet Account of the Third Earl of Cumberland*.

²³⁹ For example the week of February 22–28, 1622 lists “manchett and cheat – cviii d^o” or 108 dozen manchet and cheat loaves “expended” over the week, see *Diet Account of the First Earl of Middlesex*, LP MS 1228 fol. 24.

²⁴⁰ For example, the entry for 26 December 1575 was a baking day so we can see two entries for bread: “manchetts – v doz – v s.” and “howshold bread clxvi chets made of 1 quarter of wheat,” “Towsday the xxvi of december” [1622], CH MS SC 67 *Diet Account of the Fourth Earl of Cumberland*.

Conclusion: What Changed? What Remained Constant?

Our survey of early modern accounts has revealed an altered picture of great household cookery habits than that presented in many historiographical sources. First and foremost, this is the first assessment of French and English noble household victualling patterns based on comparative analysis of diet accounts for the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. While scholars have in the past called for greater attention to be focused on accounts during this crucial period, almost none have taken-up the challenge. It would seem that this is primarily because so few early modern diet accounts exist in print, a genre of text that will no doubt see greater transcription and publication in the future due to the vast amount of data that can be extracted from their pages. Diet accounts have their own limitations, especially in royal household where large numbers of departments kept their own account books, thereby subdividing accountancy across numerous manuscripts, but they are the most direct sources of information about shifts and consistencies in noble household dining regimens.

From the accounts we can see that issues like fasting and other religious considerations did not always have the straightforward implications for great household victualling than were previously asserted. The Reformation did not cause the immediate cessation of fasting habits in English noble households that has been alleged by some food historians. Instead, the practice seems to have taken almost a century to be fully abandoned in England, and even then fish was still an important component of ordinary daily menus in mid-seventeenth-century English noble households. Fish consumption was not abandoned altogether after the Reformation and, in fact, seems to have seen something of a renaissance in terms of the varieties of fish that appear in the

accounts. As well, we do not usually recognize that the Reformation, by way of the Counter-Reformation, caused a re-evaluation of Catholic fasting habits. By the early seventeenth-century, the French royal household had abandoned the Wednesday fast during Ordinary Time, indicating that some relaxation of non-biblical elements of personal piety had been reassessed over the course of the sixteenth-century religious turmoil.

Beyond fasting patterns, the accounts indicate that a very gradual trend of incorporating greater varieties of ingredients into aristocratic cookery was something that began around the mid -fifteenth-century, as we saw in the medieval diet account analysis, but intensified throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries within the French and English great household context. In almost every area of cookery, expansion of the volume of food served daily, and greater variation in ingredient selection were the hallmarks of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French and English great household cookery. Households were growing in size toward the end of the Middle Ages, so this can certainly account for some increase in the volumes of food served in the average great household, but variation in ingredient consumption was its own parallel trend; household cooks and officers were finding that their masters responded well to menus that offered greater selection and variety, although the gradual, drawn-out nature of this shift must be emphasized. These were not quick or radical shifts but rather trends that slowly developed across the period.

About cooks, too, the accounts tell a great deal. While some scholars assert that cheaper meats were barely used by great household cooks, our records show that the daily dependence on cheaper quadruped meats—beef, mutton, and pork—used for the domestic *familia* played a crucial and regular role in influencing the types of work that cooks performed within the noble household setting. There is no doubt that they did, indeed, possesses a great degree of skill and

experience in fine cookery and in preparing expensive ingredients, but the largest portion of overall daily work performed by cooks within our great households was focused on preparing food for servants as opposed to the smaller amounts of fine food that were sent to head tables. Great household cooks were charged with continually reinforcing these hierarchies through providing haute and rustic cookery at the same meal times, twice each day, and evidently needed to possess a great deal of skill in pleasing both palates. We will see in later chapters that some households divided the work of cooking for the lord and *familia* into separate kitchens, though even when kitchens were separated, household kitchens still had to provide finer food to senior officers and more rustic food to lesser members of the *familia*. Great households, in addition to being the residences of illustrious personages, were microcosms of the outside world, replete with their own nobility and peasantry. We must be careful to remember, then, that great household cooks adapted their skills to the contexts within which they worked.

In terms of new ingredients and their impact on sixteenth- and mid-seventeenth-century noble dining regimens, there was little perceptible change caused by the introduction of either potato or turkey, the only two New World ingredients to occasionally appear in the accounts. Old World ingredients—asparagus, artichoke, and the many varieties of fruit that appeared in the late sixteenth century—appear in the accounts nearly contemporaneously with the limited New World ingredients mentioned above but always alongside and dominated by the old, expanded corpus of fish, game, poultry, and quadruped meat that was largely known to medieval noble households. Thus despite the significance of the discovery of the New World and expanding trade networks across the Old World, European nobles were far from changed by the introduction of new ingredients. Rather, new ingredients were served to nobles on nobles' own terms: accompanied by vast assortments of familiar, traditional dishes. Novelty was grand, but

conspicuous consumption was always anchored, throughout our period, in augmentation of the traditional and familiar.

Inevitably, the assertions made in this chapter will be compared to some of the more famous assertions made by historians regarding revolution in diet during the mid-seventeenth century, so I must offer some explanation for where our data fits into existing models. Flandrin, Pinkard, Strong, and others offer models of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century noble household cookery that was somehow radicalized, and revolutionized by the publication of French cookbooks after the 1650s. I suggest, instead, that a much more gradual series of shifts had been occurring over the *longue durée* in French and English noble cookery. The trend toward ever greater varieties of ingredients required for daily cookery, the near-imperceptible impact that New World ingredients had on noble dining regimens, and increasing vegetable consumption throughout the early seventeenth century all point toward a long series of shifts occurring in parallel over the period. Even increased vegetable and fruit consumption, something associated especially with the publication Bonnefons's *Jardinier françois* (1651) and other mid-seventeenth-century cookery collections, was occurring in the first half of the seventeenth century, at least three decades before the publication of Bonnefons. Were any of these periods revolutionary? I would suggest not. Rather, change and gradual shifts are an element of sophistication to be lightly peppered over traditional displays of refinement, whether in the case of dress, architecture, design, and even food. As we saw in the first chapter, while change was present and Europeans did have an eagerness to try new things, they were conservative in the degree of change they would accept.

An even more practical concern is raised by this discussion of change, especially in light of the dates of the manuscripts we have been examining: was change driven by cookbooks or

was it driven by cooks themselves working within the noble household context, influenced by their fellow cooks, by their masters' wishes, and by the cooks of household visitors who accompanied their masters on journeys. I suggest that the latter is much more likely. Even cooks who wrote cookbooks were mostly illiterate, as evidenced by Chiquart's repeated thanks to his scribe, Jehan de Dudens. It seems, rather, that cooks spent their apprenticeships and the rest of their working lives acquiring better and expanded culinary skills, informed heavily by the directions given by kitchen overseers. Masters and household officers guided menu selections, so we can never divorce cooks from the bureaucracies within which they laboured. I suggest that the 1650s French cookbook revolution was not an intense, short period of radical change driven by the publication of a few important cookbooks but rather, a new phase in the continual and very slight modifications that each generation of French and English nobles accepted in their cookery styles.

With change in style comes the notion that some lead and others follow. I am highly sceptical that the French royal court could not accomplish the same variety in daily foodstuff provision as accomplished in the contemporary English royal and noble households. If one were to assert this, we would have to suggest that the mid-seventeenth-century French shift in culinary aesthetic was a belated response to the Tudor and Stuart shift toward greater variety in daily menus. This is almost certainly not the case. Rather, it seems that the French nobility had their own special way of dining during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that included a small amount more variety than in the households of their medieval counterparts, but the style was unlike the contemporaneous English habit of markedly increased variety. Was it because the new English style developed around the same time as the Reformation, and stank of heresy to the Catholic elite of France? We will never know. The important lesson here is that even well-

informed, wealthy, able nobles in places like early seventeenth-century France did not to emulate the almost excessive variety seen in the tables of English royals and nobles as a matter of deliberate choice, and not due to intellectual or financial limitation. Emulation was key to a point, but so too was a regional identity that informed the decisions made by nobles about their living arrangements. More was not always better, at least in the French view.

Finally, the survey of diet accounts presented here has been assembled specifically to understand the degrees to which change permeated great household kitchens in France and England between the medieval period and the onset of the mid-seventeenth-century French revolution in taste, in order to understand if the work of cookery was truly revolutionized and, if so, when. Since I argue that none of the periods between 1300–1660 was truly revolutionary in either France or England, rather that change was very gradual among a highly conservative population, we can now proceed with our examination of the brigade de cuisine, which focuses on the *longue durée*. Despite the periods of radical culinary change that are usually associated with the periods between 1300–1670, and despite the socio-political upheaval of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, change inside households was less extreme than change that happened outside. Roasts still had to be roasted, whether one was a Protestant cook or a Catholic cook, and the technology to accomplish such did not evolve significantly over the period. Now that we, for the first time, have an understanding of the exact nature of change that occurred in late medieval and early modern French and English aristocratic household cuisine, we can finally discuss the origins of the brigade de cuisine within a comparative French and English context over the *longue durée*.

Part Three

The Brigade de Cuisine

With full perspective of evolving medieval and early modern French and English haute culinary shifts in sight, Part III will examine the brigade de cuisine in the French and English great household, and the relationship of great household cooks to local cooks' guilds in London and Paris. The sources are an array of household records from French and English noble and royal households c.1350 to c.1650. Not only does this evidence indicate that brigade-style kitchen management structures were already thoroughly incorporated into large professional kitchens for centuries before Escoffier, but many of the same offices and positions have also survived from the medieval French and English kitchen brigade.

French and English analysis was originally designed to test whether the brigade was evolving into more complex forms in one region over another, but findings indicate that brigade-style kitchen management systems were present long before the fourteenth century. Not only were brigades de cuisine already present in large French and English professional kitchens, but the first guild that was established for great household cooks and caterers – the *Cuisiniers de Paris* (est. 1599) – was the only Parisian culinary guild that included brigade-style kitchen management structures in its first and subsequent charters.

Despite having their own guild that included mention of the brigade de cuisine, I assert here that the rest of the cooks' guilds in London and Paris largely did not admit professional cooks working in great households. Far from unifying all professional cooks, most cooks' guilds sought to add definition to culinary labour sectors through developing a variety of rigidly defined bodies that dominated most aspects of professional cookery within the cities proper. Relationships between great household cooks and local culinary guilds varied over place and time, though the cooks' guilds of London and Paris were largely exclusive of professional cooks working in the private household sector.

Chapter Five

The Brigade de Cuisine in French and English Great Households, 1300–1650

Over the last century, a myth has developed in historiography and within the culinary industry concerning Georges Auguste Escoffier (1846–1935).¹ According to this legend, Escoffier, author of *Ma cuisine* (1934) and executive chef at many hotels including the Ritz Hotels in London and Paris, instituted the kitchen-management system known as the *brigade de cuisine* at the hotels he worked at. Allegedly, this caused the system to be instituted throughout the European culinary profession, and kitchens became more organized than they had previously been.² The term “brigade de cuisine” describes management systems used in modern kitchens that sees cooks organized into task-centred sub-departments, each of which is staffed with a stratified hierarchy of cooks and managing chefs. The major sub-departments of the traditional brigade de cuisine can vary, but often include: *chef de cuisine*³, *sous chef*⁴, *saucier*⁵, *rôtisseur*⁶,

¹ Georges Auguste Escoffier (1846–1935), author of a great number of works on French, is commonly credited with “systematizing” the menu based on the innovations introduced by Marie-Antoine Carême (1784–1833), another notable early nineteenth-century cook. Escoffier was chef of the Hotel National, Lucerne, the Savoy Hotel, London, Ritz Hotel, Paris, Carlton Hotel, London, and the Ritz Hotel, London, before retiring and running a periodical related to gastronomy and the culinary industry, entitled *Le Carnet d'Épicerie*.

² Within historiography and scholarship, some works that mention Escoffier’s role in instituting the kitchen brigade include: Kenneth James, *Escoffier: The King of Chefs* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), 130–132; Amy B. Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 48–49; Linda Civitello, “Escoffier Organizes the Kitchen: The Kitchen Brigade,” in *Cuisine and Culture: A History of Food and People* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2007) 285–286; Ruth Reichl, *Endless Feasts: Sixty Years of Writing from Gourmet* (London: Random House, 2003), 284–285; Steve Lerach, *Fried: Surviving Two Centuries in Restaurants* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2008) n.p.. Within the culinary-text sphere, innumerable works exist. Some that are in regular use in culinary-school education currently include: The Chefs of Le Cordon Bleu, *Le Cordon Bleu Cuisine Foundations* (Stamford: Cengage Learning, 2010), 17–18; Robert Garlough & Angus Campbell, *Modern Garde Manger: A Global Perspective* (Stamford: Cengage Learning, 2011) 4–7; Cailein Gillespie, *European Gastronomy Into the 21st Century* (London: Routledge, 2001), 114–117; Kye-Sung Chon and Thomas Maier, *Welcome to Hospitality: An Introduction* (Stamford: Cengage Learning, 2009), 236–238. I mention the culinary textbooks to illustrate that the myth is carried into the professional sphere through major, credible textbook publishers.

³ Sometimes used to mean “executive chef” but also used to mean the head chef of a restaurant in hotels that have numerous restaurants.

⁴ Most senior chefs under the executive chef and *chefs de cuisine*.

⁵ Sauce cook.

*grillardin*⁷, *friturier*⁸, *poissonnier*⁹, *entremetier*¹⁰, *potager*¹¹, *legumier*¹², *garde manger*¹³, *pâtissier*¹⁴, *glacier*¹⁵, *boulangier*¹⁶, *garçon de cuisine*.¹⁷ Workers in each sub-department are further stratified into hierarchical ranks, usually staffed by a sous chef or a *chef de parti*¹⁸, cooks, and apprentice cooks. Many outside the culinary industry have not heard the term brigade de cuisine before, but the term and the management system is universal among professional chefs in Ontario since the concept forms part of the core curriculum of the Ontario Cook Apprenticeship Program.¹⁹ With so much current interest in the culinary profession, the name and concept have even featured on television programs. In October, 2013, the BBC produced a program dedicated to the life of Escoffier in which Chef Michel Roux Jr., explained in detail how Escoffier “created a whole new way of organizing the professional kitchen: the brigade system,” and then proceeded to examine the function of the many sub-departments.²⁰

⁶ Roast cook.

⁷ Grill cook.

⁸ Fried-item cook.

⁹ Fish cook.

¹⁰ Originally synonymous with line cook or “entrée” cook; now the term is used instead of *legumier* for the vegetable and pasta sub-departments.

¹¹ Soup and stock cook.

¹² Vegetable and pasta cook.

¹³ Cold food, charcuterie.

¹⁴ Pastry cook.

¹⁵ Sorbet, gelato, ice-cream, & ice carving.

¹⁶ Baker.

¹⁷ Apprentices or utility cooks.

¹⁸ Sits between cooks and sous chefs within sub-departmental hierarchies; often the most senior working cook in their area. Some sub-departments are large enough to be headed, full time, by a sous chef, with multiple chefs de parti working under the sous chef.

¹⁹ All Ontario institutions licenced to offer the Red Seal (Cook) program must offer the curriculum approved by the College of Trades of Ontario. The brigade de cuisine appears in a number of different courses of the curriculum.

²⁰ Quote taken verbatim from Claire Lewis (producer) & Michel Roux Jr. (presenter), *The First Master Chef: Michel Roux on Escoffier* (London: BBC4 Television, October 16, 2013). I want to be clear that Michel Roux Jr. is presenting information that he and the BBC deem to be credible, and it is supported by the published works that I have outlined above. This should not be thought to detract from Michel Roux Jr. nor the BBC’s researchers’ efforts. In fact, it indicates that they did, indeed, conduct historiographical research in preparing for the program.

However, there is a significant problem with this claim. No research by James, Trubek, Civitello, nor myself can point to any primary-source evidence supporting the assertion.²¹ Moreover, I have been unable to find neither a single mention of the word *brigade* nor any discussion of the mechanics of inter-departmental kitchen management systems within Escoffier's works. Furthermore, though the term was applied to kitchen workers in London during Escoffier's lifetime, no primary text that I have examined lists it among Escoffier's many accomplishments.²² Culinary historians have given little consideration to kitchen management arrangements in pre-modern great households, the principal exception being Peter Brears' *All the King's Cooks*.²³ Although Brears does not use the term *brigade de cuisine*, his book offers the most thorough examination of primary evidence regarding English royal cooks, and it does indicate that brigade-like structures dominated management norms even within a fairly narrow analysis that focused mostly on a single residence. The term is so intimately tied to Escoffier by many historians and food authors, that it has not yet been linked to the cornucopia of brigade-style, kitchen-management systems that existed in French and English great households before the early twentieth century.

²¹ Some cite each other.

²² In searching for information on the origins of the term, I have examined the British Newspaper Archive of the British Library and cannot find the term listed before 1925 (except in relation to the fire brigade, referred to simply as "the brigade" during the late 1800's). A significantly earlier source, Lieutenant Colonel Newnham-Davis's (1854–1917) *The Gourmet's Guide to London*, 1914, is the earliest English-language publication within which I have found the term "kitchen brigade". Newnham-Davis's use of the term "kitchen brigade" was not restricted to Escoffier's kitchen, nor did he ever mention anything about Escoffier inventing the idea; this despite being one of Escoffier's greatest admirers. When describing Escoffier's kitchen in 1914 at the Carlton Hotel, Newnham-Davis noted that Escoffier "has organized his brigade of vociferous cooks of every nation as thoroughly as Crawford organized the Light Division of Peninsular fame". At other times in the book, Newnham-Davis used the term in relation to the kitchens of the Hotel Cecil, under direction of Chef M. Jean Alletru, the kitchens of the Ritz hotel under Chef M. Malley, the kitchens of the Savoy, and the kitchens of the Cavendish Hotel owned and managed by a Mrs. Lewis. None of the scholars that mention the brigade cite any primary-source evidence for their claims making the origins of the concept difficult to trace. Both Escoffier and Newnham-Davis spent time working in the French and British armies, respectively; Newnham-Davis as an officer and Escoffier as a master cook. Certainly the term was very familiar to both men, but it was Newnham-Davis who seems to have been one of the first to popularize the term.

²³ Peter Brears, *All the King's Cooks: The Tudor Kitchens of King Henry VIII at Hampton Court Palace* (London: Souvenir, 1999).

This chapter conducts the first comparative, analytical survey of the development of the early brigade de cuisine in French and English great households between the 1280s and 1660s. A focus on the *longue durée* serves us well here since kitchen organization experienced no fundamental change during these 400 years due, in large part, to the lack of a revolution in taste during the seventeenth century. To reconstruct the medieval and early modern structures of kitchen labour, we will take Brears's work as a springboard from which to expand the temporal limits of the discussion and introduce a comparative approach that considers both England and France.

To historiographical sources, I will add my own collection of archival and published primary findings from French and English great household texts, ranging in date between 1250–c.1660. Among English great households, I have included six archival household ordinances originating from English great households between 1478 and 1662: The 1478 *Household Ordinance of Edward IV*; the 1526 *Eltham Ordinance*, made for Henry VIII's household;²⁴ the *Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer sometymes Lo: Archebisshop of Cant.* of the 1540's; the 1622 *Orders and ordinances for the goverment of my house and family*, made for Archbishop George Abbot; the 1st Earl of Middlesex's 1622 *A Booke Wherein is declared sondry orders*; and the 1662 *Orders to be observed for ye Govern.t of ye House & ffamily*, made for Archbishop Thomas Secker.²⁵ In addition to our archival sources, I

²⁴ This ordinance was not implemented due to power disputes among the most senior household officers and other senior officials of the Kingdom.

²⁵ National Archives [NA] E 36/206 *Household Ordinance, Royal Household, Edward IV*, 1478; NA E 36/231 *Eltham Ordinance, Royal Household*, 1525–1526, also available in [1526] Anon., "Eltham Ordinance: Household of King Henry VIII, MS. Harleian, 642," in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William And Queen Mary*, ed. John Nichols (London: London Society of Antiquaries, 1790), 135–207; Lambeth Palace Archives [LP] MS 884, f. 1v-23r, *Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer sometymes Lo: Archebisshop of Cant.*, c.1540's; LP MS 884, f. 28r-31v, *Orders and ordinances for the goverment of my house and family* (Archbishop George Abbot), 1622; LP MS 3361, *A Booke Wherein is declared sondry orders* (1st Earl of Middlesex), 1622; LP

have included a number of published primary English royal household books, ranging in date between 1578 and 1610, included in Nichols's *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William And Queen Mary*.²⁶

Less coverage has been given to kitchen workers in French historiography.²⁷ I have included eleven French royal household ordinances, dating from between 1245–1600, some of which are available in transcribed form, others which are available only at the archives. The eleven include the *Ordonnances de l'hôtel du roy* of 1285, 1250, 1261, 1316,²⁸ 1450, 1530, 1600, all located in series JJ 57 and KK 504; an ordinance of the French royal household, dating from the reign of Charles VI, located at the National Archives, London, entitled, *Cest Lordonnace de lostel du roy* (Charles VI, France), 1418.²⁹

MS 884, f. 36r-37v, *Orders to be observed for ye Governm.t of ye House & ffamily* (Archbishop Thomas Secker), 1662.

²⁶ [1578] Anon., "Queen Elizabeth's Annual Expense, Civil and Military," in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William And Queen Mary*, ed. John Nichols (London: London Society of Antiquaries, 1790), 241–275; [1601] Anon., "Queen Elizabeth's Household Book," in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William And Queen Mary* (John Nichols: London Society of Antiquaries, 1790), 281–298; [1610] Anon., "The Names of the Prince's Servants and Officers of Household With Their Wages and Boardwages," in Henry, Prince of Wales, *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William And Queen Mary*, ed. John Nichols (London: London Society of Antiquaries, 1790), 329–332.

²⁷ Sophie de Laverny, *Les domestiques commensaux du roi de France au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Sorbonne, 2002).

²⁸ The *ordonnances* hosted on TELMA's website (www.cn-telma.fr) have been transcribed by Elizabeth Lalou.

²⁹ Anon., "Ordonnance de l'Hôtel: Bois de Vincennes, 1286, 23 janvier," in *Ordonnances de l'Hôtel. Introduction à l'édition électronique*, dans *Ordonnances de l'hôtel du roi*, ed. Elizabeth Lalou (Orléans: Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2006), <http://www.cn-telma.fr/ordonnances/ordonnance1/>; Anon., "Ordonnance de l'Hôtel: Bois de Vincennes, 1291," in *Ordonnances de l'Hôtel. Introduction à l'édition électronique*, dans *Ordonnances de l'hôtel du roi*, ed. Elizabeth Lalou (Orléans: Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2006), <http://www.cn-telma.fr/ordonnances/ordonnance2/>; Anon., "Ordonnance de l'Hôtel: 1306," in *Ordonnances de l'Hôtel. Introduction à l'édition électronique*, dans *Ordonnances de l'hôtel du roi*, ed. Elizabeth Lalou (Orléans: Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2006), <http://www.cn-telma.fr/ordonnances/ordonnance4/>; Anon., "Ordonnance de l'hotel du roi et de la reine: 1315," in *Ordonnances de l'Hôtel. Introduction à l'édition électronique*, dans *Ordonnances de l'hôtel du roi*, ed. Elizabeth Lalou (Orléans: Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2006), <http://www.cn-telma.fr/ordonnances/ordonnance5/>; Anon., "Ordonnance de l'Hotel de Philippe V régent: Vincennes, 1316, juin," in *Ordonnances de l'Hôtel. Introduction à l'édition électronique*, dans *Ordonnances de l'hôtel du roi*, ed. Elizabeth Lalou (Orléans: Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2006), <http://www.cn-telma.fr/ordonnances/ordonnance6/>; Anon., "Ordonnance de l'hotel de Philippe V: Bois de Vincennes, 1316,

Since much about kitchen management systems can be discerned from wage lists, livery accounts, and other household papers, I have also included a small selection of these types of documents where relevant information presents itself.³⁰ Many servant lists that I have examined in the archives did not list the job title of the servants' names listed within them, especially those dating from the medieval period. When I found lists that identify either a number of servants working in a particular department, or their names and occupations, I included them here.

By examining the brigade de cuisine within its older, historical context, it will be possible to extend the temporal range of Brears's work on medieval English kitchen-management systems and add a comparative element that takes into account evolution of the brigade de cuisine in French great households over the same period. Doing so, we will finally be able to test the theory that the brigade de cuisine was used in more than medieval English great households, and that its antiquity stretched much further back in history than Escoffier's lifetime. While he certainly instituted the management format in the hotels in which he worked and he contributed innumerable new recipe and menu concepts, the notion that the garde manger, rôtiisseur, and other positions within the brigade were not fixtures in large kitchens for centuries before Escoffier is, as we will see, erroneous.

décembre," in *Ordonnances de l'Hôtel. Introduction à l'édition électronique, dans Ordonnances de l'hôtel du roi*, ed. Elizabeth Lalou (Orléans: Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2006), <http://www.cn-telma.fr/ordonnances/ordonnance8/>; NA E 30/1652, *Cest Lordonnace de lostel du roy* (Charles VI, France), 1418; AN K 504/5, *Compte de bouche*, Septembre, 1508, Jeanne de Bourbon, duchesse de Bourbon.

³⁰ NA: E 36/206 *Household Servants, Royal, Edward IV*, 1475; E 36/231 *Household Servants, Royal, Henry VIII*, 1509; SP 78/106 *Household Servants, English Embassy in France, Robert Sidney, 2nd Earl of Leicester, Ambassador to France, 1638*, SP 84/164 *Household Servants, Princess Royal in the Hague, Princess Mary, Queen Consort of William II, Prince of Orange*, 1642. AN: KK 50–52 *Ce sont les noms* (royal household), 1458–1459; KK 99 *Roolle de estat*, Royal Household, 1529; KK 159 *Maison de Jeanne de Navarre*, 1574; KK 201–204 (1) *Maison du roi*, 1642; Devonshire Collection: MS G4 *Servant List, Londesborough House, George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland*, 1590; Lambeth Palace Archives: MS 694, fol. 63, *Cooks Hired for Queen Anne's Visit, Worksop Manor, Gilbert and Mary, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury*, June, 1603.

Medieval and Early Modern Great-Household Cooks

Since historiography relating to cooks and kitchen workers is entirely different in nature from ingredient historiography, it is appropriate to spend some time examining the current state of scholarship through which we can access information about cooks, specifically. Kitchen workers suffer from a general lack of coverage in historiography. Some recent monographs have begun to examine medieval culinary labour, but there is not a unified approach to analyzing culinary labour in history, nor any substantial, field-wide arguments.

Bridget Henisch's *The Medieval Cook* and Peter Brears's *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* and *All The King's Cooks* are three of the most recent monographs on the topic of the work of cookery, although both authors take decidedly different approaches to their surveys.³¹ Henisch offered a qualitative assessment and synthesis of cooks' history gathered largely from secondary sources, specifically designed to begin to place European cooks within a historical frame of reference. Henisch offered a topical survey of professional cookery, cooks' guilds, cook shops, professional cooking in great households and monasteries, and she also included commentary about special preparations necessary in the kitchen for feasts and celebrations.³² Most of Henisch's primary evidence comes from works of literature, offering good insight into some of the popular perceptions of medieval cooks. Chaucer's Cook of London, whose legs were covered in abscesses, figures occasionally in her text, as do other tiny

³¹ Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Cook* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2009) 200pp.; Brears, *All the King's Cooks*, 200pp.; Peter Brears, *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2008) 550pp.

³² Henisch, "The Cottage Cook," "Fast Food and Fine Catering," "The Staging of a Feast," in *The Medieval Cook*, 28–70, 71–101, 134–163.

stories of cooks disagreeing with masters, fighting with other servants, stealing from masters, and, even one who would throw ladles of boiling water at those who disagreed with him. All highlight the infamy with which cooks were sometimes held in medieval European cultural depictions.³³ Other anecdotes included by Henisch offer slightly more balanced perceptions of the necessity of cooks to local economies, cooks as valued members of households who were often included in masters' wills, and in exceptional cases, as successful business owners, property owners, and bourgeois of their local towns.³⁴

Whereas Henisch's approach was based more on weaving together anecdotal evidence, more rigorous treatments of English cooks exist in the work of Peter Brears. In *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* and *All The King's Cooks*, Brears offers a more traditional historical survey of medieval English great-household kitchens, ranging in date from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Brears uses a vast array of sources, even though he focuses on a more finite regional area than Henisch. Brears includes three primary groups of information in *Cooking and Dining* and *All the King's Cooks*: archaeological data,³⁵ physical remains in the form of tools and kitchen furniture,³⁶ and textual records in the form of published and archival kitchen records.³⁷ Whereas Henisch's analysis revolves around social perceptions and working norms as reported in textual evidence, Brears includes a small portion of the same evidence, and a very large portion of comparative analysis of archaeological findings that seeks to extract probable working norms for great-household cooks based on material, physical, and spatial analysis. In a general

³³ Henisch, *The Medieval Cook*, 11–13.

³⁴ Henisch, "The Cook in Context," *The Medieval Cook*, 1–27.

³⁵ *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* is not about cooks, *per se*, but Brears has used a large number of archaeological reports produced by governmental bodies at various levels, reports taken from scholarly journals, and occasional reports from the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century in order to look for evidence that can be extracted from latent evidence about the working practicalities of cook's lives.

³⁶ Examples of these come from a very diverse group of museums and private collections. Brears is also a talented illustrator, and this assists his analysis, since he is able to create original illustrations of many of the pieces he is comparing.

³⁷ Some household accounts and ordinances are included among this group of evidence.

sense, Brears proposed that the following general model was used in many of the largest great-household diet departments throughout medieval England:

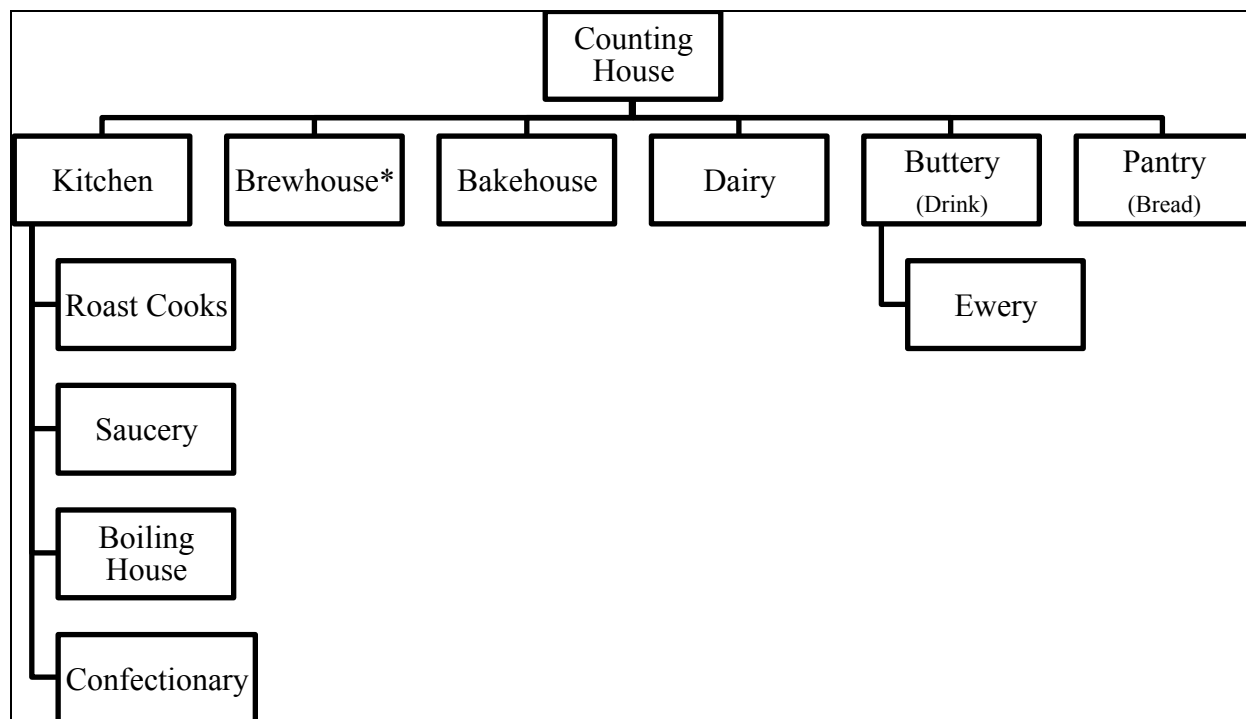


Figure 1. A generalized conceptualization of the major divisions present in Brears's model of medieval English great household kitchen workers.³⁸ *The brewhouse will remain largely outside this study, despite its importance, except in so far as it relates to the work of the buttery during meal times.

We will explore the intricacies of the function of this model in far more depth throughout the rest of this chapter, but it offers us a general sense of the victual-management structures that existed in many medieval English great households.

Shorter treatments of scholarship related to cooks offer further insight into many of the working practicalities of medieval and early modern cookery labour. Terence Scully spent a portion of his final chapter in *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* discussing cooks, but much of the information presented here can be found in an updated form in Brears and Henisch, both

³⁸ See Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, 5-6.

of whom cite Scully in their works.³⁹ One of the most important aspects of Scully's work is that he was one of the first English-language scholars to introduce a partial translation of the *1258 Ordinance* of the cooks' guild of Paris, something Hensch and other scholars have pointed to as examples of the high level of regulation that existed in the medieval culinary trades. We will examine cooks' guilds' charters in the following chapter that focuses on cooks' guilds, but for now it is worth pointing out that some scholars have indicated that the rules also apply to household cooks.⁴⁰

The area of culinary guilds is one directly relevant area of information that has received good coverage in a small number of works on the cooks' guild of London. Alan Borg's 2011 work, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Cooks*, is the most important and thorough history of the London cooks' guild since the shorter histories of the 1960's.⁴¹ Borg's *History* presented significant amounts of newly discovered archival findings, offered new personal histories of some medieval and early modern cooks, and greatly extended the depth of information about the role of the Worshipful Company of Cooks during the eighteenth-century collapse of guild power on the City of London's economic system.⁴² The cooks' guilds of Paris have received very little coverage in English or French historiography, usually garnering only a

³⁹ Terence Scully, "The Cook, the Cookery, and the Food," in *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995) 236-253.

⁴⁰ Hensch, 19-20.

⁴¹ Alan Borg, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Cooks* (Lindley, Huddersfield, U.K.: Jeremy Mills Publishing, 2011); George Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London* (London, Methuen, 1908); Frank Taverner Phillips, *A Second History of The Worshipful Company of Cooks* (London: Private, 1966).

⁴² Heather Swanson, "The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns," in *Past and Present* 121 (1988) 29-48; J. R. Kellest, "The Breakdown of Guild and Corporation Control over the Handicraft and Retail Trade in London," in *The Economic History Review New Series* 10.3 (1958): 381-394.

few mentions in the small number of works about French guilds; a topic that has declined in popularity in French historiography over recent decades.⁴³

The topic of cooks' guilds will be covered extensively in Chapter Six, but I should take a moment to briefly outline my position on great household cookery and the guilds. Scholars who examine cooks typically assert that cooks, in general, belonged to the culinary guilds of London and Paris.⁴⁴ My position is that, although some great household cooks belonged to the guilds of London and Paris, most did not.⁴⁵ We will examine membership rolls in the next chapter, but for now the distinction about guilds' goals is an important one to make. Being a cook, carpenter, or tailor who ran a shop within the cities of London and Paris was a completely different form of labour—in the medieval mind—than being a cook, carpenter, or tailor in service in a private household. Despite the great deal of overlap in training and professional modes of work between the work of guild masters and master craftsmen working in private service, the economic impact of the two forms of labour was incomparable: guildsmen generated profit from trade within the marketplace, while household servants generated income through salary, and sometimes, perquisites. Indeed, the first line of the *1258 Ordinance* of the *Cuisiniers* of Paris noted that its membership was limited to “all those who seek to hold a stall or window from which to sell cooked food,” while the *1495 Ordinance* of the London cooks noted that membership was limited to “all persons that seethe, roast, or bake victuals for sale in the City”.⁴⁶ We will return to

⁴³ Good coverage of the Parisian guilds, even if focus on cooks is muted, can be found in Emile Coornaert, *Les Compagnonnages en France du Moyen Âge à Nos Jours* (Paris: Gallimard, 1941); Emile Coornaert, *Les Corporations en France avant 1789* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968).

⁴⁴ Hensch, 20.

⁴⁵ Evidence for this is laid out in the next chapter.

⁴⁶ “Premierement, Que tous ceulx qui voudront tenir Estal ou Fenestre à vendre Cuisine, sçachent appareiller toutes manières de Viandes communes & prouffitables au Peuple que à eulx appartient à vendre,” my translation, from: [1258] “L’Ordonnance des Cuisiniers-Oyers,” in *Le livre des Métiers d’Étienne Boileau*, ed. René de Lespinasse et François Bonnardot (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1879) pp. 145–147; [1495] “Ordinacio dez Pastelers,” in *Calendar of letter-books of the city of London: L: Edward IV-Henry VII*, ed. Reginald Sharpe (London: City of London 1912), fol. 320.

detailed analysis of the relationship between household cooks and local cooks' guilds in the next chapter, but for now it should be noted that great-household cooks largely did not belong to local cooks' guilds during the period we are considering here.

Within the domestic sphere itself, numerous ancillary bodies of historical scholarship help to shed light on culinary labour norms without taking cooks into consideration in any great detail. Architectural historians, in fact, have been engaging in a debate about detached kitchens since the 1970s, a debate that recently became hot during the 2000s.⁴⁷ Brears gives a small amount of attention to detached kitchens, noting that they were especially common during the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods.⁴⁸ In fact, many Norman towers do not contain kitchens in their lower levels, having usually located them in permanent, extra-domiciliary structures in the inner bailey, a habit that was still in occasional practice in some larger gentry households beyond the fifteenth century.⁴⁹ The debate that architectural historians centre almost exclusively on is the detached kitchens of the bourgeois or well-to-do peasant, and the identification of specific surviving structures, such as kitchens and other buildings. One of the primary difficulties in identifying extant detached kitchens is that early examples often lacked fixed chimneys with only a hole in the centre of the roof, while later, extant examples have often been modified so

⁴⁷ John Walker, "Detached Kitchens – A Comment and an Essex Example," *Vernacular Architecture* 31 (2000): 75–77; David and Barbara Martin, "Detached Kitchens in Eastern Sussex: A Re-Assessment of the Evidence," *Vernacular Architecture* 28 (1997): 85–91; Cecil Hewett, "A Medieval Timber Kitchen at Little Braxted, Essex," *Medieval Archaeology: Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology* 17 (1973): 132–134; S.J.A. Evans and S.M. Eward, "The Common Kitchen of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester," in *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 91 (1973): 168–174.

⁴⁸ Marjorie Brown, "The Feast Hall in Anglo-Saxon Society," in *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal (London: Hambledon, 1998) 1–13; Brears, "The Kitchen," in *Cooking and Dining*, 173–202.

⁴⁹ Brears, "The Kitchen," in *Cooking and Dining*, 173–177.

significantly that their original features and situational context on the property have become obscured.⁵⁰

On the surface this is a relatively benign argument in so far as cooks are concerned, but when we consider that the focus here is on the development of culinary brigades and compartmentalization of kitchen work, extra-domiciliary kitchens present a physical vestige of this compartmentalization: a specialized building away from the residence containing all workers and tools necessary for cookery. We will return to the physical structures of the kitchen throughout this chapter, but for now it should be noted that there was a tradition of removing household kitchen workers into their own specialized labour spheres dating back to the motte-and-bailey castles and Norman keeps of the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁵¹

Tools and furniture —*the batterie de cuisine*— have received considerable attention from a variety of scholars.⁵² Brears, especially, has been one of the first English-speaking historians to make comparative examinations of medieval English culinary tools, relying on his artistic talents to provide many visual depictions of various types of cooks' tools, bowls, pots, pans, braisers,

⁵⁰ R.A. Meeson, "Detached Kitchens or Service Blocks?," *Vernacular Architecture* 31 (2000): 73–75; J. T. Smith, "Detached Kitchens or Adjoining Houses?," *Vernacular Architecture* 32 (2000): 16–19; David and Barbara Martin, "Detached Kitchens or Adjoining Houses? A Response," *Vernacular Architecture* 32 (2001): 20–33.

⁵¹ Viollet-le-Duc related the architectural migration of kitchens into the interior and basement-levels of castle keeps to the twelfth-century innovation of placing chimney flues into walls, allowing more rooms to be stacked atop one another while smoke from heating and cooking was vented out of the residence in a controlled manner, see "Cheminée," in *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, (Paris: B.Bance, 1858) 194–209.

⁵² Peter Brears, "The Batterie de Cuisine," in *The Country House Kitchen 1650–1900: Skills and Equipment for Food Provisioning*, ed. Pamela Sambrook and Peter Brears (London: Sutton, 1996) 116–128; Nolwenn Lecuyer, "Vaisselle et Usages Culinaires: Spécificité de la Demande en Utensiles Céramiques dans le Latium Rural des XIe–XIVe s.," in *Le Ceramiche di Roma e del Lazio in età Medievale e Moderna, II: Atti del II Convegno di Studi (Roma 6-7 maggio 1994)*, ed. Elisabetta de Minicis (Roma: Edizioni Kappa, 1995) 142–158; Françoise Piponnier, "Equipment et Techniques Culinaires en Bourgogne au XIVe Siècle," in *Bulletin Philologique et Historique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (1977): 57–80; Monique Rey-Delque, "Les Ustensiles de Cuisine d'après le Menagier," in *Plaisirs et Manières de Table aux XIVe et XVe Siècles. Musée des Augustins, 23 avril - 29 juin 1992*, ed. Denis Milhau and Monique Rey-Delque (Toulouse: Musée des Augustins, 1992) 69–98; François Blary, "Les Grandes Cuisines Seigneuriales et les Principaux Utensiles Culinaires en Terre Cuite de Château-Thierry des XIVe et XVe Siècles," in *La Cuisine et la table dans la France de la Fin du Moyen Âge Contenus et Contenants du XIVe au XVIe Siècle*, ed. Fabienne Ravoire and Anne Dietrich (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2009) 365–382.

chafing dishes, and so on.⁵³ While not arguing this, Brears's work indicates that, although many items had standard forms and designs, tool makers were highly innovative and responsive to cooks' suggestions about how to design tools for maximum use and efficiency.

Other examinations of pots and pans have found similar results: the great variation in design of culinary tools indicates that, unlike the culinary modes we examined in earlier chapters, tools were an area in which innovation was often seen.⁵⁴ Medieval southern French *batteries de cuisine* has garnered some discussion in terms of what composition of tools represents.⁵⁵ Noel Coulet's work examined the contents of sixty post-mortem inventories of inhabitants of Aix-en-Provence, housed in the *Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône*.⁵⁶ The contents of kitchens reported by Coulet bears much in resemblance to the English findings reported by Brears. One major difference between Coulet's work and that of many other scholars is that she asserts that cheese graters were associated more often with the *batteries de cuisine* of elite kitchens.⁵⁷ I am unsure whether graters were used for cheese, or, instead, to grind stale bread into crumbs for the innumerable thickeners that were required for sauces, soups, and stews. Unfortunately, Coulet did not state why she felt that this was the case, but it is a good example of the many different interpretations of physical evidence that historians generate.

⁵³ Brears, "Kitchen Furniture and Equipment," "Pottage Utensils," in *Cooking and Dining*, 203–214, 215–224.

⁵⁴ Terence Scully, "Peculiar Pots in Medieval France," in *The Cooking Pot. Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, 1988*, ed. Tom Jaine (London: Prospect Books, 1989) 143–147; John Gaunt, "Medieval jug found near Cane Wood," *Kent Archaeological Review* 36 (1974): 171; Peter Brears, "Kitchen Fireplaces and Stoves," in *The Country House Kitchen 1650–1900: Skills and Equipment for Food Provisioning*, ed. Pamela Sambrook and Peter Brears (London: Sutton, 1996) 92–115; Fabienne Ravoire, "Les Productions en Terre Cuite dans la France du Nord aux XIVe et XVe Siècles," in *Plaisirs et Manières de Table aux XIVe et XVe Siècles. Musée des Augustins, 23 avril - 29 juin 1992*, ed. Denis Milhau and Monique Rey-Delque (Toulouse: Musée des Augustins, 1992) 101–115.

⁵⁵ Pascal Herberth, "Les Ustensiles de Cuisine en Provence Médiévale (XIIIe-XVe s.)," *Médiévales: Langue, Textes, Histoire* 5 (1983): 89–93; Marie-Claude Marandet, "L'Équipement de la Cuisine en Toulousain à la Fin du Moyen Âge D'après les Inventaires et les Testaments," *Archéologie du Midi Médiévale* 15–16 (1998): 269–286.

⁵⁶ Noël Coulet, "La Cuisine dans la Maison Aixoise du XVe Siècle (1402–1453)," in *Du Manuscrit à la Table. Essais sur la Cuisine au Moyen Âge et Répertoire des Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Recettes Culinaires*, ed. Carole Lambert (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1992) 163–172.

⁵⁷ Noël Coulet, "L'équipement de la Cuisine à Aix-en-Provence au XVe Siècle," *Annales du Midi: Revue Archéologique, Historique et Philologique de la France Meridionale* 193 (1991): 90.

Finally, we cannot fail to mention the cooks that appear in historiography. In essence, there are two current modes of scholarship within which cooks appear: biographical works of prominent or well-recorded cooks, and works that examine the function of royal and noble households. In the case of the latter, a small handful of works have examined the roles, hierarchies, and groups of tasks performed by noble and royal servants. Roland Mousnier's *Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue: 1598–1789*, for example, offers excellent insight into management mechanisms, officials, and their associated powers within the French royal household, but even this revered analysis of domestic structures rarely mentions operation of the kitchens.⁵⁸ Sophie de Laverny's *Les domestiques commensaux du roi de France au XVIIe siècle* also offers excellent insight into the interdependent nature of French great-household domestic service, but again, the kitchen and victualing departments are only given ancillary, piecemeal analysis.⁵⁹ Others approaches are usually shorter, but like Mousnier and Laverny, offer useful insight into the interdependence of domestic household departments in serving the master or mistress and their family, even if the kitchen receives ancillary consideration.⁶⁰

Of the biographical approaches to cooks, there is beginning to be a good number of very high-quality works, both large and small, many of which include original archival material on their subjects. François Vatel (1631–1671), who was the famous cook of the Grand Condé, Prince Louis II de Bourbon-Condé (1621–1686) and who would commit suicide due to plans

⁵⁸ Mousnier considers some limited elements of the kitchen operation and kitchen officers that we will examine, Roland Mousnier, *Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue: 1598–1789*, Volume 1&2 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1980).

⁵⁹ Sophie de Laverny, *Les domestiques commensaux du roi de France au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Sorbonne, 2002).

⁶⁰ Robert Costomiris, "Some New Light on the Early Career of William Thynne Chief Clerk of the Kitchen of Henry VIII and Editor of Chaucer," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 7.4.1 (2003): 3–15; P. Anselme, Augustin Déchaussé, and M. Du Fourny, "Histoire Chronologique des Grands Queux de France," in *Histoire Genealogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France* (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires Associez, 1733): 825–841; Anne Wilson, "Cooks, Kitchen-Maids and Kitchen Helpers in the Country House," in *The Country House Kitchen 1650–1900: Skills and Equipment for Food Provisioning*, ed. Pamela Sambrook and Peter Brears (London: Sutton, 1996) 77–91.

going awry at an important banquet, received the most coverage of any early modern European cook in Dominique Michel's *Vatel et la Naissance de la Gastronomie*.⁶¹ Using significant volumes of original archival manuscripts gathered from the Archives nationales and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Michel was able to offer significant new insight into Vatel's life in the Prince's household, information about his heirs and family, and much information about seventeenth-century French food and cookery. Most other biographical treatments of medieval and early modern cooks have been shorter, although a good number include new archival insight into the working lives of some master cooks. The career of Maestro Martino has received some newfound attention,⁶² as has that of Taillevent,⁶³ and lesser-known cooks like Johannes Bockenhiem, cookbook author and cook to Pope Martin V (r.1417–1431),⁶⁴ and Richard Roose (d.1531), cook and alleged attempted assassin of the Bishop of Rochester.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, other than these works, very few substantial works exist that consider cooks either as individuals or as a professional collective.

It is this notion of the collective that we will focus on for the remainder of this chapter: management of the collective resources of French and English great-household kitchens ranging in date between 1350 and 1660. Brears has offered excellent comparative analysis of medieval English kitchen management systems that we will examine at the opening of each new section,

⁶¹ Dominique Michel, *Vatel et la Naissance de la Gastronomie* (Paris: Fayard, 1999) 348pp.

⁶² Bruno Laurioux, "Le Prince des Cuisiniers et le Cuisiniers des Princes: Nouveaux Documents sur Maestro Martino," *Médiévales* 49 (2005): 141–154; Luigi Ballerini, "Maestro Martino: The Carneades of Cooks," in *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book*, ed. Luigi Ballerini, trans. Jeremy Parzen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) 1–46.

⁶³ AS Weber, "Que du Roi, Roi des Quex: Taillevent and the Profession of Medieval Cooking," in *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal (London: Hambledon, 1998) 145–157.

⁶⁴ Bruno Laurioux, "Le Register de Cuisine de Jean de Bockenheim, Cuisinier de Pape Martin V," *Mélanges de L'école Française de Rome* 100.2 (1988): 709–760.

⁶⁵ Stanford Lehmborg, "Parliamentary Attainder in the Reign of Henry VIII," *The Historical Journal* 18 (1975): 675–702; William Stacy, "Richard Roose and the Use of Parliamentary Attainder in the Reign of Henry VIII," *The Historical Journal* 29 (1986): 1–15; K.J. Kesselring, "Draft of the 1531 'Acte for Poysoning'," *The English Historical Review* 116.468 (2001): 894–899.

but we will quickly proceed to data from later English as well as medieval and early modern French great households in order to examine similarities in the structure over time and region. As we will see, the brigade de cuisine existed in a variety of complex iterations in great households throughout medieval and early modern France and England, and may, in fact, be one of the most alive elements of medieval food culture.

The Grandmasters

If we approach the topic of medieval and early modern French and English great household kitchen management from a top-down perspective, we meet a number of decorated and often noble “grand” overseers at the top of the chain of command: the *grand maître de France*,⁶⁷ the *grand chambrier de France*,⁶⁶ the *grand bouteiller de France*,⁶⁷ the *grand échançon de France*,⁶⁸ the *grand panetier de France*,⁶⁹ and the *grand queux de France*.⁷⁰ In England there were fewer grand officers related to diet: the butler of “Englond” and chief pantler of the “Kinge's mouthe”. We will consider the office of *grand chambrier* in the next section since, ironically, it was the only position in the list that had anything to do with the daily running of the French royal kitchens.

The offices of *grand bouteiller*, *grand échançon*, *grand panetier*, *grand queux*, butler of England, and chief pantler of England had little to do with actual cookery functions, despite the close associations the offices’ names evoke. Many of these offices predate textual evidence, especially in the case of the bakers being under direct control of the royal household, but the

⁶⁶ Great Chamberlain of France, the official charged with oversight of the *trésor royal* and the *chambre aux deniers*.

⁶⁷ The Great Butler of France, the official charged with oversight of the royal cellars.

⁶⁸ The Great Cupbearer of France, the official charged with oversight of the department responsible for portioning and serving wine.

⁶⁹ The Great Pantler of France, the official charged with oversight of the royal bakeries, bread service within the royal household, and the official “chancellor” of the Parisian bakers’ guild.

⁷⁰ The Great Cook of France, the official charged with oversight of the royal kitchens, and the “chancellor” of the guild of freshwater fishers of Paris.

longevity of some offices was limited. Mousnier and food historian Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat noted the existence of the *grand panetier*, but Toussaint-Samat also noted that it was he that controlled the bakeries of the City of Paris, as established in the bakers' charter dating to before the eleventh century.⁷¹ Similarly, the *grand queux* had official control over the royal kitchens and, through a quirk of history, held the governance of the freshwater fishers' guild of Paris since at least the thirteenth century, officially convoking meetings and leading or sending a deputy to lead other guild-related functions for the Seine fishers.⁷² Both aspects of the interrelationship between the royal household and the guilds will be studied in much more detail in the following chapter, but for now, it is important that these relationships were fiduciary and only ceremonial in nature.

About the grand offices specifically associated with food—*grand panetier*, *grand queux*, and chief pantler of England—scholars have been less certain about the question of the degree to which holders had anything to do with daily cooking or baking. We know for certain that the *grand panetier* and *grand queux* had ceremonial duties in the conveyance of food and bread to the monarch's table, but did they ever cook? Anselm de Guibours's eighteenth-century masterwork on the genealogical descent of office holders in the royal household, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, et des grands officiers de la couronne*, a work published, in part, to combat the many embellished family histories that were appearing in the eighteenth century, records much about the origins of grand officers of the *bouche*.⁷³ Guibours gathered genealogies from the manuscripts housed in the royal archives of France. About the office of *grand panetier* de France, for example, T.VIII records that the office

⁷¹ Toussaint-Samat, "The Ritual of Becoming a Master Baker," in *A History of Food*, 221; Mousnier, *Les institutions*, Volume 2, 117-127.

⁷² Toussaint-Samat, *A History*, 293.

⁷³ The collective department that saw to the royal dietary needs was referred to as the "*bouche*".

was originally held for short periods by representatives from a number of seigneurial families—the seigneurs of Saint-Beauzire, de Fay, de Marigny-le-Châtel, de La Crique, de Graille, de Marcoussis, among them—during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.⁷⁴ By the fifteenth century, however, the prominence of the office and such intimate association with the monarch’s proclivities gave the office added prestige; the comital, and later ducal, family of Brissac dominated the office between the mid-sixteenth and late-eighteenth centuries.⁷⁵ Certainly it is most unlikely that the dukes of Brissac actively baked, since their massive, Loire-Valley chateau had an extant and large kitchen and bakery in the basement of the castle, in which the cooks and bakers prepared food for the dukes’ families until the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ It is difficult to imagine any of the medieval seigneurs standing in the king’s bakery with flour on their cheek, but it is possible to imagine that they took bread from underling *panetiers*, inspected it, and, dressed in their finery, proceeded to the king’s table, and served the king’s bread in a manner befitting the monarch’s status. I would suggest, based on Gibours’s genealogical work, that even within the French royal household, the role of *grand panetier* was ceremonial and had little to do with baking since at least the thirteenth century.

Unlike the *grand panetier* or the pantler of the king’s mouth, the office of *grand queux de France* seems not to have survived for long. Gibours described the office as being “*supprimé*” (“supressed”) in 1490, while most other sources make no mention of it. As to the origins of the office, Gibours noted that it was always reserved for nobles of the “*premier rang*” (first rank),

⁷⁴ Anselm de Guibours, “*Histoire généalogique et chronologique des GrandsPannetiers de France*,” in *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, et des grands officiers de la couronne*, T.VIII (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires Associez, 1733) 603–605.

⁷⁵ Guibours, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, T. VIII, 673-676.

⁷⁶ The Chateau is located in the commune of Brissac-Quincé, located in the *département* of Maine-et-Loire, France. The kitchen and bakery can still be visited today. The medieval roasting hearth is visible with some modifications, and the room is decorated with a nineteenth-century batterie de cuisine that is artfully arranged on the walls.

and that, by his estimation, the office dated back to at least the eleventh century.⁷⁷ The first holders are known only by their first names—Robert, Harcher, Adam, (Y)Isambert—until Anseau, seigneur de Chevreuse, held the office in 1302.⁷⁸ Following Anseau, Guillame de Harcourt inherited the position around 1285, Guillame also being listed in Arthur J. De Havilland Bushnell’s *Storied Windows* as being the donor of the St. Catherine window at Evreux Cathedral.⁷⁹

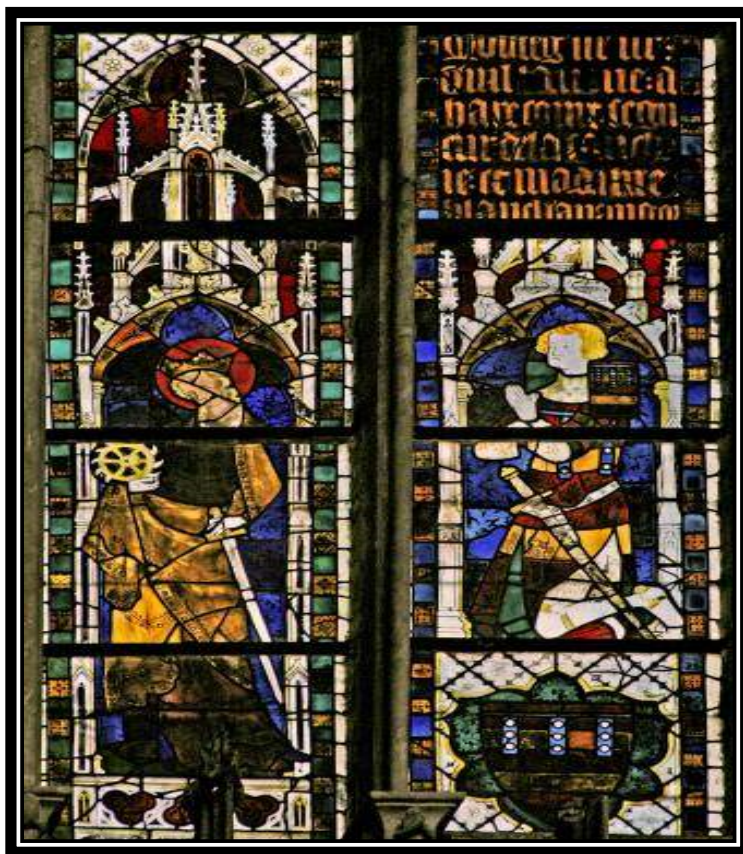


Figure 2. Harcourt window at Evreux Cathedral, Evreux, Normandy, c.1325-1327. Guillaume (d. 1327), Baron of Elbeuf, Lord of Saussaye, *grand queux* de France, and founder of the Collégiale de La Saussaye, is depicted kneeling beside St. Catherine, holding her wheel, with the Harcourt family arms displayed below Guillaume. (detail from the Medieval Stained Glass Photographic Archive at www.therosewindow.com).

⁷⁷ Guibours, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, T. VIII, 825.

⁷⁸ Guibours, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, T. VIII, 826.

⁷⁹ Arthur J de Havilland Bushnell, *Storied Windows: A Traveller's Introduction to the Study of Old Church Glass, from the Twelfth Century to the Renaissance, Especially in France* (New York: Macmillan, 1914) 86.

Although there is nothing unusual about Guillaume's appearance, it is notable that there is no trace anywhere of his role as *grand queux*; he was a nobleman who assumed the honour of representing the kitchen in the king's dining room, but did not ennoble himself through service in the royal kitchens.⁸⁰

Although Gibours was extremely thorough in his work, there are sixteenth-century records that mention the office of *grand queux* of France. The accounts from the royal household's *chambre aux deniers d'hôtel*⁸¹ from between 1515–1520 continue to list the position of *grand queux*, along with “*grant*” panetier and échanton.⁸² These manuscripts do not mention who the holders of the offices were, but they do indicate that there was more than one individual serving in the position during some of the terms.⁸³ I am uncertain when the office died out, but Gibours's observation that the office is not mentioned, I will say rarely mentioned, after 1500, indicates that there was some evolution occurring in the ceremonial structures governing the king's *bouche* during the early sixteenth century.

Less central to our study, but still worthy of note for the close proximity with which they worked to royal food service personnel, were the offices of grand bouteiller and *grand échanton*, or buttery. The buttery was an office of medieval great households that was responsible for receiving, storing, drawing drink, and delivering it to the échanton, while the cupbearer portioned wine into pitchers for table service. The fifteenth-century *Liber Niger* (1475) of

⁸⁰ Guibours, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, T. VIII, 840.

⁸¹ Literally, “money chamber,” office responsible for financial management within the royal household.

⁸² AN KK 94, *Chambre aux deniers*, 1515-1520, f.10.

⁸³ AN KK 94, *Chambre aux deniers*, 1515-1520, f.10.

Edward IV stated that the *Butler of Englonde* oversaw the operation of the overall administration of drink service to the court, including oversight of accountancy, planning, storage, and service.⁸⁴

In addition to these offices, domestic offices of grand and petty serjeanty were and continue to be revived as the monarch needs them. The *Doomsday Book* records that the holder of the Manor of Addington (“Tezelin the Cook” held it in 1086) was responsible for cooking or finding a cook to cook the coronation feast, while the tenant of the Manor of Sculton Burdeleys was to serve as larder and provide their own knife and axe, the tenant of the Manor of Heydon was expected to provide a towel for washing the monarch’s hands, and the tenant of the Manor of Ashele provided other, larger tablecloths.⁸⁵ All was set down in a multitude of statutes, some of which are still revived during coronations today.⁸⁶

It is important to remember that officers of the *bouche* and holders of serjeanty offices did not perform the occupations with which their offices were associated, at least after the eleventh century. There is not enough information about some of the earliest holders of the offices mentioned above to know, for certain, whether the origins of the office lay in elevating the chief cook or baker to an office of prestige, or whether the offices were initially created for nobles without any experience working in the offices. It is certain that, by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in both the French and English royal households, service related to the monarch’s kitchen and diet carried added prestige for nobles, but these offices are not evidence of upward mobility for cooks and bakers. Indeed, all of the holders of grand offices—whether

⁸⁴ [1475] Anon., “Liber Niger: Household of King Edward IV, MS. Harleian, 642,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 73 (b).

⁸⁵ “Addington,” in *A History of the County of Surrey*, volume 4, ed. H.E. Malden (London: Hinton, 1912), pp. 164–165; William Smith, *A New History and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (London: Effingham, 1833) 335.

⁸⁶ For example, the Lord Chamberlain of the Household is currently the Earl Peel, the Master of the Horse is currently Baron Vestey, but the offices of Lord Great Chamberlain and Earl Marshal are always held by the incumbents of the Marquisate of Cholmondeley and the Dukedom of Norfolk, respectively. Both are forms of grand and petty serjeanty.

hereditary or term appointments—were high-ranking nobles, ostensibly without an ounce of skill in cooking or baking.

Offices of the Greencloth, Chambre aux Deniers, and Kitchen Clerk (Clerc de Cuisine)

Whereas grand officers and officers of serjeanty were the ceremonial heads of medieval and early modern French and English royal diet departments, it was really departments related to the royal treasuries that worked as departmental overseers to domestic units like the kitchen, the stables, and so on. Chief among all units involved in medieval great-household food service was the counting house—also called the chequer, or exchequer—a department that existed in royal and large noble households that performed functions similar to accountancy and resource management today. Counting houses were usually located in their own rooms, often with heavily protected and hidden vaults in which cash and important documents were stored.⁸⁷ About the process and extent of use of the office, Brears noted:

The centrepiece of the counting house, chequer or exchequer was the chequerboard or table on which accounts were calculated and which gave its name to the office. In his *Dialogue Concerning the Exchequer* of 1178, Richard, Bishop of London and Treasurer to the royal household, described the King's chequer as a rectangular table covered with a black cloth marked with white lines a foot or a palm apart, on which *calculi* (stones) were arranged to represent sums. The colour of the cloth soon changed to green, thus giving the title of the Board of the Greencloth to the department which still administers the royal household. In 1299 the receiver of Chepstow Castle paid 41/2d. for 3 yards of cloth for the Earl of Norfolk's exchequer board, and the dye required to stain it ... Similarly the bursar of New College, Oxford, bought three yards of green kersey ... for his counting table.⁸⁸

According to Brears's analysis of medieval English great households, the office of the greencloth was the usual administrator of most royal and upper-noble households.

⁸⁷ Brears includes numerous examples of counting houses and chequers from many English castles and palaces, see Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, 17–23.

⁸⁸ Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, 23.

Moving outside of Brears' specific field of interest in medieval England, primary evidence indicates that the role of kitchen clerk was also important in the medieval French royal household, and that the importance of the position was sustained in both regions beyond the seventeenth century. The thirteenth- and fourteenth-century *Ordonnances de l'hôtel du roi* indicate that all domestic offices reported to the *chambre aux deniers*, a unit of the *chambre du roi*.⁸⁹ The *chambre aux deniers* was specifically designed to provide cash, credit, wages, and pay incomes, whose costs had been incurred through the normal running of the royal household.⁹⁰ Whereas both the French and English royal household maintained significantly different bureaucratization within their counting houses and *chambres*, great households in both regions relied on the same rank of servant to facilitate communication between the kitchen and household chanceries: the kitchen clerk (*clerc*).

If we examine the antiquity of the office, we can see that kitchen clerks were associated with French and English great-household kitchens since the late medieval period. The 1286 *Ordonnance de l'hôtel* of Philippe IV recorded that the kitchen clerk's primary work was in ensuring all workers were paid and that all kitchen accounts and books were maintained.⁹¹ Since the clerk's position often took him to different rooms and areas of the kitchen and *chambre*, he was also given a servant who was allowed to eat in the household, a horse, feed for the horse, and 100s. for clothing.⁹² Clerks can be found in every ordinance included in the bibliography, and were recorded in almost every department of the household whose costs and expenses were complex enough to require a sub-departmental record-keeper. Lambeth Palace *Household*

⁸⁹ The department of the French royal household that controlled money and finances. All *ordonnances du hôtel du roi* are arranged in this manner. A good example can be seen in AN KK 94, *Chambre aux deniers*, 1515-1520.

⁹⁰ Laverny, 111-119.

⁹¹ "Pour faire la paie de touz les maistiers de l'ostel, aura 1 clerc a 6 d. de gaiges, une provende, et 1 valet mengant a court et 100 s. pour robe par an," in *Ordonnance de l'hôtel* [Vincennes, 1286] AN. JJ 57 f.1.

⁹² *Ordonnance de l'hôtel* [Vincennes, 1286] AN. JJ 57 f.1.

Ordinances of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, c. 1560s–1662, reveals more about the exact role of the kitchen clerk in communicating the wishes of senior household officials to cooks and food-service workers. In the Archbishop’s household, the kitchen clerk was required to

attend on y counting howse daie in the Counting howse upon the hedd officers to answee suche questions as should be demanded of hym touching the Lo: service ... The Statutes, and the Legier boke, and all other recorde of the Counting howse were in the Custody of the Clerke of the Kytchyn who kept the key of the counting howse dore and by his man gave all the hedd Officers intelligence of every counting howse daie as often as he was enioyned by the Steward, Threasorer, or Comptroller soe to doe.⁹³

If the Archbishop’s kitchen clerk failed to perform their duty to the expected standard, “they were to be reformed by the hedd Officers according to the qualitie of theire offence, Except the case were heinous and then one of the hed Officers advise the Lord thereof.”⁹⁴ During the sixteenth century, the kitchen clerk’s role became well defined in the ordinances of numerous households. In the *Eltham Ordinance* of 1526, made for the royal household under Henry VIII, the kitchen clerk received meats and oversaw their preparation “for which purpose a good proportion of meate shall, by the officers of the household, be delivered to the clerke of the King's privy kitchen; there to be honestly and well dressed, and to be served at such times as shall be convenient.”⁹⁵

The kitchen clerk had another important task that is worth separate mention here: menu planning. In conjunction with their superiors in the counting houses and *chambres*, kitchen clerks finalized menu options that were served in great households. Since great-household cooks’ primary work was to create food that pleased their master and complemented the social flavour

⁹³ Lambeth Palace MS 884, *Household Ordinances of Thomas Cranmer*, fol. 2v-3r.

⁹⁴ Lambeth Palace MS 884, *Household Ordinances of Thomas Cranmer*, fol. 2v.

⁹⁵ NA E 36/231, “Eltham Ordinance,” in [1526] *A Collection of Ordinances*, 158.

of the master's status, deciding on a menu included input from a variety of household sectors. The master always had free rein to mention their personal requests, all of which would be communicated to the chief cooks upon assembling in the counting house:

Itm that the Cooks and Larderers season their stuffe under their hands both of fleshe and fishe, and every daie to come into the Counting howse to understand howe their Offices shalbe ordered the daie following, and yf any fault be done that daie in seasoning their fishe or fleshe to see it amended.⁹⁶

In case there was any doubt, another statute of Archbishop Cranmer's household ordinance noted:

Itm that the Clerke of the Kytchin come daily into the kytchyn in the morning earely, and appointe the Cator what to bring in for provision, and to appointe the Cooks what, and how much to dresse according to the rate of the howshold, so to be knowen of the Comptroler or Ussher of the hall.⁹⁷

This is a very important element of the present study. In modern culinary culture, it is impossible to separate the role of menu planning from that of executive chef, whether in a hotel, restaurant, or cafeteria. In the pre-modern period, before mechanical and electronic file-keeping systems, our ordinances reveal that it was the kitchen clerk who had full awareness of the financial and logistical limitations present in great household's victualing economies and masters' and guests' requests. Master cooks continued to retain executive control over how ingredients were prepared, seasoning profiles, cooking methods, and organizing of kitchen workers, tools, and implements; however, composing menus began with the officers of the counting house or *chambre*.

I do not want to give the impression that the *chambre aux deniers* or counting houses were only or even primarily involved in work related to diet. Instead, accountancy offices were primarily engaged in managing accounts, making records, and controlling household offices—

⁹⁶ Lambeth Palace MS 884, *Household Ordinances of Thomas Cranmer*, fol. 15v.

⁹⁷ Lambeth Palace MS 884, *Household Ordinances of Thomas Cranmer*, fol. 21r.

either financially or hierarchically. However, as we saw in the chapters on accounts, expenses related to food and drink were some of the most regular and substantial expenses incurred by many great households. As such, accountancy departments are integral to our study since the cost of diet provision was such that they were necessary, influential members of great-household victualing strategies, even though they were not actively involved in the work of preparing food.

In the Kitchen:

The Master Cook (Maître Queux)

Head cooks were usually called some combination of the following: *ministro*,⁹⁸ *coquus*,⁹⁹ master cooke or m^r cooke,¹⁰⁰ yoman cook for the mouth,¹⁰¹ *maître queux*,¹⁰² *keu*.¹⁰³ Since every household operated on a slightly different framework, there was not a standardized job description for master cooks from house to house. Instead, the only elements of work that seem to have been shared by all medieval and early modern master cooks was that they were the primary quality-control experts whose ultimate responsibility was everything that passed through the kitchen's serving hatch and into the great hall.

In the 1286 *Ordonnance* of the French royal household under Philip IV, the main clause relating to hierarchy of cooks noted that there was one master cook (Ysembert) and four senior cooks (*queux*):

⁹⁸ The root of the word used to describe kitchen workers in the kitchen scene of the Bayeux Tapestry.

⁹⁹ “*coquus non cocus*,” as the grammarian who wrote the ninth-century *Appendix Probi* helpfully reminded, see “Appendix Probi,” *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur vulgärlateinischen*, ed. W. A. Baehrens (Halle, Saale: Niemeyer, 1922) 66-67. Variants on *coco* also appear in manuscripts of later periods.

¹⁰⁰ This is the most common form of the title in English sources, see LP MS 884, f. 1v–23r, [c.1540] *Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer sometymes Lo: Archebisshop of Cant.*; E 36/231 Household Servants, Royal, Henry VIII [1509] etc..

¹⁰¹ Alnwick MS 99 [1512], “Northumberland Household Book,” 45.

¹⁰² AN JJ 57 fol 1-10r, [1286] *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Royal Household*; AN JJ 57 fol 10 v-18r, [1250] *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Royal Household*; AN JJ 57 fol 20r–24v, [1261] *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Royal Household*; AN JJ 57 fol 25r-31r, [1315] *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Royal Household*, although the title was used in a great number of other MS.

¹⁰³ *Keu* is also used in AN JJ 57 fol 1-10r, [1286] *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Royal Household*; AN JJ 57 fol 10 v-18r, [1250], and other mss.

Ysembert, and four other cooks, of which, two serve the king and the other two serve in the *commun*¹⁰⁴ with Ysembert. They shall find, acquire, divide and serve meat, minding that all pieces are cooked appropriately.¹⁰⁵

The cooks working with Ysembert, although they were not as senior according to their wage listed later in the account, were still overseers who received all of their meals at the court, a daily ration of wine, a horse, and feed for the horse each day.¹⁰⁶ In addition to these benefits, Ysembert also received a daily ration of candles and torches, and was given his own servant (*valet*) whose only remuneration was permission to dine at the *commun*.¹⁰⁷

Astonishingly, I have discovered the names of Ysembert and one of the other royal cooks listed in the *Rôle de taille* of 1292. The *Rôle de taille*, a Parisian tax assessment taken six years after the 1286 *Ordonnance* was produced, tells us where Ysembert lived in Paris and even reveals the name of one of the two *keus* of the *cuisine de l'ostel Madame la Reine* that were identified by job title only in the 1286 *Ordonnance*. “Ysembart le queu”, the only inhabitant listed in Paris by that first name at the time, was listed as living on the *rue orfèvres* which was called the *rue des Deux Portes* during his lifetime.¹⁰⁸ It is located about 0.8 km southeast of the Louvre, as the bird flies, and about 0.5 km directly north of the *Île de la Cité*, where the *Palais de la Cité* was located, according to Google Maps. This would have been a convenient commute to work when the monarch was resident in Paris, regardless of whether Philippe chose to stay at the

¹⁰⁴ The *commun* was the general name given to domestic offices in the French royal household. In particular, it referred to the common dining room that served servants and guests' servants. A *Grand commun* still exists at Versailles, and is contained in its own enormous building that includes the remnants of bakeries, kitchens, larders, dining halls, chapels, and domestic accommodations that once served the servants and junior officers—only—of the royal household. The kitchen that served the monarch (*cuisine de bouche*) was separate from the *commun* since at least the late thirteenth century.

¹⁰⁵ *Yzembart et 4 autres queus, dont li ii seront devers le roy et li autre ii devers le commun avec Ysembart et doivent estre a la viande queurre et achater et depecier et servir ent et doivent veoir la ou les pieces charront* AN JJ 57 fol 1-10r, [1286] *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Royal Household*.

¹⁰⁶ AN JJ 57 fol 1-10r, [1286] *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Royal Household*.

¹⁰⁷ AN JJ 57 fol 1-10r, [1286] *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Royal Household*.

¹⁰⁸ The *Rôle de taille* of 1292 was transcribed in full in Hercule Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-bel: d'après des documents originaux* (Paris: Crapelet, 1837) 26. It included mention of: *keus* c. 9, *queux* c. 12, *cuisiniers* c. 18, *poulailliers* c.2.

Louvre or the *Palais de la Cité*. Given the unique name, that fact that the name only appears once in the 1292 *Rôle*, and that the one person happens to be a cook living in the shadow of the Louvre, this is almost certainly the same Ysembert who was *maitre queu* of the kitchen of the Grand commun during the year 1286. Furthermore, living directly beside Ysembert was a certain “Jaques, le “le Roy, likely one of “*li ii seront devers le roy*”¹⁰⁹ unnamed in the 1286 *Ordonnance* but identified as working under Ysembert in the king’s kitchen.¹¹⁰

Living beside Ysembert and Jacques were lawyers, a poulterer,¹¹¹ and grocers—all of whom paid significantly less in annual tax than Ysembert, whom was assessed at the highest rate—8li.— on his street and Jacques, who had the second-highest assessment on the street—7li.¹¹² Since the *Rôle de taille* is a property assessment, this indicates that Ysembert and Jacques occupied the best, largest residences on their street. It may also indicate that they had been employed at healthy wages for quite some time, given the fact that both were able to invest such large amounts of personal capital in property.

Later ordinances of the French royal household indicate that the brigade de cuisine was an organic structure open to slight modification. In the 1316 *Ordonnance* of Philippe.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ “the two others at the service of the king”.

¹¹⁰ *Rôle de taille* of 1292, 26 and AN JJ 57 fol 1-10r, [1286] *Ordonnance de l’hôtel, Royal Household*.

¹¹¹ Owners of poultry shops.

¹¹² *Rôle de taille* of 1292, 26.

¹¹³ The household had expanded to include two master cooks, two cooks for the monarch, and three for the commun, looking something like this AN JJ 57/F-57 *Ordonnance*

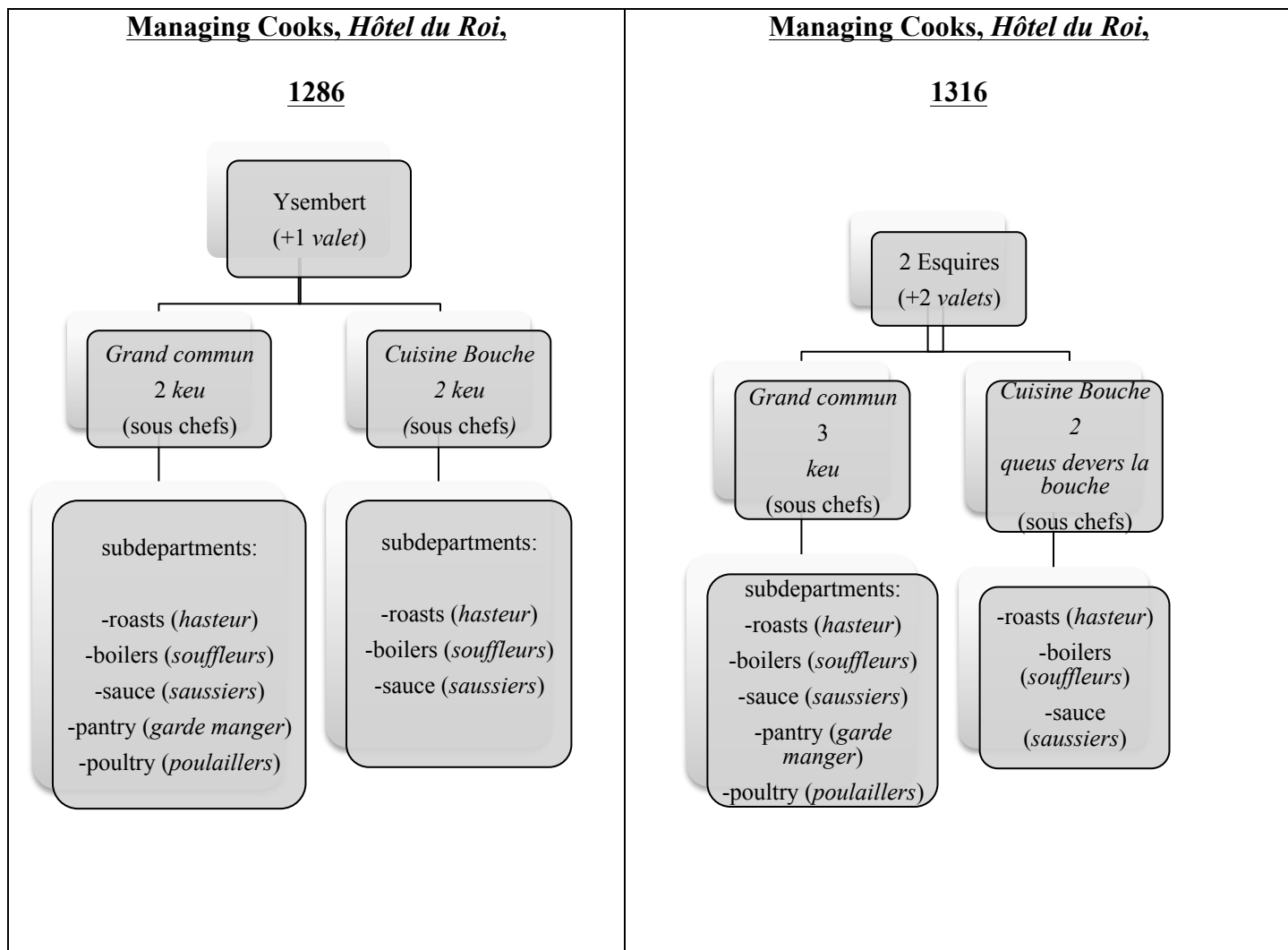


Figure 3. Comparative depiction of kitchen-management structures of the French royal household, 1286 and 1316. [1286] *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Royal Household* AN JJ 57 fol 1–10r; [1316] *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Royal Household*, AN JJ 57 fol 73.

In terms of their day-to-day work, some colourful references to master cooks exist in the work of Olivier de la Marche (1425–1502), former *maître d'hotel* to Duchess Mary of Burgundy (1457–1482). La Marche described the work of the ducal master cook in his *Mémoires*, noting:

[The kitchen] is governed and conducted by two esquires who hold their terms in sequence¹¹⁴ ... The cook orders, regulates, and is obeyed in his kitchen; he should have a chair between the buffet and the hearth to sit on and rest if necessary; the chair should be so placed that he can see everything that is being done in the kitchen; he should have in his hand a large wooden spoon that has a double function: first, to test soups and stews, and secondly, to chase children of the kitchen back to their work, beating them when necessary.¹¹⁵

The role of *maitre queux*¹¹⁶ was not one of cooking but one of continually surveying labour activities and performing quality-control assessments. By tasting and approving the food, the master cook had the final word on what was allowed to pass through the kitchen hatch and into the monarch's or servants' tables.

In medieval English royal households, master cooks occupied almost identical roles to their French counterparts: workers put in overall charge of daily cookery and of the other workers in the kitchen, but they ranked below literate kitchen clerks. The wage list of the household of Edward III illustrates the point clearly:

¹¹⁴ For example: two months working, two months resting.

¹¹⁵ My translation of Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires de Messire Olivier de La Marche* (1425–1502), T. IV, eds. H. Beaune & J. d'Arbaumont (Paris: Renouard, 1888) 48, 50.

¹¹⁶ Master cook

Chief Clerks	Count	Wage
Spicery	1	2s./day
Pantry & Buttery	1	“
Kitchen ¹¹⁷	1	“
Sub-Clerks		
Spicery	3	1s./day
Kitchen	1	“
Almoner	1	“
Workers in Diet Offices, Household of King Edward III, 1345¹¹⁸		
Serjeants	Count	Wage
Pantry	1	1s./day ¹¹⁹
Buttery	3	“
Acatery	3	“
Bakehouse	1	“
Ewery	1	“
Salsery	1	“
Larder	1	“
Poultry	1	“
Yeomen		
Master Cooks	3	1s./day ¹²⁰
Waferer	1	6d./day ¹²¹
Yeomen of the king's offices ¹²²	79	“

Table 1. Diet Officers, Household of King Edward III, 1345¹²³

The role of kitchen clerk was remunerated at a rate of 100% more than the role of master cook, who were compensated at a rate of 100% more than the lesser yeomen of the royal kitchen.¹²⁴ Wages changed slightly over time, departmentalization of labour and tasks evolved, but the position of master cook relative to kitchen clerk and subordinate workers stayed relatively consistent over time.

¹¹⁷ The wage list only lists the sub-clerk, but notes “th’other clarke of the kytchen” without ever specifying the first kitchen clerk. There are four clerks listed as “and foure other clarkes” among the chief clerks, so it is likely that one of these four was the chief kitchen clerk, see [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” 1.

¹¹⁸ [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 4.

¹¹⁹ [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 9.

¹²⁰ [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 9.

¹²¹ [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 9.

¹²² This is a catchall term that would have included yeomen working in the kitchen, backhouse, larders, acatery and so on, see [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 4.

¹²³ [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 1.

¹²⁴ [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 9.

The demands made on master cooks seem to have expanded during the fifteenth century. In the household of Charles VI (r.1380–1422), for example, the management bureaucracy expanded over its medieval precedent. A very mysterious manuscript, *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Charles VI, 1418*, located in the National Archives, London, seems to be an original household ordinance, or a fifteenth-century copy, that list all of the household servants employed at the royal court under Charles VI. I was unable to find any *ordonnances* related to the household of Charles VI at either the *Archives Nationales* nor the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, so it may be the original or only surviving copy of the *Ordonnance*. It seems to be wholly absent from historiography. In the 1418 *Ordonnance*, the royal kitchen expanded to include eight *esquires de cuisine*,¹²⁵ and five *queux*.¹²⁶ The rank of esquire was still the supervising rank of cook in the French royal kitchen of the early fifteenth century: “*esquers de cuisine*” in this case, received 3ps. 6pd.¹²⁷ per day in wages, plus had the benefit of food, wine, a horse, fodder, and a valet, and food for the valet; the valets, themselves, do not seem to have received wages except food on the days they were working in the kitchen. The five *queux* working under Charles VI’s “*esquers*” de cuisine were led by “Gilles Paulle, p^rmir [*queux*]”; these cooks strictly worked in the main kitchen preparing entrées, plating food, finishing and assembling savoury dishes for assessment by the “*esquers*” de cuisine before the dishes passed through the serving hatch and out of the direct control of the *queux*.¹²⁸

The French royal household was exceptional, always seeking to be larger and greater than surrounding great households. Kitchen ranks, however, appear to be somewhat interchangeable from household to household. Many nobles maintained reputable domestic establishments

¹²⁵ “Gentlemen cooks of the kitchen”.

¹²⁶ NA E 30/1652, *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Charles VI, 1418*, ff. 8v-9r.

¹²⁷ PS. “*Paris sous/sols*”.

¹²⁸ NA E 30/1652, *Ordonnance de l'hôtel, Charles VI, 1418*, f. 9r.

without ever trying to emulate the royal household, per se. The *Menagier de Paris* (1393) noted that he, the author, relied on Richart, “*de la cuisine, escurer*”, to organize everything related to the kitchen: cooking, cleaning, and everything else that related to kitchen work.¹²⁹ Other great households were great in status without trying to emulate the kitchen bureaucracy of the royal household. The *1508 compte de bouche* of Duchesse Jeanne de Bourbon, Duchesse de Bourbon (1465–1511), included a list of household workers in the first pages of the manuscript, revealing that the highly-esteemed duchess, maternal grandmother to Catherine de' Medici, got by with only seven kitchen workers.¹³⁰

Within the Tudor royal households, it is possible to see more detailed job descriptions emerging in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ordinances, although there was little evolution in management structures themselves. In the *Eltham Ordinance* of 1526, the master cooks' roles were clearly detailed in relation to their superiors and subordinates. On an ordinary day, the master cooks in the kitchen were managed by the kitchen clerks who had a full understanding of the daily menu requirements:

Master Cookes and Others, Cap. 15. ITEM, it is ordeyned that every of the master cookes give their dayly attendance in serving the King, the Queene, and his household, and that their meates be good and sweete, and to see the same well dressed; and to cause the cookes under them to see all such victualls as shall come to their hands be well and seasonably dressed, and the same to serve out at the dressours by the oversight of the said clerke of the kitchen, without embesselling or taking away any parte of the same; according to the old custome-of the King'shouse.¹³¹

Later in the ordinance, the master cooks' duties were further outlined:

¹²⁹ “...*Richart de la cuisine escurer, laver, nettoier et tout ce que appartient à cuisine...*,” in Anon., [1393] *Le menagier de Paris*, T. II, ed. Société des bibliophiles françois (Paris: Crapelet, 1846) 70.

¹³⁰ Four worked in the kitchen: a *maitre queux* and three assistants; and three worked in the *paneterie*: likely a pantler, a baker, and a baker's assistant, see AN K 504/5/2v., *Compte de Bouche, de Jeane de Bourbon, Septembre, 1508*. Certainly there were some extremely large great households in sixteenth-century France, but there were also smaller great households whose workers were still able to maintain a ducal standard of living for the mistress of the household.

¹³¹ Anon., “Eltham Ordinance” [1526], *A Collection of Ordinances*, 142.

ITEM, the said Clerkes shall be daily in the Larder, at the putting out of the Vitailles there into the Cooke's hands, and see the service thereof made, and dayly sett out at the dresser to the King's Chamber and the Queene's, and to all other the Ordinarie of the Household, to see that none of them doe lack any of their Ordinances which is set for them.¹³²

ITEM, they shall looke that the Cookes and Boylers doe dresse the Meate well and seasonably, that it be neither raw, neither over much boyled or rosted, but soe as it may be for the King's honour, and best contenting to them to whom it shall be served.¹³³

Cooking at King Henry VIII's court was a joint undertaking: kitchen clerks communicated the menu, master cooks organized work and ensured that food "was neither over much boyled," but master cooks relied on a large brigade of lesser cooks to carry out a host of culinary tasks.

The privy kitchen (*cuisine de bouche*) and the main kitchen (*cuisine de commun*), was always an element of the French royal *ordonnances* but mention of it does not appear with frequency in English royal ordinances until the sixteenth century. The *Household Ordinance of Edward IV* [1416]¹³⁴ referred to "the Ma^r Cokes of both kitchins," but does not define whether the second kitchen was the privy kitchen. It seems reasonable to suspect that the second kitchen was the privy kitchen. Henry VIII's 1526 *Eltham Ordinance* refers to King Henry's "clerke of the King's privy kitchen" and the "cooke of the King's privy kitchen," without outlining much about the management structure of the kitchen.¹³⁵ Under Queen Elizabeth I, a famous new privy kitchen was added to the northern side of the Palace and still serves food today as the Privy Kitchen Café, a public restaurant and function space. In Elizabeth's time, the privy cook was equal in status to the master cooks of the main kitchen and the lord's side kitchen, as the *Ordinance of 1601* noted:

¹³² Anon., "Eltham Ordinance" [1526], *A Collection of Ordinances*, 236.

¹³³ Anon., "Eltham Ordinance" [1526], *A Collection of Ordinances*, 236.

¹³⁴ NA E 36/206 Household Ordinance of Edward IV, 1416

¹³⁵ [1526] Anon., "Eltham Ordinance: Household of King Henry VIII, MS. Harleian, 642," *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William And Queen Mary* ed. John Nichols (London: London Society of Antiquaries, 1790), 158.

Master Cooks For The Queene. He hath £11.8s.1½d. a yeare, and five dishes of meate every meale, and likewise the assay of meate served to the Queene; he and his fellow, the Master Cooke for the household, hath for their fee all the fat that comes from the beefe boyled in the house, and all the lambe skinnes yearely spent; he is governor of the privy kitchen and the Queene's fide kitchen.¹³⁶

Master Cooke For The Household. He hath £11.8s.1½d. a yeare, and 10d. a yeare for his meate, and one half of the fee aforesaid. He is to govern the Lords side and hallplace kitchen.¹³⁷

Wage lists reveal that master cooks in Elizabeth's household oversaw more than twenty workers:

Rank	Count	Wage Disbursement	Annual Wage			Perquisites		
			£	s	d	£	s	d
Master Cooks	3	per person	11	8	1½	6	13	4
Yeoman	6	per person	5	0	0	none listed		
Groom	6	per person	2	13	4	none listed		
Page	8	per person	2	0	0	none listed		
Gallopins ¹³⁸	?	group	50	0	0	clothing		

Table 2. Kitchen of Elizabeth I's Household, 1578¹³⁹

By dividing the tasks of cookery among more and more kitchens, Elizabeth's household officers were increasing their ability to cater adequately for the numerous high-status individuals that attended and visited the royal household and for the large number of servants whose meals, as we saw in the analysis of diet accounts, often formed the bulk of daily provisions being prepared within great-household kitchens.

In the French royal household, quarter-annual pay accounts survive from the household of Charles VII (r.1422–1461) and offer insight into the fifteenth-century role of chief cooks at the French royal court. The *compte de l'argenterie, Charles VII, 1458–1459*, for example, indicates that an average of eleven to fifteen individuals worked in the *cuisine de bouche*, while about ten to fourteen worked in the *cuisine de commun*.¹⁴⁰ In winter term of 1459, for example,

¹³⁶ [1601] Anon., "Queen Elizabeth's Household Book," in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 286.

¹³⁷ [1601] Anon., "Queen Elizabeth's Household Book," in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 286–287.

¹³⁸ Children of the kitchen, turnbroaches.

¹³⁹ [1578] Anon., "Queen Elizabeth's Annual Expense, Civil and Military," in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 251–252.

¹⁴⁰ AN KK 51, *Compte de l'Argenterie Charles VII, 1458–1459*.

Charles VII's personal cooks were governed by one master cook—Gilles Raquier *maître cuisinier*—who oversaw thirteen other workers, some of whom were identified by name and/or position: Colmet, Geoffray, Dronet, *porter*;¹⁴¹ Piore, *gallopin*;¹⁴² Jamet, gallopin.¹⁴³ Surprisingly, given the volume of food they would have dealt with, the *maître cuisinier* of the *cuisine de commun* oversaw fewer staff: twelve individuals during that term, one of whom was identified by name and position: Guilles the *poissonnier*.¹⁴⁴

In the 1520s, the sphere of control of *maître queux*¹⁴⁵ in the kitchens of the French royal household, under François I, increased in number and management positions, but management positions themselves did not always correlate to sizeable kitchen staffs. Comparison of *Officiers de l'Hôtel, 1523 et 1529*, François I, and *Maison, 1623*, Louis XIII demonstrates that this top-heavy management bureaucracy, even when numbers of cooks employed in the royal household decreased considerably.

<i>clercs</i>	2	<i>clercs</i>	6
<i>maître queux</i>	5	<i>autre clercs</i>	2
<i>potaigiers</i>	4	<i>queux</i>	5
<i>hasteurs</i> ¹⁴⁶	4	<i>potaigiers</i>	5
<i>sauciers</i>	2	<i>hasteurs</i>	7
<i>garde beuffette</i>	1	<i>sauciers</i>	4
Total	18	<i>patissier</i>	3
		<i>gallopins de cuisine</i>	7
		<i>porteurs</i>	8
		Total	47

Table 3. *Cuisine de bouche*, 1523, Household of François I (left), *Cuisine de commun*, 1523, Household of François I (right).¹⁴⁷

By the seventeenth century, the French royal kitchen had decreased in size. *Comptes du maison du Roy*, 1623, indicates that, under Louis XIII, the *maître queux* of the *cuisine de bouche*

¹⁴¹ Guard.

¹⁴² Low-grade kitchen helper.

¹⁴³ AN KK 51, *Compte de l'Argenterie, Charles VII 1458–1459*

¹⁴⁴ AN KK 51, *Compte de l'Argenterie, Charles VII 1458–1459*

¹⁴⁵ “Master cooks”.

¹⁴⁶ Roast cook.

¹⁴⁷ AN KK 99, *Officiers de l'Hôtel, 1523 et 1529*, François I.

oversaw nineteen workers, but the *maître queux* of the *cuisine de commun* oversaw only ten workers; a considerable decrease over the forty-seven listed in *Officiers de l'Hôtel, 1523 et 1529*, François I.¹⁴⁸

Therefore, the number of master cooks present in great households did not always reflect increasing numbers of kitchen workers in other sub-departments. Instead, the greatest of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French and English royal and great households - or at least some - seem to have been content to maintain top-heavy management bureaucracies, even at times when wages and rights to perquisites were increasing toward the mid-seventeenth century.

While wages and rights to perquisites may have been increasing during the seventeenth century, but this does not mean that the status of cooks was rising nor was their profession somehow being held in greater esteem. In fact, Tudor great-household cooks seem always to have been under suspicion of poisoning or adulterating food. To the ends of preventing adulteration of food and to ensure that cooks plied their trade wholesomely and honestly, many households required their cooks to swear an oath to serve their master honestly. *Household Ordinance of Edward IV* [1416] included the following clause: “Item, that the hussiers of the Kitchen suffer no manner man nor other person to come into the Kitchen but such as been of thoffice and such as been sworn for the Kings mouth and the Queens,”¹⁴⁹ while the ordinance of Archbishop Cranmer instructed that all new servants must “present hymselfe in the Counting Howse before the hedd officers, and there should the Statutes of the howse be redd unto hym, after wch an Othe was ministred unto hym to be true and faithfull unto the Lo.”¹⁵⁰ Almost thirty

¹⁴⁸ AN KK 201 (1), *Maison*, 1623, Louis XIII, *Cuisine de bouche: esquiers 4, clerics 2, maitre queux 4, potaigiers 4, hasteurs 4, saulciers 2, enfans 4, gallopins 2, porters 4; Cuisine de commun: esquires 4, maitre queux 4, potaigiers 4, enfans de cuisine 4, gallopins 2.*

¹⁴⁹ NA E 36/206 *Household Ordinance of Edward IV*, 1416

¹⁵⁰ Lambeth Palace MS 884, fol. 1v *Household Ordinances of Thomas Cranmer*, 1560.

years earlier, Henry VIII set the standard for what would happen to cooks who violated their oath to serve their masters faithfully. In 1531, Richard Roose was attainted for attempting to poison the John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and for killing the bishop's friend, who consumed the poisoned food, and for killing some of the poor, to whom the food was distributed after the meal.¹⁵¹ With the stated purpose of making an example of Roose, Henry VIII convened a special session of Parliament to attain Roose and pronounce his sentence: death by boiling.¹⁵² Interestingly, Bishop Fisher went on to become Cardinal Fisher due to the orthodoxy of his views, so one suspects that Roose—if he did, in fact, try to poison the bishop—was attempting to manoeuvre a notable opponent to the building reform movement out of place. Clearly Henry valued use of the mechanisms of state in dealing with violations of order, and took the opportunity to make a statement. Since the process of attainting Roose precluded carrying out of a trial, there are no depositions stating why all were certain that Roose had intentionally poisoned the dead.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, the point was clear: all household servants who sought to remove their masters' basic domestic securities could expect the fullest possible retribution from the Crown, regardless of the monarch's feelings toward their masters.

Change over time is difficult to discuss in terms of the position of our master cooks in French and English great households. Their duties did not change in that they were always closely governed by the officers of the counting house; and other basic elements of the modern role of executive chef—like menu design and sourcing of ingredients—are missing from the scope of work our great-household cooks oversaw. In this sense their work remained the same

¹⁵¹ Stanford Lehmborg, "Parliamentary Attainder in the Reign of Henry VIII," *The Historical Journal* 18 (1975): 675–702; William Stacy, "Richard Roose and the Use of Parliamentary Attainder in the Reign of Henry VIII," *The Historical Journal* 29 (1986): 1–15.

¹⁵² K.J. Kesselring, "Draft of the 1531 'Acte for Poysoning'," *The English Historical Review* 116.468 (2001): 894–899.

¹⁵³ I have corresponded with Dr. Kesselring via e-mail about this. She has not found any depositions in her searches, and also thinks that it may be related to the fact that Roose was attainted.

across our period. The most notable and permanent innovations to upper-management structures in our selection of kitchens came during the fifteenth century in England. More kitchens began to appear in the English royal household, such as the privy kitchen, lord's side kitchen, and the hall place kitchen, and more master cooks were required to oversee increasing numbers of underling cooks. In this regard, the division and management structures of the English royal kitchens came closer into alignment with the arrangements present in the French royal household in the form of the *cuisine de commun*, and *cuisine de reine*. This was not a steady progression. When a queen was not present in France, her kitchen and household disappeared. Similarly, references to the lord's side kitchen disappear from the English royal household ordinances by the seventeenth century, seemingly indicating that food preparation for the entire domestic *familia* was becoming increasingly systematized within larger main kitchens. Regardless, the rank of master cook or "*maître queu*" was always the top position in each major kitchen within both royal households.

Moreover, we are beginning to see that the management structures of late medieval and early modern great-household kitchens were very similar in nature to that of large modern kitchens. When I worked as a cook at the Royal York Hotel between 2007 and 2010, a food and beverage director oversaw the executive chef, *maître d'*, and *sommeliers*, while each of those managers oversaw many dozens of sub-departmentalized cooks, servers, and drink stewards. The modern brigade de cuisine seems directly relevant, in this regard, to the upper-management systems that we have just surveyed in medieval and early modern French and English great households. Escoffier's role in instituting the brigade de cuisine into professional kitchens is certainly not true of upper-management systems, so let us look to see if it may be true of the lower ranks of cooks.

Sub-Department I: The Main Kitchen
~Roasting, Frying¹⁵⁴, Grilling, and Braising~

Beneath the rank of master cook, sub-departmental organization was divided by task and hierarchy. Once the kitchen clerk had communicated the counting house's wishes concerning daily menus, and once the master cooks had received their victuals from the household stores and receivers, it was the duty of roasters, boilers, scalders and so on to process ingredients into increasingly finished products that could be combined into finished dishes. Boiling, scalding, baking and so on took place outside the main kitchen. Within the main kitchen itself, roasting, frying, grilling, and assembling final dishes were the primary cookery tasks overseen by the main kitchen.

Since equipment relating to roasting and frying—hearths, stoves, spits, frying pans, trivets, grills, fuel—was specific to the task, roasting, frying, and the assemblage of final dishes usually took place within the main kitchen. *Hasteurs*, or *hâteurs*,¹⁵⁵ are present in all of the ordinances of the French royal household 1280–1316, with the numbers of *hasteurs* varying only slightly over time. The 1286 *Ordonnance de l'hôtel* of Philippe IV noted that there were four *hasteurs* working in the *cuisine de commun* of the household, all of whom received 4d. per day in wages and who were allowed to eat at the court.¹⁵⁶ Philippe's household *hasteurs* were assisted by four “*enfants*”¹⁵⁷ who likely did the menial work of turning spits and tending fires.¹⁵⁸ Although the *enfants* did not receive pay, they did receive free food and board at the court, and

¹⁵⁴ Both deep-fat frying and *shallow*, or pan-frying.

¹⁵⁵ Roast cooks

¹⁵⁶ AN., JJ 57 F. 1-1, *Ordonnance de l'Hôtel* [1286], 17. *Hasteurs : 4, qui prendront leurs drois en la cuisine et mengeront a court des quiex li uns prendra pour lui et pour ses compengnons heberger en lieu de livoirson, 4 d. par jour.*

¹⁵⁷ Or “*enfants*”: “kitchen children”.

¹⁵⁸ AN., JJ 57 F. 1-1, *Ordonnance de l'Hôtel* [1286], *Enfans : 4 pour tout l'ostel, qui vivront de la court sanz ce que il ne seront point servi.*

most importantly, it was likely from them that trainee cooks were eventually selected.¹⁵⁹ Since royal cookery was so foreign to that of peasant households, bringing children up within the kitchen offered officials a pool of potential candidates who could be promoted into upper positions as the years progressed. Clearly the food, board, and prospect of a career in the royal kitchens made the prospect of employment as an *enfant de cuisine* enticing since they, along with their attendant *hasteurs*, were listed in all of the full royal *ordonnances* produced between 1280 and 1316.¹⁶⁰

In later centuries, the number of *hasteurs* increased significantly. Similar arrangements as outlined above prevailed until 1315. Under Louis X, the French royal household's kitchen expanded significantly. *Ordonnance de l'hotel du roi et de la reine* [1315] indicates that the *cuisine de commun* included eight *hasteurs* and twelve *enfants*.¹⁶¹ Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French royal *ordonnances* and pay accounts indicate that, in both the *cuisine de commun* and the *cuisine de bouche*, *hasteurs* were usually about four or five in number, sometimes with the help of *enfants*, or *gallopins*.¹⁶² In the household of Francis I, the *cuisines de bouche* and *commun* employed eleven *hasteurs* in total, along with seven *gallopins*.¹⁶³ In the household of Louis XIII, the same number of *hasteurs* and *gallopins* / *enfants* were employed: eleven between the *cuisines de bouche* and *commun* and seven or so *gallopins* and *enfants de cuisine*.¹⁶⁴

Just as we noted in the survey of diet accounts, the numbers of workers engaged in fifteenth-century French royal cookery point toward the increasing complexity of fifteenth- and

¹⁵⁹ AN., JJ 57 F. 1-1.

¹⁶⁰ Some abridged *ordonnances* exist within series AN JJ that do not mention the kitchen or other service departments.

¹⁶¹ AN, P 2289, *Ordonnance de l'hotel du roi et de la reine* [1315].

¹⁶² Another term for *enfants de cuisine*.

¹⁶³ NA KK 99, *Officiers de l'Hôtel, 1523 et 1529*, François I.

¹⁶⁴ NA KK 201 (1), *Maison*, 1623, Louis XIII.

sixteenth-century haute dining styles. By the fifteenth century, more hands were required in the French royal *cuisines de bouche* and *commun* to prepare roasts as well as the many fricassées, braised dishes, fried dishes, and grilled dishes that our survey of contemporaneous cookery manuscripts revealed were increasing in number and complexity.

Within the English royal household, the job of roasting and frying was not recorded in minute detail until the more expansive household documents of the sixteenth century. When a Spanish retainer in the entourage of Prince Philip wrote to Charles V describing their reception in England at Mary I's court in England in 1554, he described the spectre of the roasting and fry-cooks at work in the following manner:

The Queen's ladies also eat by themselves in the palace, and their servants, as well as all the councillors, governors and household officials. And then there are the 200 men of the guard. So all these ladies and gentlemen have their private quarters in the palace, and each gentleman has his cook in the Queen's kitchens, which cook only looks after his master. There are usually eighteen kitchens¹⁶⁵ in full blast, and they seem veritable hells, such is the stir and bustle in them. The palaces here are enormous, for the smallest of the four we have seen is certainly much bigger, and has more and larger apartments, than the Alcazar of Madrid, but the throng of people is such that they are full to bursting.¹⁶⁶

Slightly earlier than the ambassador's visit, during the reign of Henry VIII, the 1526 *Eltham Ordinance* offered some more finite detail about the requirements placed on roasting cooks:

ITEM, they shall looke that the Cookes and Boylers doe dresse the Meate well and seasonably, that it be neither raw, neither over much boyled or rosted, but soe as it may be for the King's honour, and best contenting to them to whom it shall be served.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ This is the correct number of main work rooms contained within the kitchen wing at Hampton Court Palace; not all of the rooms were used for *cooking*, since we know that the kitchen clerk, for example, occupied one room.

¹⁶⁶ Anon., "Spain: August 1554, 16–31," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, Volume 13: 1554–1558, ed. & trans. Royall Tyler (London: ?, 1954), pp. 31.

¹⁶⁷ Anon., "Eltham Ordinance" [1526], *A Collection of Ordinances*, 236.

One of the main differences between the French and English royal kitchens is that the English royal kitchens did not separate the job of roasting into its own specific department as did the French. As the passage above illustrates, the cooks of the hall place kitchen and the lord's side kitchen combined roasting and small boiling, simmering, and frying tasks within the same room. Whereas the French cooks did so as well, they were seen to be a distinct element of the kitchen staff—*hasteur*—and were treated as such in all of the ordinances surveyed here.

If we look at the types of tools roast cooks worked with over the period, little changed in terms of the composition of implements cooks relied upon when roasting and frying food. In fact, the only major innovation over the period was the roasting jack: a spring-loaded, counter-balanced, or heat-operated, mechanized spit-turning system of chains and pulleys that could be attached to spits in order to eliminate the work of spit turning.¹⁶⁸ Scappi detailed the design of smokejacks—windmill-style fans built into chimneys to which spit-turning pulleys could be attached—in his *l'Opera* (1570).¹⁶⁹ Regardless of the development of a variety of spit-turning mechanisms, the English royal household under Elizabeth I in 1601 still employed a dozen turnbroaches at a wage of £2 with board but without clothing provided by the court, as the chart below indicates:

¹⁶⁸ Richard Hills, *Power from Wind: a History of Windmill Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 21–22.

¹⁶⁹ Bartolomeo Scappi, *l'Opera* [1570], ed. & trans. Terence Scully (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008) 640.

Name	Rank	Perquisites	Monthly wage			Board wage		
			£	s	d	£	s	d
Foulke Fludde	chief clerk	diet	32	0	0	0	0	0
William Rawlines	second clerk	diet	11	8	1½	0	0	0
John Ferrys	master cook	board	0	100	0	18	5	0
Walter Taylor	yeoman	board	0	100	0	18	5	0
George Cooper	yeoman	board	0	100	0	18	5	0
Thomas Cardall	yeoman	board	0	100	0	18	5	0
John Lambe	groom	board	0	53	4	12	3	4
John Andrewes	child	board	0	40	0	9	2	6
Thomas Dalle	child	board	0	40	0	9	2	6
John Atler	child	board	0	40	0	9	2	6
John Whitneye	child	board	0	40	0	9	2	6
None	Porter	board	0	40	0	13	6	8
None	Porter	board	0	40	0	13	6	8
None	Porter	board	0	40	0	13	6	8
None	Porter	board	0	40	0	13	6	8
None	Turnbroach	clothing	2/a	0	0	0	0	0
None	Turnbroach	clothing	2/a	0	0	0	0	0
None	Turnbroach	clothing	2/a	0	0	0	0	0
None	Turnbroach	clothing	2/a	0	0	0	0	0
None	Turnbroach	clothing	2/a	0	0	0	0	0
None	Turnbroach	clothing	2/a	0	0	0	0	0
None	Turnbroach	clothing	2/a	0	0	0	0	0
None	Turnbroach	clothing	2/a	0	0	0	0	0
None	Turnbroach	clothing	2/a	0	0	0	0	0
None	Turnbroach	clothing	2/a	0	0	0	0	0
None	Turnbroach	clothing	2/a	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4. 1601, Royal Kitchen, Elizabeth I.¹⁷⁰

Why did the English royal household still rely on turnbroaches? One might be tempted to argue that they were more traditional in their outlook on technology or that the technology had not yet reached England, but I think more practical forces were at play. When we consider the staggering volume of food contained in the daily entries of Council Diet Accounts examined in the fourth chapter, we can get a sense of the sheer weight of meat on the spit: large beef, veal, mutton, and venison roasts, vast numbers of poultry, and so on. I suspect that smokejacks did not have sufficient force to adequately turn spits in situations where large volumes of roasts were being cooked at the same time. Until now, cooks have been so practical. It is difficult to imagine

¹⁷⁰ Anon., “The Names of the Prince’s Servants and Officers of Household With Their Wages and Boardwages” [1610], *A Collection of Ordinances*, 330–331.

that great-household cooks would turn their noses up at technological innovations like smokejacks unless there was some clear limitation to their use within a particular circumstance.

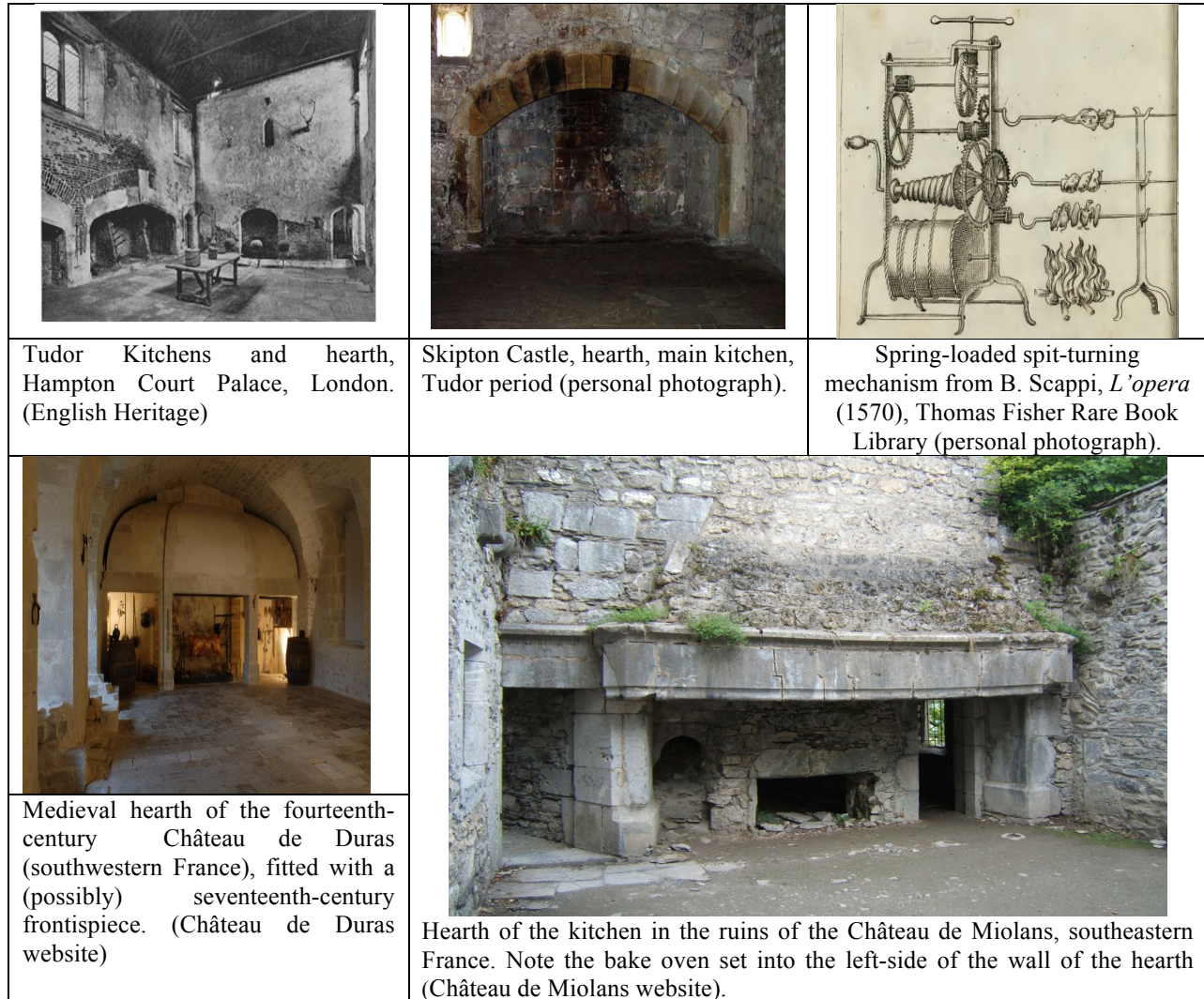


Figure 4. Select English and French hearths, c.1530 to c.1620.

Beyond hearths and smokejacks, the cooks who roasted and fried food in late medieval and early modern French and English great households relied on similar types of tools. Chiquart's *Du fait de cuisine* (1420) listed a staggering number of tools necessary for hosting large feasts in the Duke of Savoy's household:

And, truly, one should not use wooden spits because they will rot and you could drop all of your meat...and there should be twenty large frying pans, twelve large casks,

fifty casks, sixty bowls with handles, one hundred wooden buckets, twelve grills, six large graters, one hundred wooden spoons, twenty-five slotted spoons both large and small, six hooks, twenty iron shovels, twenty ‘chapel’ and goat rotisseries...you should have one hundred twenty iron spits which are strong and are thirteen feet in length and there should be other spits, thirty-six which are of the aforesaid length but not so thick, in order to roast poultry, piglets and river fowl...and also, forty-eight small spits to use for gilding food and to act as skewers.¹⁷¹

When I am conducting fieldwork in the archives, I often use the number of spits present in an inventory to give a rough idea of the scale of the household. Many spits in a kitchen speak to a large amount of meat needing to be roasted at the same time, indicating that there was regularly a large domestic familia present within the household, or that the household regularly entertained, or both. For example, the following sample is comprised of eleven English household inventories, mostly from London households of nobles and non-nobles, ranging in date between 1496 and 1621 that offer a chance to compare the relative differences in roasting and frying tools:

Noble				Non-noble			
Name	Date	Spits	Pots & Pans ¹⁷²	Name	Date	Spits	Pots & Pans
Sir William Stanley ¹⁷³	1496	11	24	John Shewell (Unknown) ¹⁷⁴	1588	2	2
Sir Reginald Bray ¹⁷⁵	1504	8	5	Robert Maude (Merchant) ¹⁷⁶	1591	6	16
Duke of Norfolk ¹⁷⁷	1551	38	26	Richard Fuller(Barber Surgeon) ¹⁷⁸	1618	0	6
Archbishop Cranmer ¹⁷⁹	1553	36	43	Thomasina Roberts(Unknown) ¹⁸⁰	1618	0	8
Earl of Essex ¹⁸¹	1601	10	10	Arthur Kettleby(Grocer) ¹⁸²	1621	0	17
Earl of Southampton ¹⁸³	1601	25	17				

Table 5. Numbers of Spits vs. Pots and Pans in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century English Household Inventories.

¹⁷¹ Maître Chiquart, *Du fait de cuisine*, ed. Florence Bouas and Frédéric Vivas (Arles: Actes Sud, 2008) 58–59.

¹⁷² Here I am including the following categories of pot and pan: large brass pot, medium brass pot, small brass pot, large iron pot, medium iron pot, small iron pot, great brass pan, medium brass pan, small brass pan, iron pan, copper pan. I have not included cauldrons and boilers, since they would typically have been used in the boiling and scalding houses (to be examined shortly), within the great household context.

¹⁷³ Sir William Stanley, NA E 154/2/5, Noble, 1496.

¹⁷⁴ John Shewell, NA PER WARD 259A/228/22, Unknown, 1588.

¹⁷⁵ Sir Reginald Bray, NA E 154/2/10, Noble, 1504.

¹⁷⁶ Robert Maude, NA E 154/4/40, York, Merchant, 1591.

¹⁷⁷ Duke of Norfolk, NA LR 2/115, Kenninghall/Castle Rising, Noble, 1551.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Fuller, NA E 154/4/5 London, Barber Surgeon, 1618.

¹⁷⁹ Archbishop Cranmer, NA E 154/2/39, Various residences, Clergy, 1553.

¹⁸⁰ Thomasina Roberts, NA KB 9/123, Unknown, 1618.

¹⁸¹ Earl of Essex, NA LR 1/10, Itchell House, 1601.

¹⁸² Arthur Kettleby, NA E 154/2/10, London, Grocer, 1621.

¹⁸³ Earl of Southampton, NA LR 1/10, Tichfields House, 1601.

As we can see, pots and pans are not the best indicator of the status of a household, even if we are using kitchen tools as a ballpark benchmarking tool. They appear in force in noble and non-noble households across our period. The same was not true of spits, which appeared in far fewer number, if at all, in non-noble households: in noble households, an average of 21.3 spits appeared per household inventory, while spits appeared in our non-noble households at an average rate of 1.6, with the average non-noble household in this sample typically having one or less. The Duke of Norfolk's thirty-eight roasting spits, Archbishop Cranmer's thirty-six roasting spits, and the Earl of Southampton's twenty-five roasting spits speak to a regular need to roast large volumes of meat and fish at once.

This is especially important if one considers that cooking times were staggered so as to make most use of the tools in the kitchen: Larger joints and fish were cooked further away from the beginning of the meal while smaller joints, poultry, and fish could be roasted closer to meal times so as not to require excess kitchen tools. Indeed, masters seemed remiss if they spent more than necessary on kitchen equipment. Spits, then, speak not only to the cookery method of roasting, but also the volumes of food typically moving through the household kitchen on a given day. When large feasts and special meals required excess tools, the cooks of London were known to rent them to great households for set periods of time.¹⁸⁴ Pots and pans, on the other hand, were more common among both noble and non-noble households. In this sample, our noble households typically had an average of twenty pots and pans—not counting cauldrons—in the kitchen at the time of inventory, while our non-noble households had an average of 9.8 pots and pans at the time of inventory. The high proportion of pots and pans in the non-noble households

¹⁸⁴ For example, before departing for the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Henry VIII's household officials obtained more than £17-worth of rented kitchen supplies from "the cooks of London," see Ryan Whibbs, "Travelling Tools and Mobile Kitchens: The Role of Extra-Domiciliary Kitchens in Great Household Victualing Strategies, c.1400–1600," in *Food and Material Culture: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, St. Catherine's College, University of Oxford, July 2013* (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2014) 333.

also indicates that spits were not simply missed while inventorying: had they been there, our notaries seem to have been careful enough that they would have been recorded.

What, then, can we say about the work of roasting and frying in French and English great households across our period based on their working hierarchies and the composition of their associated chattels? Preference for roasted meat was certainly strong across the period among the nobility. Roasting would likely have been one of the first tasks new *enfants de cuisine*, *gallopins*, and *turnbroaches* were exposed to since it was the least desirable job within the entire kitchen bureaucracy, as reflected in their low or non-existent wages.

In terms of how the jobs compared in the French and English royal households over time, it seems that the work was the same but the method of recording labourers was different. *Hasteurs* were always identified as stand-alone members of the kitchen staff, but so too were the *sauciers*¹⁸⁵, the *enfants de cuisine*, and so on. Continually being identified as a separate sub-department in French records does not mean that the rooms that *hasteurs* worked in were separate from *sauciers* or *enfants*. Therefore, although it seems that the English royal household maintained a slightly larger number of main kitchen workers that were engaged in roasting and frying, in reality, both would seem veritable hells to the untrained eye. To the cooks working in these kitchens, organized chaos was the order of everyday.

I am uncomfortable separating our *hasteurs* and roasters too far from the larger brigade de cuisine that operated in French and English great households during the medieval and early modern periods. As we will remember, medieval and early modern recipes often called for a combination of cooking methods: blanching in boiling broth before roasting, or vice versa. This being the case, great household brigades de cuisine had to be proficient at handling partially-

¹⁸⁵ Sauce cooks.

prepared victuals off between departments as further preparation required. Although *hasteurs* may have also had a cauldron hanging on the hearth beside their spits, that was not where the majority of boiling and blanching occurred when large volumes of meat were concerned. When poultry needed to be plucked or roasts needed to be balanced before roasting, it was the boiling house (*souffleurs*) and the scalding house (*poulailliers*) that prepared ingredients before moving into the main kitchen for roasting, frying, or finishing.

Finally, returning to our central theme of Escoffier's influence in instituting the brigade de cuisine into professional kitchens, we can see now that even at the most basic levels of kitchen organization, the brigade system reigned supreme as the management system of choice in our medieval and early modern French and English great-household kitchens. I will return to this theme slightly less as we proceed through the following departmental surveys simply to avoid repetition. Nevertheless, as we can see now with the first full hierarchy revealed—from counting house to the lowest turnbroaches of the main kitchen—brigade-style management systems dominated French and English great households since at least the late medieval period. We will return to reassess Escoffier's role in the conclusion, but for now it is important to remember that in our sample the main kitchen operated on a highly complex kitchen brigade, and so too will the rest of the departments that we are about to analyze. Escoffier's place in the argument, although central to what we are examining, will return for reassessment in our conclusion.

Sub-Departments II: Preparation Areas
Butchery, Scalding Houses, Boiling House

The second great-household kitchen sub-department we will examine was actually comprised of a number of separate departments involved in preparation: *boucher*¹⁸⁶, *souffleurs*¹⁸⁷, and *poulailliers*.¹⁸⁸ Whereas main kitchens (*cuisine de bouche*, *cuisine commun*, hallplace kitchens, lord's side kitchens, privy kitchens) contained a number of separate tasks and specialized workers labouring under the same roof, preparation areas were usually located outside the kitchen, and often separated from each other according to the type of work that occurred.

French and English great households always employed butchers who could slaughter and prepare livestock, daily, according to the household's needs.¹⁸⁹ This was especially important when households were residing in the countryside since they had to be more self-sufficient. The French royal *ordonnances d'hôtel* of the early fourteenth century record the presence of meat butchers, *bouchers*¹⁹⁰ and *poulailliers*.¹⁹¹ In the household of Louis X, one full-time butcher and one full-time *poulaillier* were listed among the kitchen staff.¹⁹² Similarly, in the household of Philippe V, the 1316 *Ordonnance* also records the presence of two full-time butchers: one meat and *boucher* and one *poulaillier*.¹⁹³ Neither of the *ordonnances* mention anything in the way of

¹⁸⁶ Butchery.

¹⁸⁷ Boiling house.

¹⁸⁸ Poultry scalding house.

¹⁸⁹ Woolgar has examined butchers in medieval English great households, see Woolgar, *Great Household*, 114.

¹⁹⁰ Fish butcher.

¹⁹¹ This is true for all of the unabridged *ordonnances* in AN series JJ.

¹⁹² AN, P 2289, *Ordonnance de l'hotel du roi et de la reine* [1315].

¹⁹³ AN, JJ 57 F. 57, *Ordonnance de l'hotel de Philippe V* [1316].

pay for the butchers, although the 1316 *Ordonnance* notes that they were entitled to meals at the court.¹⁹⁴

Woolgar has done some work on butchers in medieval English great households, also noting their presence in most great households of modestly large size.¹⁹⁵ Employing butchers was especially important when the household was residing in the countryside, but in urban centres, other arrangements could be worked out. When the household of Anne Hastings (1483–1544), Countess of Huntingdon, was staying in London during the winter of 1465, her household hired a local farmer, John Johnson, to pasture her oxen and build a butchering house for preparation before the meat arrived at her house.¹⁹⁶ In 1501, the household of the Duke of Buckingham hired a Southwark butcher to supply the Duke's London household, instead of employing its own butcher.¹⁹⁷ Sometimes, when a great household was travelling and staying at sites for a period of time, they would hire local butchers at the destination to provide butcher services. In preparation for the three-week long festivities held at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June 1520, Henry VIII's household officials rented Calais-based butcheries, belonging to Margett Goldsmith and Mychell Byndea, for six weeks to provide butchery services to support the entertainments.¹⁹⁸

One question arises in the area of quadruped butchery—especially beef—is the role of aging meat. Today we usually age beef for two or more weeks before consumption, but it seems that our medieval and early modern great households did not age meat. In fact, some ordinances

¹⁹⁴ “*Item il y aura 1 bouchier et 1 poulaillier qui mengeront a court et n'auront riens plus,*” in AN, JJ 57 F. 57, *Ordonnance de l'hotel de Philippe V* [1316].

¹⁹⁵ Woolgar, *Great Household*, 114.

¹⁹⁶ Woolgar, *Great Household*, 114.

¹⁹⁷ Woolgar, *Great Household*, 114.

¹⁹⁸ Anon., ‘Expenses at Guisnes for the Interview,’ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 3: 1519–1523*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London: Longmans *et al.*, 1867) 335, about Buckingham see Woolgar, *Great Household*, 114..

even indicate that livestock were slaughtered twice per day, only hours before each meal. The household ordinances of Archbishop Cranmer give near-finite detail about the duties of the Archbishop's butchers:

Itm it is ordayned that the Butchers daily attend upon their Office, and to keepe their Office cleane without savor might hurt, or noye any people, and to be two tymes a day at the least wth the Clerke of the Kytchen to understand what stuffe he shall kylle, And that they shall take no fees but such as shalbe appoynted unto them.¹⁹⁹

Interestingly, the ordinances also explicitly specify that the butchers were responsible for maintaining the home farm and pasturing animals, ensuring that they were not hurt in the process of moving them from field to field:

Itm that the said Butchers or one of them be appoynted to see all Oxen, Sheepe, Porkes, Bores, Veales, and Lammes provided for and kept as oft as it shalbe thought needfull. And after the season of the yere to change and dryve them from place to place, and that they have speciall heede in dryving of them. So that the said vitaille, nor any parte of them be hurt in their default in hastye dryving as they will answeere at their perrill. Nor that they suffer any cattaille in the Lords pastures saving only his owne.²⁰⁰

The processes for holding and butchering quadrupeds required a great deal of effort in maintaining livestock and butchering animals twice per day. Since quadruped butchers had nothing to process on fish days, fish would have occupied butchers' time during fasts. Poultry, however, was processed separately.

Since poultry required less space to hold and process—no pastures were required, for example—departments that processed poultry were usually separate. We have already noted the presence of *poulailliers* in the medieval French royal household, but an important element of

¹⁹⁹ LP MS 884, f. 1v-23r, *Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer sometymes Lo: Archebisshop of Cant*, c.1540's

²⁰⁰ LP MS 884, f. 1v-23r, *Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer sometymes Lo: Archebisshop of Cant*, c.1540's

their work has not been discussed in the English context: scalding. The scalding house was a unit of English great household diet departments that was involved in the plucking and drawing of poultry.²⁰¹ The department was listed in the 1455 *Ordinance* of Henry VI as staffed by three workers, so we know that its origins in the English royal household are at least late medieval:

Name	Count	Rank
John Bolde	1	yeoman
William Doget	1	groom
John Curteis	1	page

Table 6. Scalding house under Henry VI.²⁰²

The 1578 *Wage List* of Elizabeth I's household also included a scalding house, including five workers, but unlike the 1455 *Ordinance*, included wages:

Rank	Count	Disbursement	Perquisites	£	s	d
Yeoman	1	per person	none specified	11	8	1½
Groom	2	per person	none specified	2	13	4
Pages	2	per person	none specified	2	0	0

Table 7. Scalding house under Elizabeth I.²⁰³

It was the 1601 *Ordinance* of Elizabeth I's household, however, that specified the tasks that the scalding house performed: "They and their fellowes are to scald, plucke, and drawe, all the fowles and other previsions that come into the poultry."²⁰⁴ Unfortunately, the 1601 *Ordinance* does not mention the wages of the grooms of the scalding house, but it did specify their perquisite: "the groomes have for their fees, all the fethers of such provision and fowle as come into the scalding house; and the heades, feet, heartes, and guizardes, of geese, and of all other things that the heades and feet are to be cut off before they be roasted."²⁰⁵ It is possible that household butchers originally performed this task, since Brears did not mention the scalding house in his survey of medieval English great household diet departments. Likewise, it seems

²⁰¹ Brears, *Cooking and Dining*,

²⁰² [1455] Anon., "Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170," in 23 (a).

²⁰³ [1578] Anon., "Queen Elizabeth's Annual Expense, Civil and Military," in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 252.

²⁰⁴ [1601] Anon., "Queen Elizabeth's Household Book," in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 290.

²⁰⁵ [1601] Anon., "Queen Elizabeth's Household Book," in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 290.

very likely that the poullalliers of the French royal household had pots of boiling water in their work areas for removing feathers and processing poultry.

One additional department was involved in boiling, but was separate from the scalding house: the boiling house. The *souffleur* was one of the oldest departments of great-household kitchens. In the French royal household, the position of *souffleur* was listed as early as the late thirteenth century. In the earliest *ordonnance*, that of Philippe IV, the position was held by two *souffleurs* who were responsible for making soups—and, one would expect, broths—for the entire royal household.²⁰⁶ By 1291, still under Philippe IV, the number of *souffleurs* working in the household had grown to four, whose names we know: Li Briois, Roussel, Tregier, and Fate Mare.²⁰⁷ By 1306, again under Philippe IV, there were still four *souffleurs* within the royal household, but in this *ordonnance*, one of the *souffleurs* was listed as working in the *cuisine de bouche*, and three were listed as working in the *cuisine de commun*.²⁰⁸ By the time the *Ordonnance* of 1316 was written, the French royal household employed eight *souffleurs*: six in the *cuisine de commun* and two—Pontalie and Renier—in the *cuisine de bouche*.²⁰⁹ During the fifteenth century, the French term for *souffleurs* transitioned to *potaiquier* without ever transitioning back. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French royal household *ordonnances* indicate that increasing numbers of *potaiquiers* were required within the royal household. Under Francis I, nine worked in the royal household: four in the *cuisine de bouche* and five in the *cuisine de commun*.²¹⁰ By the early seventeenth century, under Louis XIII, the number of

²⁰⁶ “*Souffleurs: 2, dont li uns sera maignens et mengeront a court et prendront le flambart sanz autre chose prendre fors 6 menues chandeles et prendront le flambart en tele manere que li potaige n'en vaille pis,*” in AN, JJ 57, *Ordonnance de l’Hôtel* [1286], 1.

²⁰⁷ AN, JJ 57, *Ordonnance de l’Hôtel* [1291], 10 V.

²⁰⁸ AN, JJ 57 F. 49, *Ordonnance de l’Hôtel*, [1306].

²⁰⁹ AN, JJ 57 F. 57, *Ordonnance de l’hotel de Philippe V* [1316].

²¹⁰ NA KK 99, *Officiers de l’Hôtel, 1523 et 1529*, François I.

potagiers to the French royal household had dropped to eight. The *Ordonnance* of 1623 listed four potagiers in the *cuisine de commun* and four in the *cuisine de bouche*.²¹¹

Certainly there was a trend to expanding the size of the royal household and the number of potagiers present in the French royal household, but evolution of the department did not occur on a predictable trajectory. When more workers were required, allowances were made for them. When their services were not required on a full-time basis, the positions seem to have been made redundant, without any greater significance attached to the action.

Within the English royal household, the boiling house was the department that produced soups and broths that could later be transferred to the main kitchen or saucery²¹² for finishing into final dishes. The 1455 *Ordinance* of Henry VI included three workers in the *simmering house*: Roger Sutton, yeoman, William Goldying, groom, and John Browning, page.²¹³ In the household the Archbishop of Canterbury, the *Ordinances* of c.1540 noted that the household boilers had to “see that such meate as bin dressed by them and them that be under them be well and seasonable dressed for mens body and that they dress no manner of meate but such as shall be thought by them for the Kings Hono^r and that as well roast as sode.”²¹⁴ In Henry VIII’s household, the *Eltham Ordinances* (1526) required that boilers serve meat “neither raw, neither over much boyled or rosted, but soe as it may be for the King's honour.”²¹⁵ Similarly, although with less detail, the 1601 *Ordinance* of Elizabeth I’s household noted that the officer and workers of the boiling house “boyle all the beefe, and what other meates, soever shall be

²¹¹ NA KK 201 (1), *Maison*, 1623, Louis XIII.

²¹² Responsible for making sauces; to be explored shortly.

²¹³ [1455] Anon., “Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 21–22 (a), we can be sure that the *simmering house* does not refer to *scalding house* because poultry that are being plucked are never *simmered*: they are always *blanched*, or *scalded*, before removing feathers.

²¹⁴ Lambeth Palace MS 884, *Household Ordinances of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury*, c. 1560s–1662, fol. 12r.

²¹⁵ [1526] Anon., “Additions Made to the Eltham Ordinance: Household of King Henry VIII, MS. Harleian, 642,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 236.

appointed unto them by the clerke of the kitchen throughout the yeare.”²¹⁶ In total, Elizabeth I’s boiling house had four staff: one officer, one yeoman, and two grooms.²¹⁷

The physical environments of ancillary kitchen units—butcheries, scalding houses, and boiling houses—were quite varied. As we already know, butcheries could sometimes be a great distance from the kitchen, as in the case of Countess Anne, who commissioned a farmer to build a butchery in his field to supply her household, or the Duke of Buckingham, who contracted the work to a local Southwark butcher shop. When we examine household inventories of the period, none of those included in this research (nor other manuscripts that I have collected) make any mention of butcher shops within households. The butchery, then, is a good example of an ancillary kitchen unit whose workers were usually listed along with the kitchen workers in household ordinances, but in terms of day-to-day work, inventories reveal that butcheries were rarely in close proximity to the residence itself, which meant that butchers and cooks of the same household may rarely had contact.

In terms of tools and the physical environs of butcher shops, their absence in inventories forces us to rely more on visual sources. Three images from the famous *Tacuinum sanitatis* of the Casanatense Library offer some different views of a butchers shop, showing the bulk of tools and items one can find in most images of medieval butchers at their work: knives, axes, chopping blocks, tables, hooks or somewhere to bleed the meat, and tubs to hold meat, offal, trimmings, and blood.

²¹⁶ [1601] Anon., “Queen Elizabeth’s Household Book,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 288–289.

²¹⁷ [1601] Anon., “Queen Elizabeth’s Household Book,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 288–289.



Figure 5. Three different views of butcher shops from the *Tacuinum Sanitatis*, MS 4182, Bib. Casanatense, c. 14th cent. Note the small variety of tools: various knives, heavy tables, scales, hooks for bleeding and displaying meat, buckets and vats, a large hammer.

Scalding houses and boiling houses were different. Our inventories, Brears's work, and the physical remains of boiling houses at palaces like Hampton Court indicate that great households included boiling houses in order to facilitate large-volume batch cookery of meats and soups that had to be served, en masse, to large numbers of people at meal times.²¹⁸ Indeed, Brears provides a good number of examples of boiling houses from medieval English castles, and one can assume that many free-standing boiling houses have not survived. Boiling houses, however, usually had a fixed furnace and space for a cauldron, as in the following image:

²¹⁸ Brears, "The Boiling House," in *Cooking and Dining*, 147–172.

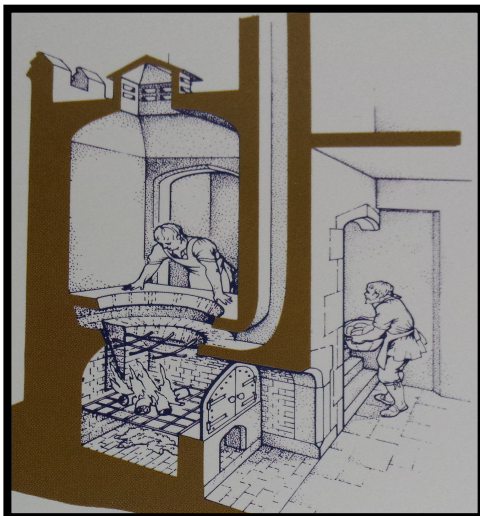


Figure 6. Cross-section of the c. sixteenth-century boiling house at Hampton Court Palace (Historic Royal Palaces)
 From: Historic Royal Palaces, *The Taste of the Fire: The Story of the Tudor Kitchens at Hampton Court Palace*, 2012.

Despite the numerous examples of boiling houses that exist, I suggest, based on our small selection of household inventories, that boiling houses and scalding houses were not all that common, although stand-alone, brick boiling furnaces were somewhat common. In fact, not a single inventory that I collected for this research—either French or English—listed a separate boiling house, including more than a century-worth of inventories belonging to the Cavendish Family. In the household inventories that I have included in the list below, only one lists a furnace, but it was listed in the main kitchen, not in a boiling house:

Noble			Non-noble		
Name	Date	Boiling house listed?	Name	Date	Boiling house listed?
Sir William Stanley ²¹⁹	1496	No	John Shewell (Unknown) ²²⁰	1588	No
Sir Reginald Bray ²²¹	1504	“	Robert Maude (Merchant) ²²²	1591	“
Duke of Norfolk ²²³	1551	Maybe “oon panne in a furnece” ²²⁴	Richard Fuller(Barber Surgeon) ²²⁵	1618	“
Archbishop Cranmer ²²⁶	1553	No	Thomasina Roberts (Unknown) ²²⁷	1618	“
Earl of Essex ²²⁸	1601	“	Arthur Kettleby (Grocer) ²²⁹	1621	“
Earl of Southampton ²³⁰	1601	“			

Table 8. Boiling House or Related Implements Mentioned in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century English Household Inventories

This is something to consider carefully. Certainly a boiling house or separate poultry-scalding area would have been useful to each of the households whose accounts we examined in the third and fourth chapters, especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when daily victual volumes increased dramatically. I have not included the 1644 inventories from Appleby Castle and Skipton Castle, because neither indicates that any of the Barons de Clifford saw fit to add a boiling or scalding house to either residence.²³¹ There may have been some notaries that did not record boiling houses or scalding houses, although given the monetary value of the boiling coppers that lined boiling-house furnaces, it is difficult to believe that boiling and scalding houses were overlooked by notaries with such consistency over the centuries, especially

²¹⁹ Sir William Stanley, NA E 154/2/5, Noble, 1496.

²²⁰ John Shewell, NA PER WARD 259A/228/22, Unknown, 1588.

²²¹ Sir Reginald Bray, NA E 154/2/10, Noble, 1504.

²²² Robert Maude, NA E 154/4/40, York, Merchant, 1591.

²²³ Duke of Norfolk, NA LR 2/115, Kenninghall/Castle Rising, Noble, 1551.

²²⁴ This was listed in the main kitchen, so it would not, properly, qualify as a boiling house.

²²⁵ Richard Fuller, NA E 154/4/5 London, Barber Surgeon, 1618.

²²⁶ Archbishop Cranmer, NA E 154/2/39, Various residences, Clergy, 1553.

²²⁷ Thomasina Roberts, NA KB 9/123, Unknown, 1618.

²²⁸ Earl of Essex, NA LR 1/10, Itchell House, 1601.

²²⁹ Arthur Kettleby, NA E 154/2/10, London, Grocer, 1621.

²³⁰ Earl of Southampton, NA LR 1/10, Tichfields House, 1601.

²³¹ These seem to have been made around the time when Anne Clifford was close to successfully claiming the *suo jure* title of Baroness de Clifford, which had been incorrectly withheld from her, CH MS LOND/G/6; CH MS LOND/G/7.

when they also included small, empty closets and other rooms containing nothing of value. To be sure, Tudor and Stuart household ordinances indicate that the English royal household continued to use both departments in their kitchen-management schema until well after the period covered by this research.

The main point here is this: with the increase in poultry items being served in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English great households, additional cookery spaces that would accommodate such shifts were not added to kitchens as a rule; even in households like that of the Earls of Cumberland, who we know for certain increased the volume and variety of poultry served daily over the medieval precedent but did not add boiling and scalding houses to the kitchen and outbuildings at Skipton Castle. What does this mean? It would seem that kitchens became more crowded with workers, ingredients, and tools without masters seeing an overwhelming need to expand kitchen facilities. Certainly the various expansions of Hampton Court Palace over the centuries did include areas like boiling and scalding houses, but this was not true of many nobles, even those who maintained sizeable domestic establishments.

*Sub-Departments III: The Spicery and Related Departments:
Saucery, Chandlry²³², Fruiterie²³³*

Supporting the work of main kitchens in medieval and early modern French and English great households was the spicery. We know that spices were important to medieval and early modern French and English cookery, although, in varying intensities over different regions.²³⁴ To refresh our findings regarding spice use from chapters one through four, our account and cookery-collection data indicated that in France, spices were used with declining regularity and

²³² Candle and torch provision.

²³³ Fruit and candle office of French great households.

²³⁴ See discussions of spice use in chapters 1–4.

variability within the great-household context after the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whereas in England, great-household cookery continued to use large volumes of spice with strong and continuing frequency across the period we are examining.

The office, which disbursed spices to household departments, played a small but important role in English great-household diet-department administration, but spices were not accorded their own, task-specific overseer in French great households.²³⁵ A spice room or area must have existed in French great households, possibly under the care of the many *chirurgiens*²³⁶, *physiciens*²³⁷ that were usually listed in royal *ordonnances*, but oversight of spice disbursement is not recorded among the duties. Similarly, in Duchess Jeanne de Bourbon's household, for which we examined the September 1508 account in chapter four, spicers are not listed among the small-scale great household that she maintained.²³⁸ Certainly there were spices in her household, but whether they were simply kept in small locked chests in the kitchen and in Jeanne's personal apartments for her own use cannot be deduced from the account. Therefore, although I have grouped the saucery, wafery, and chandlery together as departments typically found reporting to the spicery in the largest great households, this is only true in England.²³⁹

²³⁵ Even within the English context, spice disbursement required few physical resources, causing the department to be relatively small. Brears did not mention the spicery as a stand-alone office in *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England*, while Woolgar mentioned the office of spicery in passing in *The Great Household in Medieval England*, C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 111, 144.

²³⁶ Surgeons.

²³⁷ Physicians.

²³⁸ AN., K 504/5, *Compte de bouche de Jeanne de Bourbon*, [Septembre 1508].

²³⁹ In France, royal and noble household officers seemed quite content to allow many free-standing sub-departments to exist and report to the master cook or kitchen clerk, despite the extra paperwork this must have caused. Interestingly, the lists of notaries and clerks listed in the *ordonnances* as working in the French royal household steadily increase between 1280–1315. I have not counted them but, notary lists, especially, often run across numerous MS membranes by the time our fourteenth- and fifteenth-century *ordonnances* were created, listing the names and wages of each household notary. Many of these servants would have been engaged in drafting papers of state and royal administration, but some, undoubtedly, also worked closely with the kitchen clerks to manage household diet-accountancy systems.

In the English royal household, the spicery existed as a major victualling department. In 1345, four individuals staffed the spicery: one chief clerk and three sub-clerks.²⁴⁰ It is difficult to know exactly what each of the workers did from this list alone. However, the 1455 and 1475 *Royal Household Ordinances* offer more specificity in workers' names and positions. The 1455 *Ordinance*, for example, lists two more spicery workers than were present in the 1345 *Ordinance*:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Rank</u>
William Vldale	1	clerk
John Colvile	1	sub-clerk
Robert Pecke	1	“
Alexandre Rowton	1	yeoman powder-beater
None	1	yeoman (assistant to clerk)

Table 9. Royal English Spicery, 1455²⁴¹

The 1475 *Ordinance* defined the actual tasks of many of the spicery workers. The chief master clerk of the spicery “chiefe maister clerke, whiche hathe the charge of pourveyaunces of all manner of stuffe belonging to this office, and to the office of confctionarye, to the office of chaundrye, and the office of naperye.”²⁴² Oversight of the master clerk of the English royal spicery was far reaching, indeed, but this was exceptional within our sample: other households—French royal or other noble households—tended not to give the master spicer such sweeping oversight. Likewise, the assistant clerks were engaged in recordkeeping for the spicery and its ancillary departments.²⁴³ The powder-beater and spicery assistant were charged with receiving “coffys, bagges, spices, wexe, and other stuffe into this office and to charge and discharge the

²⁴⁰ [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 1.

²⁴¹ [1455] Anon., “Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170,” 20 (a).

²⁴² [1475] Anon., “Liber Niger: Household of King Edward IV, MS. Harleian, 642,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 79–80 (b).

²⁴³ “One secondary clerke in this office of the greate spycery, sufficiaunt to resceyve and trulye to keepe the Kinge's stuffe of this office; and to wryte the dayly bookes of the delyveraunces thereof, and of all the other three offices, as it shall require; . . . One other clerke in this office to helpe to wryte and make the bookes daylye.,” in [1475] Anon., “Liber Niger: Household of King Edward IV, MS. Harleian, 642,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 79–80 (b).

carriage when it come, and saufely guyde it” as spice deliveries made their way through the household.²⁴⁴

Other victualing sub-departments were more directly synonymous between the French and English royal households. The saucery, for example, existed in the French royal household since the earliest *ordonnances* of the 1280s. The 1286 *Ordonnance* listed an indeterminate number of *saussiers*, two or three one would suspect, as well as two assistants (*ii vallés*).²⁴⁵ Additionally, the *cuisine de bouche* was staffed by “*li saussiers devers le roy*,” also likely two or three, who were not assisted by any valets.²⁴⁶ During the 1280s, around six individuals were usually engaged in making sauces for the royal household. By the time the 1291 *Ordonnance* was written, however, only one saucier served in the *commun*, assisted by two valets, and one *saucier* served in the *cuisine de bouche*.²⁴⁷ In the 1523 *Ordonnance* of the royal household, two *sauciers* worked in the *cuisine de bouche*, while four *sauciers* worked in the *cuisine de commun*.²⁴⁸ In the 1623 *Ordonnance*, two *sauciers* were employed in the *cuisine de bouche*, but the same *Ordonnance* does not list any *sauciers* working in the *cuisine de commun*, although I am unsure why.²⁴⁹ Unlike other royal diet departments, the number of *sauciers* did not vary significantly over time in the *cuisine de commun* or in the *cuisine de bouche*.

In the English royal household, the saucery also existed since at least the late fifteenth century. In the 1455 *Ordonnance* of the royal household, eight workers—ranging in rank between

²⁴⁴ [1475] Anon., “Liber Niger: Household of King Edward IV, MS. Harleian, 642,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 79–80 (b).

²⁴⁵ AN., JJ 57 F. 1-1, *Ordonnance de l'Hôtel* [1286].

²⁴⁶ AN., JJ 57 F. 1-1, *Ordonnance de l'Hôtel* [1286].

²⁴⁷ AN., JJ 57, *Ordonnance de l'Hôtel* [1291], 10v.

²⁴⁸ NA KK 99, *Officiers de l'Hôtel, 1523 et 1529*, François I.

²⁴⁹ NA KK 201 (1), *Maison*, 1623, Louis XIII.

sergeant, sub-clerk, yeoman, and groom—were charged with making all sauces for the royal court:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Robert Broune	1	sergeant
William Hide	1	sub-clerk
John Browne	1	yeoman
John Merston	1	groom
David Thomlynson	1	yeoman
John Neweman	1	groom
John Smyth	1	groom
William Botiller	1	groom

Table 10. Saucery under Henry VI.²⁵⁰

Later, in Henry VIII's 1526 *Eltham Ordinance*, the saucery and pastry shared the same sub-clerks, despite the differing nature of their work, but still reported to the chief master clerk of the spicery for overall oversight of their departments.²⁵¹

Likewise, the chandlery, whose tasks included making candles and torches, reported to the chief master clerk of the spicery to receive wax allotments and to report necessary information for the creation of accountancy texts.²⁵² Few entries in the ordinances tell us anything about the type of work that went on in the chandlery, although the *Eltham Ordinance* noted that, in addition to making candles, a weekly inventory of the office had to be conducted in conjunction with the clerks of the spicery.²⁵³ By the end of Elizabeth I's reign, according to the *Ordinance* of 1601, the work of producing candles, torches, and taking inventories of the royal chandlery had expanded to the point that that at least three individuals were engaged in the office: a yeoman, a groom, and a page.²⁵⁴ In addition, the 1601 *Ordinance* revealed that the work and management structures of the office had not changed since Henry VIII's time, with "these

²⁵⁰ [1455] Anon., "Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170," in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 22 (a).

²⁵¹ Anon., "Eltham Ordinance" [1526], *A Collection of Ordinances*, 238.

²⁵² Anon., "Eltham Ordinance" [1526], *A Collection of Ordinances*, 234.

²⁵³ Anon., "Eltham Ordinance" [1526], *A Collection of Ordinances*, 234.

²⁵⁴ [1601] Anon., "Queen Elizabeth's Household Book," in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 285–286.

three officers” charged to “make waxe lightes, and receive in white lightes, and doe serve those lightes out, as they are appointed by the clerke of the spicery.”²⁵⁵

In the French royal household, the task of making candles was organized outside of the kitchen proper, in a department known as the *fruiterie*.²⁵⁶ The existence of the department has been outlined in some old works on household ordinances and in an unpublished 2002 doctoral thesis by Pauline Moirez, but I have not been able to find references to the department in current published historiography.²⁵⁷ As we saw in the fourth-chapter survey of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *comptes de bouche*, lettuce and fruit often appeared after the 1570s among the ingredients delivered to the royal *fruiterie*, with the accounts mentioning vegetables, confitures, and fruits being delivered to be used in the department.²⁵⁸ In addition to managing these ingredients, one would expect that workers in the department were responsible for washing fruits and vegetables, paring vegetables and, as we know through the *ordonnances*, manage the household candle supply.²⁵⁹

The number of workers engaged in the department increased steadily, from only a small handful during the late thirteenth century to over a dozen by the seventeenth century. In the 1286 *Ordonnance*, three *fruiters* were employed in the royal household: one for the *cuisine de bouche* and two for the *cuisine de commun*.²⁶⁰ Additionally, two *sommeliers*, or assistants, and a wagon

²⁵⁵ [1601] Anon., “Queen Elizabeth’s Household Book,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 285–286.

²⁵⁶ “Fruit and vegetable department”.

²⁵⁷ Pauline Moirez, *Les offices de bouche à l’Hôtel du roi de France, de Philippe VI à Charles VI (1328–1422)*, doctoral dissertation, École nationale des chartes, unpublished; Louis Douët-d’Arcq, “Notice,” in *Comptes de l’hôtel des rois de France aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, ed. Douët-d’Arcq (Paris: Renouard, 1865) xii–xiv.

²⁵⁸ See discussion of fruits and vegetables in the fourth chapter.

²⁵⁹ “Fruiter : 1 et 3 valés qui seront la chandele,” AN., JJ 57 F. 1-1, *Ordonnance de l’Hôtel* [1286]; “Item il y aura 2 *sommeliers* qui menrront 2 *sommiers*, l’un du fruit et l’autre de la chandelle et mengeront a court et auront chascun 8 d. de gages pour toutes choses et aideront a faire le service en salle sanz nulle autre ayde.”

²⁶⁰ AN., JJ 57 F. 1-1, *Ordonnance de l’Hôtel* [1286].

driver assisted with the work of the department.²⁶¹ By the time of the 1316 *Ordonnance*, the fruiterie was staffed by no less than fourteen workers.²⁶² Three fruiterers—Geffroy de la Chapelle, Jehan de Troies et Guiot de Houdenc—coordinated the department, all of whom were given one valet. One *sommelier* oversaw day-to-day work relating to fruit, while another oversaw day-to-day work relating to candle and torch production. Four valets assisted the *sommelier* of fruits, one assisted the *sommelier* of candles. A *porteur pour les torches*²⁶³ oversaw distribution of candles and torches to the appropriate household units, and Guillaume de Monstereul and his horse did the local errand-running that the *fruiterers* and *sommesliers* would have assigned to him.²⁶⁴ The English royal household prepared and served fruit through both the main kitchen and the pantry, a department we will examine next. However, none of the ordinances included specific fruit and vegetable departments.

When we examine tools associated with each department, details are patchy. Brears did not survey the spicery as a kitchen department, but some English inventories do offer details. In the 1553 *Inventory* of the household of Thomas Howard (1473–1554), Duke of Norfolk, the spicer’s office at Syon House, London, was recorded as having one cupboard containing pepper, sugar, cloves, and mace, a bed, and a blanket.²⁶⁵ All of the usual suspects are in this list—spices and a place to enclose them—but the bed and blanket give added dimension to life in the duke’s spicery. Not only would a scowling, hissing, half-awake spicer appear if thieves entered the

²⁶¹ AN., JJ 57 F. 1-1, *Ordonnance de l’Hôtel* [1286].

²⁶² The *fruiterie* was not divided into a *fruiterie de commun* nor a *fruiterie de bouche* in this *Ordonnance*, see AN JJ 57 AN., JJ F. 57, *Ordonnance de l’hotel de Philippe V* [1316].

²⁶³ “Distributor of torches”.

²⁶⁴ AN JJ 57 F. 57, *Ordonnance de l’hotel de Philippe V* [1316].

²⁶⁵ Duke of Norfolk, NA LR 2/115, Kenninghall/Castle Rising, Noble, 1553.

duke's spicery at nighttime, it also seems possible that someone was kept on call in the office to fill off-hour orders received by household apothecaries and physicians.²⁶⁶

Although Brears provides good coverage of English sauceries, he did not outline the types of tools that would be located in a saucery.²⁶⁷ Given what we know about late medieval sauces being divided into hot and cold families, and given Brears's assertion that sauceries usually acquired the bread and vinegar necessary for their sauces from household bakeries and cellars respectively, we can assume that the office did not have much in the way of baking ovens. Instead, it seems likely to me that a small stove was included in the room for the simmering of sauces, as well as simple tables, bowls, a mortar and pestle or a greater for grinding bread into crumbs. I have included some pictures of the construction of stoves used for small-scale cookery below, collected from my travels. As you can see, nothing of their construction changed in England and France between the sixteenth century and the introduction of cast-iron-enclosed cooking ranges during the eighteenth century.

²⁶⁶ This is my own speculation about fulfilling spice orders for medicines, but it seems sensible given that the spicer would have held the keys to the largest assortment of spices in the household, see NA E 154/10/19, *Duke of Norfolk*, 1553.

²⁶⁷ Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, 333.



Skipton Castle, North Yorkshire, *New Kitchen* (c.1650s) stove.²⁶⁸ Added during Baroness Anne Clifford's renovations after inheriting the castle from the 4th Earl of Cumberland (personal photograph).



Hampton Court Palace Tudor stove (c.1540s) with trivet supporting a tripod pot resting over the stove's fuel pit. Frying pans could also be used in the same arrangement (personal photograph).²⁶⁹



Interior of a normal stove fuel pit, this one from a stove in the main kitchen at Hampton Court Palace, London. An iron grate allows fuel to stay in place near the cooking vessel, while ash falls through the grate, for removal from the front of the stove (personal photograph).²⁷⁰



Original stove of the *réchauffoir* (c.1780s) of the *Hameau de la Reine*, Versailles.²⁷¹ I include this as an example of how little stoves changed over time between France and England. Some structures of the *Hameau* did not survive the Revolution, but the *réchauffoir* was banal enough to have avoided revolutionaries' attention (personal photograph).

Figure 7. Select French and English ranges, c.1540 to c.1780.

²⁶⁸ Personal photograph.

²⁶⁹ Personal photograph.

²⁷⁰ Personal photograph.

²⁷¹ Personal photograph.

Unfortunately, inventories of *fruiteries* have not presented themselves during the course of my research. However, our knowledge of the types of ingredients that arrived into the office, derives from the *comptes de bouche* and from the *ordonnances* and offers the possibility to speculate that royal fruiteries during the late medieval and early modern period likely were outfitted with tables, chopping and paring areas, sinks, basins, platters, and bowls, and an assortment of knives. Confitures appear in the *comptes de bouche* during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but I suspect that they were made by sauciers. The reason for this is that fruit and vegetables are susceptible to degradation the longer they are kept in hot environments; something that would not have been lost on the cooks who worked so closely with them. Moreover, candle and wax storage requires moderately cool environments. Since we know that both of these tasks were delegated to the fruiterie in the French royal household for more than three-and-a-half centuries, one would suspect that the rooms themselves were adequately cool and free of steam so that candles, fruits, and vegetables could be held without reliance on refrigeration. Unfortunately, further research is needed to fully assess the tools associated with this department.

When it comes to items like candles, sauces, and spices, the medieval French and English royal households developed different management strategies to facilitate operations of these aspects of diet-department duties. Both households had the same needs, and at the most finite levels of organization, work likely occurred in very similar manners. However, at the managerial level, administration and oversight of the function of departments was carried out differently within the two royal households.

Sub-Department IV: Breads and Sweets

Bakery, Pantry,²⁷² Pastry, and Wafery

The pantry and bakery were two of the most important diet departments in our great household victualling schemes. In fact, although bread has been mentioned numerous times in this research, the entire topic needs to be examined in much greater depth at both the public bakeshop and great-household bakery levels.²⁷³ As we saw in chapters three and four, medieval and early modern French and English great households often baked their own bread and bought additional loaves from local bakeries.²⁷⁴ It is difficult to know why this is the case because bakers receive very little attention in historiography. It is certain that some households baked bread on a regular basis, but one wonders whether it was also common to outsource bakery duties as we saw with butchery duties. It seems that the greatest households employed bakers as a rule, but other, smaller great households offer less evidence in the way of full-time employment of bakers.

The best evidence for full-time employment of household bakers usually comes from the royal households. In France and England, bakers were important elements of the royal households since creation of the earliest household ordinances. Within France, the entire bakery, bread service, and pastry departments were united under the office of *paneterie* from the time of the earliest *ordonnances* until well past our period. Unlike the stand-alone departmental

²⁷² From L. “*panis*” or bread.

²⁷³ Bakers briefly appear in a number of works examining medieval and early modern victualling guilds, works that we will examine in the following chapter, but even in these, mention is only intermittent. Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat gives the best and most accurate coverage of French bakers to date in Toussaint-Samat, “The Ritual of Becoming a Master Baker,” *A History of Food*, 221. Brears is one of the only French or English scholars to give significant attention to great household bakers in Brears, “The Bakehouse,” *Cooking and Dining*, 109–125.

²⁷⁴ See discussions of bread provision in the late portions of chapters three and four.

organization of baking and pastry departments that existed in the English royal household throughout our period, the French royal *paneterie* oversaw all aspects of baking, wafer making, pastry making, bread service, flour acquisition, in addition to providing direct royal oversight of the bake-shops of Paris.²⁷⁵

Within the royal household itself the *grand panetier* oversaw daily provision of all aspects of bread service, facilitated by a department that roughly took the following form:

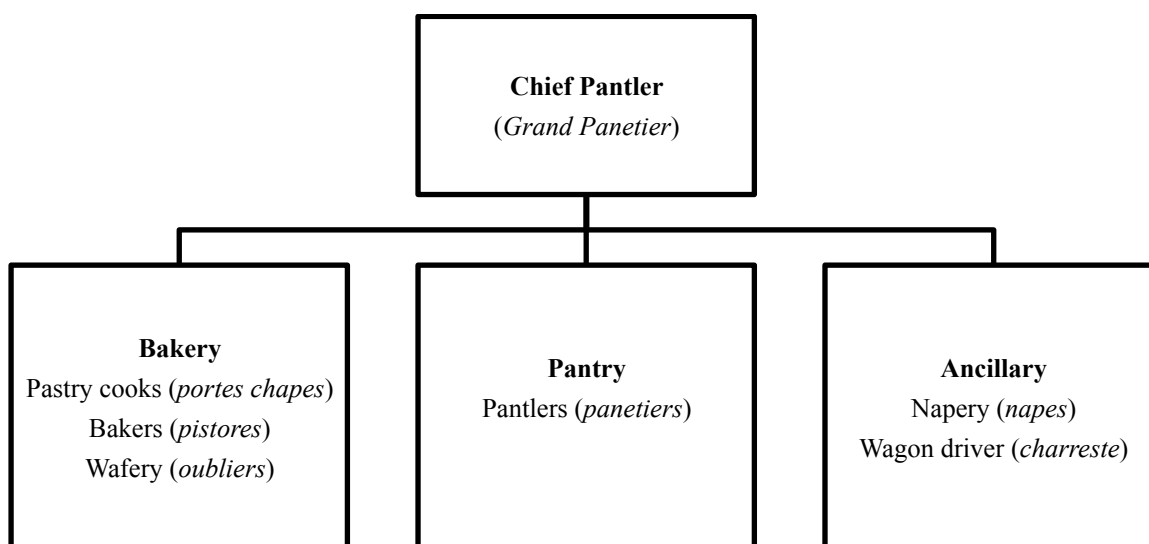


Figure 8. Schematic of the French royal *paneterie*, based on AN, JJ 57, *Ordonnance de l'Hôtel* [1286], 1. Nearly identical departmental organization of the bakery is present in each of the *ordonnances*.

In terms of day-to-day baking in the *paneterie*, there were three basic divisions of worker who saw to all bread and pastry cookery: *portes chapes*²⁷⁶ to make sweet and savoury pies, and other sweet pastries; *pistores*²⁷⁷ who scaled, mixed, proofed, and baked all grades of bread consumed in the household; and *oubliers*²⁷⁸ who made sweet wafers,²⁷⁹ Eucharistic bread, and

²⁷⁵ See discussion of grand officers at beginning of this chapter. Also, Toussaint-Samat is one of the only scholars to have noted the connection between the royal *paneterie* and royal oversight of the public bakeshops of Paris; see Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, 213.

²⁷⁶ Pastry cooks

²⁷⁷ Bakers

²⁷⁸ Wafer cooks

²⁷⁹ Popular treats served on their own at festivals and celebrations, or served toward the end of the meal if they were being incorporated into a menu.

various forms of biscuits.²⁸⁰ There was some evolution over time in terms of day-to-day operation of the royal *paneterie*, as in other departments, but never revolutionary change. In the 1286 *Ordonnance*, for example, at least eleven workers of the *paneterie* were engaged in actual cookery tasks: three *panetiers* and one valet, *portes chapes*, at least two *pistores*, and at least two *oubliers*.²⁸¹ By the time of the 1316 *Ordonnance*, at least sixteen workers were engaged in the work of baking for the court: four *panetiers*, three *portes chapes*, six helpers, three *pistores*, as well as a handful of other workers.²⁸² By 1574, the royal household employed almost thirty workers between the *paneteries de commun* and *de bouche*: one *pistore*, two *sommeliers*, two assistants, and two *pâtissiers* in the *paneterie de bouche*, and eight *sommeliers*, eight assistants, and four *pâtissiers* in the *paneterie de commun*.²⁸³ The sixty-person strong household of Duchess Jeanne de Bourbon listed only four workers in her household's *paneterie* according to the September 1508 account, two of which were involved in drink provision.²⁸⁴ In the case of Jeanne's small but high-status household, the same work was facilitated as by the *panetiers* of the royal household, but by far fewer staff. None of the *panetiers* employed in Jeanne's household were identified as bakers, possibly indicating that her household simply relied on local bakers for their daily supply of breads.

Ancillary units of the *paneterie* saw to further, non-culinary tasks as required by the department: the *panetiers* served bread, *napes*²⁸⁵ that were washed and provided to wrap bread

²⁸⁰ The best description of the operation of the *paneterie* is that given by Olivier de la Marche (1425–1502) regarding the operation of the *paneterie* of the household of the Dukes of Burgundy, in La Marche, “l'Etat de la maison,” *Mémoires*, xv.

²⁸¹ AN, JJ 57, *Ordonnance de l'Hôtel* [1286], 1.

²⁸² AN, JJ 57 F. 57, *Ordonnance de l'hotel de Philippe V* [1316].

²⁸³ NA KK 159, *Trésorerie Générale de Marguerite de France*, [1574].

²⁸⁴ AN., K 504/5, *Compte de bouche de Jeanne de Bourbon*, [Septembre 1508].

²⁸⁵ napkinry

for service, and the *charreste*²⁸⁶ of the *paneterie* provided bulk transport services on behalf of the department.²⁸⁷

The *paneterie*—this time the room, not the department—was also a location within most French great households in which bread could be sliced and served directly into hall. What is today a conference venue called the *paneterie* of the Papal Palace in Avignon was, in the fourteenth century, six rooms that comprised the *paneterie* and *échanson*²⁸⁸ of the royal household:

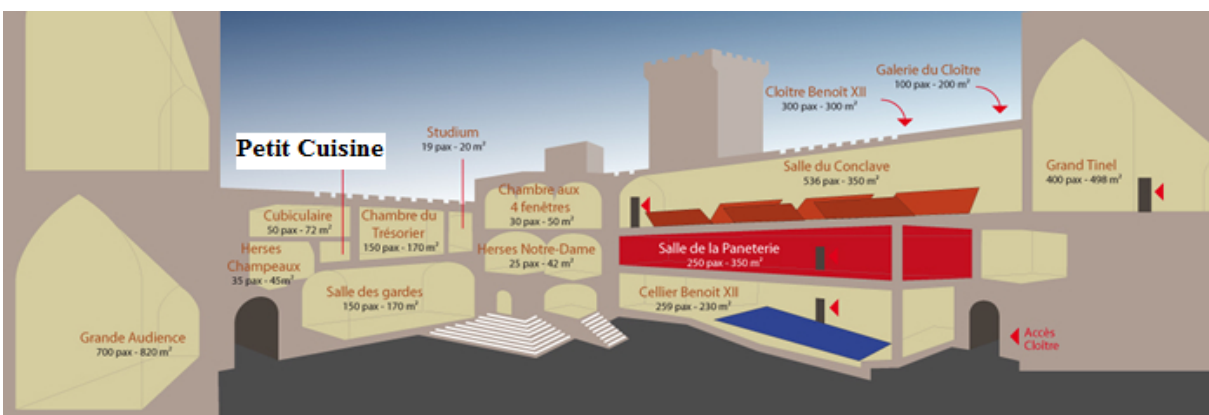


Figure 9. Fourteenth-century *paneterie*, highlighted in red, of the Papal Palace at Avignon (*Centre des congrès d'Avignon*).

Highlighted in red, and sandwiched between the *salle du conclave*²⁸⁹ and the ground floor on which flour deliveries were received, one gets a sense of the entire department's function: the cart (“*charreste*”) of the *paneterie* delivered flour to the ground-floor courtyard, then it was transported to the second-floor *paneterie* where it was converted into bread by the *pistores*, then passed from the *pistores* to the *panetiers* to be sliced and wrapped in napkins provided by the departmental napery, and finally, the *panetiers* delivered it to up to the third-floor great hall,

²⁸⁶ Wagon driver

²⁸⁷ Here I refer to the schematic provided above, based on AN, JJ 57, *Ordonnance de l'Hôtel* [1286], 1, but the *paneterie* of each thirteenth- and fourteenth-century *ordonnances d'hôtel* mentioned these positions. It seems that the bread basket was not so much in use at this point as was the cloth that we still use to line bread baskets.

²⁸⁸ Literally: *cup-bearer*. This was the department that served drink. For more on the arrangements of the *bouche* of the popes at Avignon, see Dominique Paladilhe, *Les Papes en Avignon* (Paris, Perrin, 2008) 352 pp.

²⁸⁹ Great hall

where the popes and their companions readily consumed it. The *grand* and *petit cuisines*,²⁹⁰ on the other hand, were placed away from the *paneterie*—likely on account of the steam and smoke that emanated from them—being plumbed into the highly complex drains that served the papal kitchens, garderobes, and even a papal steam bath and sauna.²⁹¹ The *petit cuisine* is just visible in the diagram, above the *salle des gardes*.²⁹² Its placement highlights the separation between bread and food service, and the reason for separation of baking duties from our larger narrative of food preparation in the great household context was because bread and savoury foods were prepared by different departments, but were also totally separate in terms of the paths that they took to the tables of the papal household.

The same was largely true of English great households throughout the period that we are examining, although management and accountancy of baking duties occurred under significantly different arrangements than existed in French great households. Instead of arranging all baking duties under a *grand panetier*, the royal household preferred to have the bake house and pantlers report to the counting house directly through their own clerks. In the 1345 *Ordinance of Edward III*, the kitchen, spicery, pantry, and buttery each had their own chief clerks to report accountancy issues to the counting house, one sergeant baker, one sergeant pantler, an indeterminate number of yeomen bakers, and one yeoman waferer:

²⁹⁰ “Large” and “small kitchens,” likely synonymous with the *cuisine de bouche* and the *cuisine de commun*.

²⁹¹ For more about the plumbing system that served the castle see Dominique Carru, “Les étuves du Palais des Papes d’Avignon,” *Bulletin Monumental*, T.159.1 (2001), 24–28.

²⁹² “Guardroom”.

Chief Clerks	Count	Wage
Pantry & Buttery	1	“
Sergeants		
Pantry	1	1s./day ²⁹³
Bake-house	1	“
Yeomen		
Waferer	1	6d./day ²⁹⁴
Yeomen of the king's offices ²⁹⁵	79	“

Table 11. 1345 Household of King Edward III Diet Officers²⁹⁶

Considering later evolutions of the baking departments, this was a very straightforward arrangement. Exactly 110 years later, the duties of making and distributing baked goods in the English royal household expanded into a considerable brigade that included twenty-seven highly stratified workers:

²⁹³ [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 9.

²⁹⁴ [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 9.

²⁹⁵ This is a cathall term that would have included yeomen working in the kitchen, bakehouse, larders, acatery and so on, see [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” 4.

²⁹⁶ [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 1.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Henry Westhowe	1	sub-clerk
John Threpland	1	sergeant
William Peye	1	yeoman fourner
William Brynklowe	1	yeoman baker
John Eton	1	groom
Robert Sende	1	yeoman purveor
Robert Baxter	1	groom purveor
None	6	bulters ²⁹⁷
Pantry ²⁹⁸		
<u>Name</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Thomas Berton	1	sergeant
John Rede	1	yeomen
Thomas Bedyll	1	“
Richard Randolf	1	“
John Gyldynwater	1	grooms
John Cates	1	“
Thomas Deye,	1	“
Thomas Sulhill	1	page
Confectionery ²⁹⁹		
<u>Name</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Rank</u>
William Fitzwater	1	sergeant
Robert Broke	1	yeoman
Piers Lovetr	1	groom
William Brandon	1	page
Wafery ³⁰⁰		
<u>Name</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Rank</u>
William Overton	1	yeoman
Thomas Caldewell	1	groom

Table 12. 1455 Household of King Henry VI Bake-house³⁰¹

The arrangements specified in the 1455 *Ordinance* offer a good sense of the form of administrative units related to baking as they existed during the Tudor, Stuart, and Restoration periods. The pastry and saucery came under jurisdiction of the same clerk, although it seems that the work that occurred in both departments occurred independently.³⁰²

²⁹⁷ Responsible for “bolting” or scaling, kneading, and proofing bread.

²⁹⁸ [1455] Anon., “Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170,” 19 (a).

²⁹⁹ [1455] Anon., “Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170,” 20 (a).

³⁰⁰ [1455] Anon., “Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170,” 22 (a).

³⁰¹ [1455] Anon., “Household of King Henry IV, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170,” 19 (a).

³⁰² [1526] Anon., “Additions Made to the Eltham Ordinance: Household of King Henry VIII, MS. Harleian, 642,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 238.

In fact, if we examine the duties of English great-household bakers, a number of colourful statutes bring to life their daily lives. The 1526 *Eltham Ordinance* noted that the department's sergeant must

see that the Bakers doe bulte the Branne cleane, that there be found noe wast therein; and that the Furnour doe season the Bread well, not drowning it with too much water, weighing the same into the Oven, that every Loafe may weigh and keepe its full weight, after it is baked as it ought to bee; and that the Bread be not rashly handled in drawing it out of the Oven, nor in putting it into the Storehouse for fear of breaking of the Bread, whereby there shall come wast.³⁰³

The rules seem a bit strict on first inspection, although it is worth noting that the same quality-control fundamentals apply to modern bakers as well. Others highlight how practical interaction between the bakery and other offices was. The brewer was to see “that no fees be taken of yeast, before the baker be first supplied for his use”; in other words, extra yeast left over from fermenting beer could not be sold outside the house until the archbishop's bakery had enough yeast to make bread for the next day.³⁰⁴ We know, then, that at least some of the bread served in the archbishop's households was *barm bread*, which is still sold in many English bakeries and supermarkets. (Barm is the yeasty scum removed from fermenting beer.)

Outside the bakery, waferers and pantlers were busy occupations as well. In the royal household, the 1475 *Ordinance (Liber niger)* noted that the wafery was staffed by three workers: a yeoman for overseeing the office and making specialty wafers at feasts, a page for “the quotidian servyce” of the various household chapels, and one page “to lerne the cunnyng

³⁰³ [1526] Anon., “Additions Made to the Eltham Ordinance: Household of King Henry VIII, MS. Harleian, 642,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 232.

³⁰⁴ LP MS 884, *Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer*, f.30 r-v. Items sold to the public were usually vended through the almonry, which was set up for the purposes of distributing food to the poor and selling items like fat, bones, barm, yeast etc. to the public and tradespersons. The “fees” collected in the sale of these items formed part of the wages of various victualing officers. In this case, the brewer was allowed to sell extra yeast, likely in the form of foam, to outside brewers and bakers to activate their own breads and beers.

service and dewties of this office.”³⁰⁵ In 1601, the same number of waferers and ranks existed in the office under Elizabeth I, indicating that there was not any great change in the volume of work expected of the wafer makers, before nor after the Reformation.³⁰⁶

Pantlers, on the other hand, received more finite attention in some ordinance books. One of the most thorough job descriptions comes from Archbishop Cranmer’s household book:

Itm it is ordayned that the Panter receave no breade into the Pantry from the backhouse, or other place as breade brought but by taile and sight of an hedd Officer, and thattaile to be brought evry weeke ende into the Counting howse and entred And that one of the Officers be in the backhouse at moulding and waieng, and to call upon the baker aforesaid so that my Lord shall not be served without breade. Nor that (f.14) the Panter sell any chippings, nor other things in his office without the oversight of an hedd Officer, or Clerke of the kytchen. And suche as shalbe thought by them fees not to be had to the alms baskett and pultry be served.³⁰⁷

Without a specific fruit department,³⁰⁸ however, English great households seem to have relied on their pantlers to prepare fruits for service at mealtimes. For example, during the 1560s in the Archbishop of Canterbury’s household, the *Household Ordinance* called for the archbishop’s pantlers to “ordaine for al manner of frutes cheese, juncketts and other dainties according to the season of the yeare...”³⁰⁹ This would be an important element of work considering that some houses were quite large. Why did the pantlers prepare fruit for service? The exact reason is unclear, but it was possibly because they had napkins on hand to wipe and clean fruit and also

³⁰⁵ [1475] Anon., “Liber Niger: Household of King Edward IV, MS. Harleian, 642,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 72 (b).

³⁰⁶ “The Wafery: Yeoman. He hath a hundred shillings a yeare, and sixpence a day boarde wages; he and his fellow groome make wafers at festivall times, as they are appointed by the clerke comptroller and clerke of the spicery. Groome. He hath four markes a yeare, and sixpence a day boardwages and helpeth the yeoman to make wafers and serve them.” see [1601] Anon., “Queen Elizabeth’s Household Book,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 286.

³⁰⁷ LP MS 884, *Household Ordinances of Thomas Cranmer* [1560’s], f.14r-v.

³⁰⁸ The Household Ordinances of Henry VI of England [1455] mention a “fruter,” but it does not outline the associated job description, see [1455] Anon., “Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 23 (a).

³⁰⁹ LP MS 884, *Household Ordinances of Thomas Cranmer* [1560’s], f.14r.

because pantlers had cutting boards or areas and knives that were there primarily for slicing bread, but that could also be used for preparing fruits for service at meal times.

Tools and smallwares used in great-household bakeries, pastries, and pantries were quite basic, according to our tool inventories. Since only the largest households had bakehouses and pastry kitchens, the list of potential inventories is rather small, but telling. In the pantry at Durhampalace,³¹⁰ a residence maintained by the Duke of Northumberland in London, the 1553 *Inventory* listed “ix doson” napkins and “iii trencher plates,” and “trencher”— in this case likely small, square wooden boards on which to serve food and bread.³¹¹ Interestingly, in the 1553 *Inventory* of the Duke of Norfolk’s house at Kenninghall, Kenninghall Palace, a “pastrye” was listed in which was held, “iii moulding bombes”³¹², “i brasse panne in a furneyes,”³¹³ iii planks and ii pestles of wood”.³¹⁴ In the “pantrye” at Kenninghall, also in 1553, were kept “thre Chopping knyfes // xxiii pewter plates // two close cupbordes // two double bynnes for breade”.³¹⁵ In the bakehouse at Lambeth Palace in 1553, the year Cranmer was installed as archbishop, were “oon brasse pan and a Tryvet”, weights, and sacks.³¹⁶ Although the items in the list seem pedestrian, I think that the bombe mould listed in the 1553 *Inventory* of the Duke of Norfolk’s house at Kenninghall is the most striking. Bombes, still used in modern kitchens, are half-spherical moulds into which meat jellies, jelled creams, and frozen desserts can be set. The *Penguin Companion to Food* does not mention anything about the temporal origins of the

³¹⁰ Likely “Durham House,” in the former London city residence of the Bishop of Durham.

³¹¹ NA E 154/2/39, *Inventory, Duke of Norfolk*, Durhampalace, 1553; “trencher” could also refer to hard square pieces of bread, purpose-made for dining off of. It is impossible to know which material these trenchers were made from with certainty.

³¹² A half-spherical, usually metal, mould used for setting jellies.

³¹³ For glazing spices, nuts, fruits, and other items in sugar.

³¹⁴ NA LR 2/115, *Inventory, Duke of Norfolk*, Kenninghall, 1553.

³¹⁵ NA LR 2/115, *Inventory, Duke of Norfolk*, Kenninghall, 1553.

³¹⁶ NA E 154/2/39, *Inventory*, Lambeth Palace, 1553.

bombe, but it is interesting to think that they were being used in Tudor kitchens, likely only for jellies and creams, and that the name has remained consistent across the centuries.

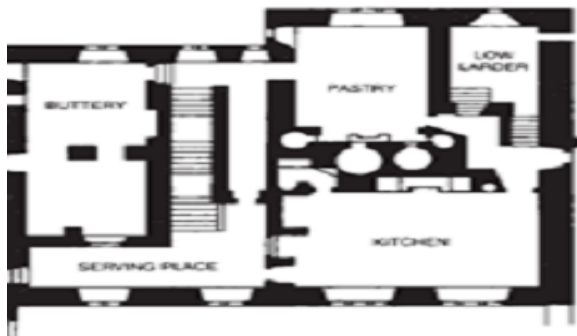
Other items, like ovens, evolved very little over time. Ovens were usually half-spherical on the inside with a small opening in one end for placing of fuel and baked goods into the baking chamber. Bake-houses usually had their own ovens, but kitchens also used identically-designed ovens, usually set into hearths.³¹⁷ Some households used extra-domiciliary bakehouses to service the main house, others incorporated the bakery into the main house, sometimes devising ingenious chimney-sharing arrangements for bakery and kitchen activities. Unfortunately the great bakehouse at Hampton Court Palace no longer stands, but I have visited a number of English residences that offer insight into the working environment of bakers:

³¹⁷ See following images; also see images of hearths listed at the end of the section examining main kitchen equipment.



Bakery window (right),
Low larder window (left).

Hardwick Estate, home of Bess of Hardwick (1521–1608), Countess of Shrewsbury, before building Chatsworth House. Hardwick Old Hall (left) was greatly enlarged by Bess during the late sixteenth century (1580s). Hardwick Hall (right) was begun during the renovations. Most of the ruins that are depicted here are the result of the 1580s–1590s enlargement program carried out by Bess. The Old Hall was gradually abandoned in the eighteenth century in favour of Hardwick Hall. The Estate was in the Cavendish Family, Dukes of Devonshire, from the 1580s until the 1950s when death duties caused the family to donate the estate to the nation (photo from English Heritage).



Plan of Hardwick Old Hall kitchens, A “pastry” [bakery] with four ovens, and a kitchen with two hearths and a boiling house all share the same chimney (English Heritage).



Northwesterly view of the kitchen at Hardwick Old Hall. The entrance to the boiling house can be seen between the two hearths. Directly behind the wall where the main hearth and boiling house are located are the four bake ovens pictured below. All share the same chimney. (personal photograph).

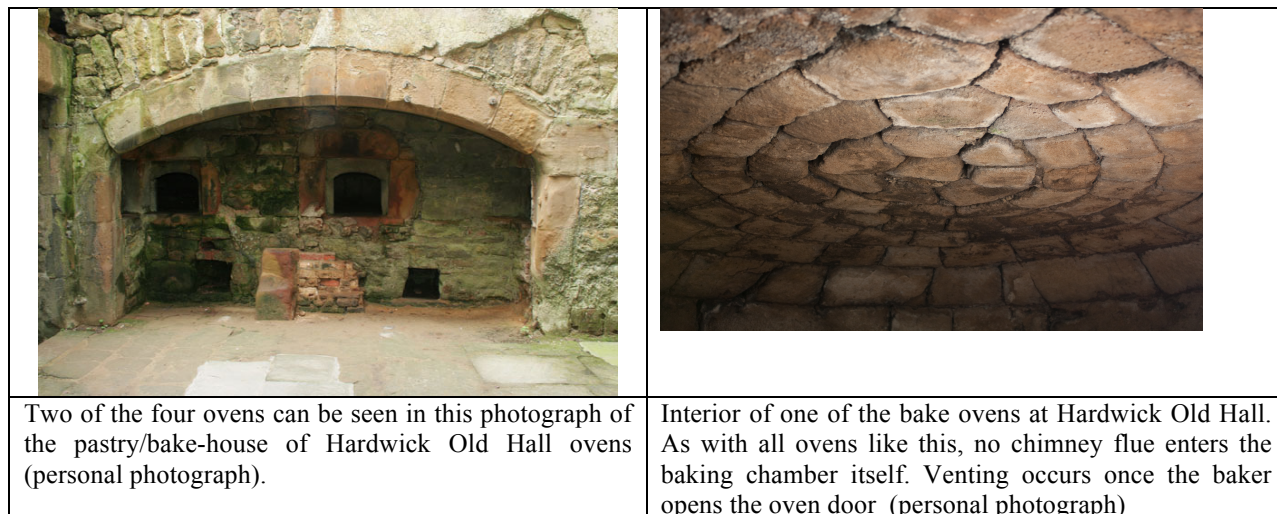


Figure 10. Hardwick Old Hall kitchen and bakehouse.

Overall, we can again see this highly stratified, highly regulated approach to management in the baking-related departments of French and English great households. Within the French context, there was movement in numbers of workers assigned to the departments over time, and some variation in their ranks, but the management units that administered the *paneteries* were immobile at the royal level, but adaptable at the lesser-noble level. The royal household changed its management structures very little when it came to administration of the *paneterie*, but smaller households, like Duchesse Jeanne's, employed only two *panetiers*, and likely outsourced baking, to facilitate bread service of the household. In the English royal household, departments like the pastry came into their own during the sixteenth century, escaping oversight by the clerks of the bake-house and instead reporting directly to the counting house.

Administration, movement of ingredients, and almost every other aspect of work in the royal bakeries and kitchens of medieval and early modern France and England was separate. Accountancy clerks assigned to the departments, budgets, workers, rooms, cooking methods, cookery tools, etc., were all highly separate. It is for this reason that information about household

bakeries has remained largely compartmentalized and separate from the overall narrative of this dissertation. Bakeries and bread service have a rich history, but as we have seen in other surveys, historiography tends to avoid examination of bakers and cooks. This dissertation focuses on cooks and kitchen management habits during the late medieval and early modern periods, but the same temporal and regional assessments of bakeries and bakers would enrich current food historiography greatly.

Sub-Department V, Drink Service:

The Grand Échanson, Grand Bouteiller, The Butler of England, and the Buttery

Like bread service, drink service at the great-household level drew upon a number of separate household resources. Descending from the ancient office of *échanson*³¹⁸, the offices that provided drink to French and English great households were bureaucratized into a number of different sub-offices in both countries' households. Brears and Laverny offer some insight into the operation of the offices, both noting that the *échansonnerie*³¹⁹ in the French and English royal households were complex departments that oversaw a host of drink procurement and service demands.³²⁰ Although there was certainly evolution in the bureaucratization and management systems over time, Laverny notes that, by the sixteenth century, the name of the *échansonnerie* had changed to that of *bouteillerie*, with the associated grand officer being renamed to *grand bouteiller*.³²¹ In the English royal household, similar evolution occurred over time, although the name of the office—*buttery*—remained over time.

³¹⁸ Cupbearer

³¹⁹ Buttery

³²⁰ Laverny, 32-33, 59–60, 159, 197; Brears, “The Buttery and Pantry,” *Cooking and Dining*, 381–408.

³²¹ Laverny, 32.

Just as with bread, drink took a circuitous route through great households, sourced through a number of different methods. I will outline the path that it took from the time it entered French and English royal and great household cellars, until it was poured into diners' cups. As we will see, drink service was almost entirely separate from the work that occurred in kitchens, and for this reason the topic has only received ancillary consideration in this dissertation. Service of bread and drink to great households for daily mealtimes demanded a great deal of attention from numerous servants, along with highly complex victualling strategies. So complex were the strategies developed by household servants that facilitation of baking- and drink-associated tasks were removed completely from the kitchen's oversight across our period in both France and England.

In the most general terms, the French and English royal households maintained very similar sub-departments for drink service throughout the medieval and early modern periods. A generalized, comparative schematic based on the English royal ordinances, the French royal *ordonnances*, and Brears's findings, looks something like this:

English royal buttery, c.14 th cent., generalized schematic	French Royal <i>Échansonnerie</i> / <i>Bouteillerie</i> , c.13 th cent., Generalized Schematic ³²²
Butler of England ³²³	Grand Échanson ³²⁴
Butlers / Pitcher-House / Cup-House ³²⁵ Clerks ³²⁶ Cellarers ³²⁷ Porters ³²⁸ Ale-takers ³²⁹	Échansons/ <i>Boutiers</i> ³³⁰ <i>Clercs</i> ³³¹ <i>Barilliers</i> ³³² <i>Potiers</i> ³³³ <i>Chariot</i> ³³⁴

Table 13. English royal buttery, c.14th cent., generalized schematic³³⁵

We might remember that, in our examination of French and English diet accounts, beer and ale did not appear in a single daily entry associated with French great households.³³⁶ Certainly there was occasionally beer available to French great households through local brewers, but it did not appear in any of the daily items received in the *échansonnerie* of the *comptes de bouche* of the French royal household, nor in Duchess Jeanne's *compte de bouche* of September, 1508.³³⁷ Therefore, the buttery of the English royal household was subdivided to a slightly greater extent than the French royal *échansonnerie*.

If we examine the French royal *échansonnerie* of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, we can see that there was some expansion in numbers of servants required to process drink for the household, but the types of positions remained relatively resistant to change. In the

³²² Based on AN, JJ 57, *Ordonnance de l'Hôtel* [1286], 1.

³²³ See discussion at beginning of this chapter.

³²⁴ See discussion at beginning of this chapter.

³²⁵ Drink servers.

³²⁶ Record-keepers.

³²⁷ Received incoming wine deliveries.

³²⁸ Transported wine through the house, guarded cellars.

³²⁹ Sourced and arranged transport of alcohol.

³³⁰ Drink servers.

³³¹ Record-keepers.

³³² Oversaw cellars.

³³³ Uncertain; either a *potier* means *who portioned drink*, or the word could have been a misspelling of *portiers*, or *guards*.

³³⁴ Involved in transport of wine to the royal cellars.

³³⁵ Based on Brears, "The Buttery and Pantry," *Cooking and Dining*, 381–408.

³³⁶ Some ale, beer, and cider could have been held in some French great households, but none appeared in any of the accounts that I have included in this dissertation, nor of others that I have seen but not included. Wine was the drink at the French great-household level, even for servants.

³³⁷ See discussion in last portion of Chapters 3 & 4.

1286 *Ordonnance*, for example, there were four *échansons* for serving wine from the *échansonnerie* into the hall,³³⁸ an uncertain number of clerks who made pay accounts and records for the department, two cellarers who watched the cellar and received bulk deliveries, two butlers who transported wine between the cellars and the *échansonnerie*, two “*potiers*,”³³⁹ one wagon driver and three horses.³⁴⁰ At least twelve workers, in total, were engaged in drink service in the French royal household in 1286. By the time the 1316 *Ordonnance* was created, at least twenty-eight workers were employed in the *échansonnerie*:

Clerk	1
Butlers	2
<i>Échansons</i>	6
Cellarers	3
Assistant cellarers	2
Procurer of wines	1
Wagon driver	1
Guard, cellars	1
Guard, “ <i>au chemin</i> ” ³⁴¹	2(+)
Guard, <i>échansonnerie</i> ³⁴²	2
Valets	7
Total	28

Table 14. *Échansonnerie* of the French Royal Household, According to the *Ordonnance* of 1316³⁴³

Interestingly, the size of the *échansonnerie* under Philippe V in 1316 was the maximum size that the department reached. In all of the subsequent royal *ordonnances* included in this survey—the *ordonnances* of 1523, 1574, and 1623—the number of workers engaged in the *échansonnerie* returned to and remained at twelve; the same number of workers that were listed

³³⁸ “One for the king and three for the commun” (*1 pour le roy, 3 pour le commun*), AN., JJ 57 F. 1-1, *Ordonnance de l’Hôtel* [1286].

³³⁹ Uncertain position.

³⁴⁰ AN., JJ 57 F. 1-1, *Ordonnance de l’Hôtel* [1286].

³⁴¹ Guards that accompanied the wagon driver.

³⁴² In this case, the word *échansonnerie* refers to the room near the hall in which drinks were portioned and served. The precincts of the buttery/ *échansonnerie* will be examined shortly.

³⁴³ AN, JJ 57 F. 57, *Ordonnance de l’hotel de Philippe V* [1316].

in the department in 1286.³⁴⁴ In Duchess Jeanne de Bourbon's *compte de bouche* of September, 1508, only two *échansons* were listed, but their ranks and the scope of their work is unclear.³⁴⁵ Certainly the *échansonnerie* was organized around a brigade-style management system, but just as with other victualing departments, its numbers could change depending on masters' wishes and the needs of different households.

In England, similar demand were placed on the buttery, but the variety of drinks served in English great households was greater, on a daily basis, than in the French royal and upper noble households. As our diet accounts of the third and fourth chapters revealed, beer, ale, and wine appeared in many of the English diet accounts, on a daily basis and at special events, whereas wine was the only drink recorded in *comptes de bouche* related to French great households. Certainly beer, ale, and cider appeared in at least some French great household cellars, possibly in northern regions of France, but in the great households that I have documentary evidence for wine was the only drink listed in the *échansonnerie* of our *comptes de bouche*.³⁴⁶ It seems that the greater variety in drinks, and grades of each served to various levels of servant, caused the English royal household to develop and maintain a much more sophisticated buttery than the *échansonneries* that we have examined.

Early ordinances obscure the exact organization of lesser workers in the royal English buttery, but the 1345 *Ordinance* indicates that around four officers managed the workers of the buttery:

³⁴⁴ NA KK 99, *Officiers de l'Hôtel, 1523 et 1529*, François I; NA KK 159, *Trésorerie Générale de Marguerite de France*, 1574; NA KK 201 (1), *Maison*, 1623, Louis XIII.

³⁴⁵ AN., K 504/5, *Compte de bouche de Jeanne de Bourbon*, [Septembre 1508].

³⁴⁶ See discussions of drink service in the final portions of chapters three and four. To read about beer's introduction into England during the Tudor period, see chapter four's discussion of beer, in addition to wine and ale. Again, this does not mean that French great households never received beer, but if they did, it happened at intervals outside of times for which I have documentary evidence for.

<u>Chief Clerks</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Wage</u>
Pantry & Buttery	1	2s./day
<u>Sergeants</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Wage</u>
Buttery	3	1s./day

Table 15. 1345 Household of King Edward III.³⁴⁷

In the 1345 *Ordinance*, the pantry and buttery shared a clerk, but the sergeants that managed the office on a daily basis were separate from the sergeants of the pantry. Just over a century later, by the mid-fifteenth century, drink service at the royal court expanded to included nearly two-dozen workers:

<u>1455 Household of King Henry VI</u>		
<u>Cellar</u>		
<u>Name</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Richard Ludlowe	1	sergeant
William Bryant	1	yeoman
William Ludlowe	1	“
William Yorke	1	“
John Northfolke	1	grooms
JohnClaydon	1	“
John Ludlowe	1	page
William Wyttnall	1	yeoman for bottles

<u>Buttery</u> ³⁴⁸		
<u>Name</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Rank</u>
William Say	1	yeoman
Thomas May	1	groom
William Parker	1	“
Edward Esthorp	1	page

³⁴⁷ [1345] Anon., “Household of King Edward III, MS. Harleian, 782,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 1.

³⁴⁸ [1455] Anon., “Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 19 (a).

Ale-takers ³⁴⁹		
Name	Count	Rank
Richard Joskyn	1	yeoman
Thomas Goodale	1	groom
John Esthopy	1	page

Pitcherhouse ³⁵⁰		
Name	Count	Rank
William Wodecok	1	Yeoman
William Blakborn	1	“
Henry Bery	1	“
Thomas Berwell	1	Groom
Nicholas Auftyn	1	“
John Clampard	1	Page

Table 16. Drink service departments of the household of Henry VI, 1455.³⁵¹

This highly complex division of labour certainly exceeded that of the French royal *échansonnerie*, even during the period of the *échansonneries*' greatest augmentation to around twenty workers under Philippe V in 1316.³⁵² This can be explained somewhat by the existence of additional offices required for ale and beer service—the office of ale-taker, for example—but this also reflects the increasing magnitude of fifteenth-century English great-household dining strategies that we noted in chapter four. The greatness of great households took on a different, amplified flavour that had the practical impact of increasing numbers of servants required to maintain domestic establishments. Drink provision, although completely separate from food service, required similar levels of complexity in design of management structures to the kitchen.

³⁴⁹ [1455] Anon., “Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 20 (a).

³⁵⁰ [1455] Anon., “Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170,” in *A Collection of Ordinances*, 20 (a).

³⁵¹ [1455] Anon., “Household of King Henry VI, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, fv. P., 170,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 19 (a).

³⁵² AN., JJ F. 57, *Ordonnance de l'hotel de Philippe V* [1316].

Whereas the French habit was to decrease Philippe V's augmented *échansonnerie* of 1316 down to one-dozen individuals throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the English habit was to maintain a large buttery across our period.³⁵³ Additionally, job descriptions became much more finite during the mid- to late-Tudor period. The 1475 *Ordinance*, for example, offers interesting insight into the types of people that sourced wine for the royal household. The purveyors of wine were expected to “hearkyn upon the preceptes of the Styward and countyng-house” in order to understand what types and how much wine to “make pourveyaunces of”.³⁵⁴ The four yeomen who served the purveyor were the actual individuals responsible for going out and “choosing, buyinge, and keepinge” all wines, while the purveyor coordinated their work with the needs of the cellar through his attendance at the counting house.³⁵⁵ Similarly, ale-takers were charged with making “trewe and good pourvcyaunce of ale and beere for the Kinge and his housholde, and by as lyttell trouble as maye be” and were accorded appropriate levels of staff and transport methods to carry out this task.³⁵⁶ The yeomen of the pitcher-house and cup-house—the rooms near the hall where drink was portioned and served which we often call a “buttery” —were charged with making “intayle [inquiry] with both buttlers of wyne and ale, for howe many pottes they have resceyved by measure; and that tayle they bringe into the counting-house,” “the kepeinge of all the pottes and cuppes of sylver, and leather, tankardes, and earthe asshen cuppes,” and “to wipe and wayshe

³⁵³ AN KK 99, *Rolle de estat*, 1529; AN KK 201-204 (1), *Maison du roi*, 1642.

³⁵⁴ [1475] Anon., “Liber Niger: Household of King Edward IV, MS. Harleian, 642,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 74–75 (b).

³⁵⁵ [1475] Anon., “Liber Niger: Household of King Edward IV, MS. Harleian, 642,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 74–75 (b).

³⁵⁶ [1475] Anon., “Liber Niger: Household of King Edward IV, MS. Harleian, 642,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 79 (b).

cleanly the barrells, portatives, pottes, cuppes, for this office, as the sergeaunt woll assigne them”.³⁵⁷

Since the work of the buttery was so well defined by the mid-fifteenth century and the tools of the trade for the buttery were very simple and have been outlined very succinctly within the ordinances themselves, I will not list the contents of butteries in my personal digital manuscript inventories. Their contents are exactly in line with the items listed in the English royal household ordinances: cups, napkins, pitchers,. But my collection of inventories did not include tankards, butts, nor silver serving vessels.

There is one aspect of the buttery which the ordinances do not shed light on: the location of the buttery. Cellars, one would expect, were located in undercrofts and dependencies³⁵⁸ of châteaux, but the buttery was what most great households called their *pitcher-house* or *cup-house*. At the noble level, both pitcher and cup maintenance was combined into the same office. Many households placed the buttery and pantry close together, often close to the hall. Three good thirteenth-, fourteenth-, and fifteenth-century examples of this can be found at Haddon Hall, Bakewell, Derbyshire; Warkworth Castle, Northumberland; and Bodiam Castle, East Sussex:

³⁵⁷ [1475] Anon., “Liber Niger: Household of King Edward IV, MS. Harleian, 642,” *A Collection of Ordinances*, 78 (b).

³⁵⁸ outbuildings



Figure 11. Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, late twelfth century to 1620. Here we can see the bakery, kitchen, former brew house, buttery, pantry, and great hall, all dating from before 1560. Beer, ale, and wine would have been stored near the brew house in the northwest corner of the house. They would be transported to the buttery in smaller casks, facilitated after the 1560's by the doorway that was constructed between the buttery and the rooms leading to the brew house. Service of drink occurred in the buttery, with drink served through a serving hatch into the area behind the screens in the great hall. At the right moment, the Vernon Family's servers proceeded into the great hall from behind the screens and placed drink at diners' place settings. (image from HaddonHall.com)

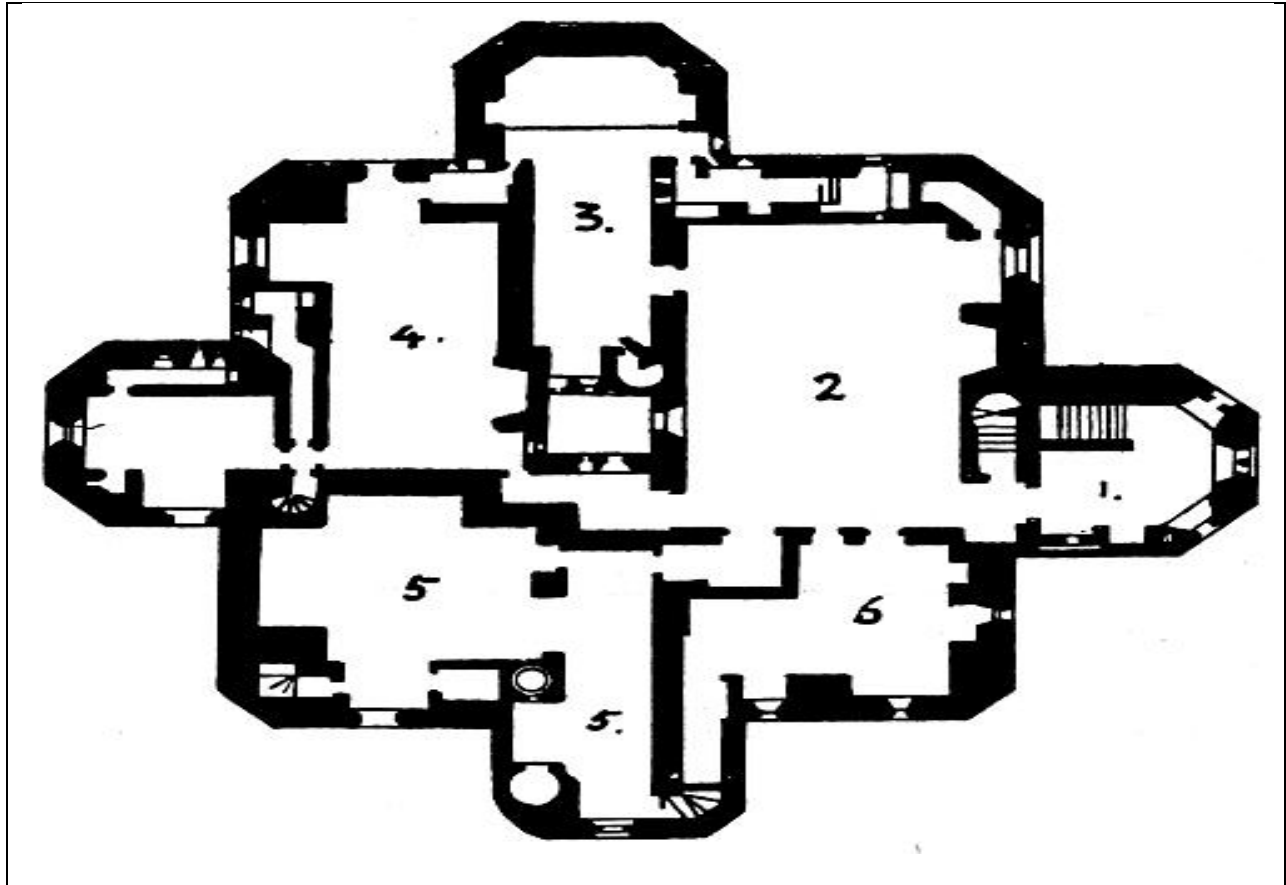


Figure 12. Plan of Warkworth Castle, Northumberland, ground floor, c. 1330. 1 vestibule (leading from entrance in basement); 2 hall; 3 chapel; 4 great chamber; 5 kitchens; 6 pantry and buttery. In a similar manner to Haddon Hall, the buttery (6) is separated from the hall (2) by a stone screen. In this case, the buttery and pantry are combined into one room (image: John Alfred Gotch, *The Growth of the English House*, 1909. North is on the left).

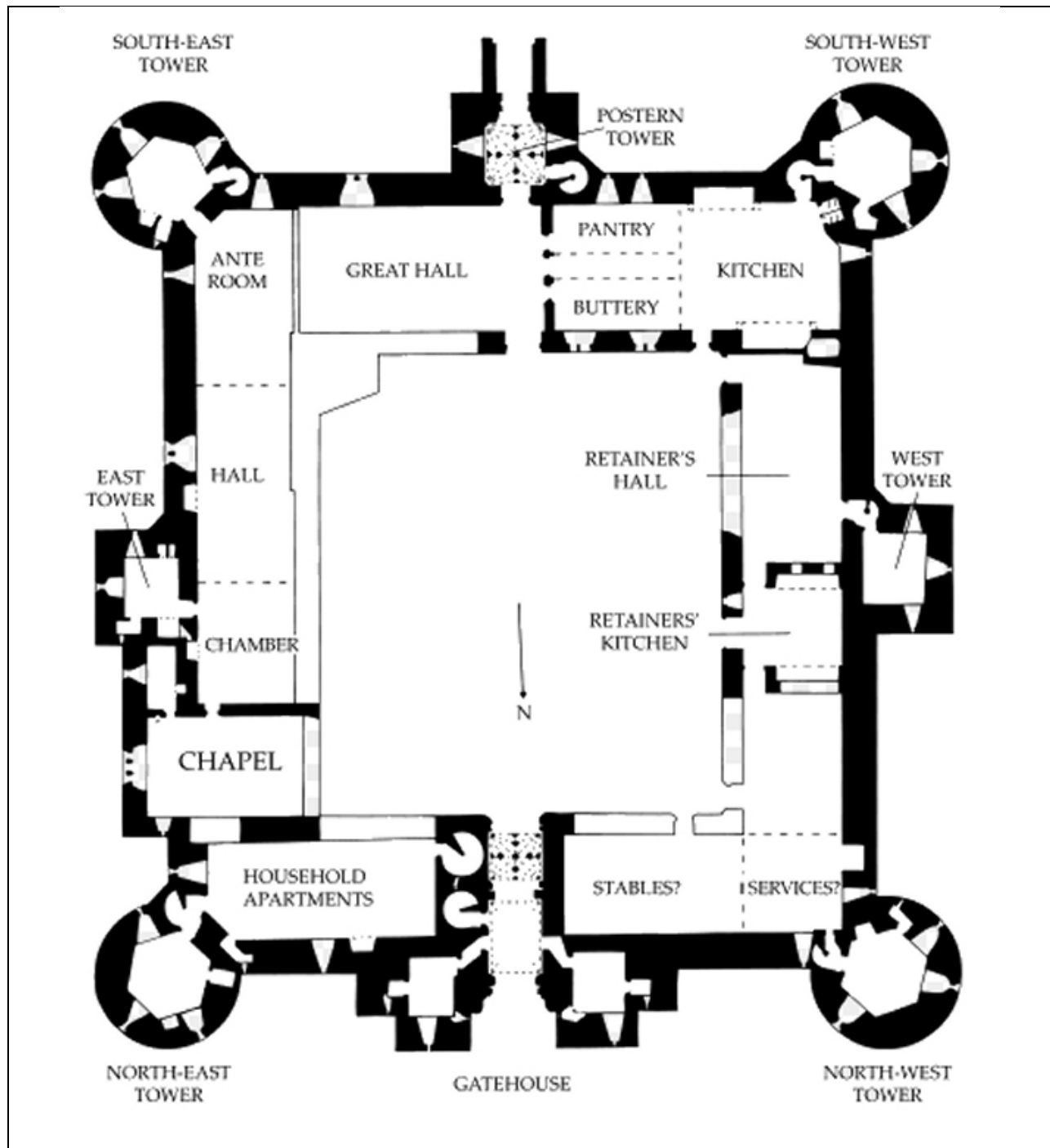


Figure 13. Bodiam Castle, East Sussex, c.1400. As with the early thirteenth-century arrangement at Haddon Hall, the pantry and buttery at Bodiam oppose each other, and lay between the kitchen and hall. (image: David Thackray, *Bodiam Castle*, The National Trust, 2004, 32.

These examples have been selected because they offer detailed floor plans, but they are far from unique in arrangement. Many more examples of similar layouts with the buttry in close proximity to the hall to facilitate easy drink service. Little of the arrangement changed during our period, but they highlight that brigade-style organization was applied to drink service just as it was to bread and food service. Certainly French great households and their English counterparts had slightly different management systems in effect to facilitate drink service within the respective households, but since production and service technology changes very little in our period with regards to drink, meeting many of the same practical demands seems to have forced great households' officers' hands in developing similar beverage-management strategies regardless of region or language. Where there was a will there was a way, and the great households of France and England were well accustomed to developing appropriate domestic-management strategies to facilitate masters' alimentary wishes.

Conclusion

Escoffier and the Brigade de Cuisine

The brigade de cuisine is most certainly not the invention of Escoffier, nor is it unique that he adapted it to the needs of hotels and restaurants. Indeed, as we will see in the next chapter, the brigade de cuisine was outlined as an element of the great-household cooks' and caterers' guild of Paris (*Cuisiniers de Paris*), founded in 1599.³⁵⁹ For all the great contributions of Escoffier to cooking—his masterwork *Ma cuisine* (1934), founding a monthly culinary periodical called the *Le Carnet d'Epicure* (1911–1914), and generally setting a good, sober

³⁵⁹ This is explored at length in the following chapter.

example for cooks—he did not think of, design, invent, re-organize, nor did he claim to have done anything else original as it pertained to the brigade de cuisine. Escoffier was one of the greatest influences on modern culinary styles to be sure, but he himself never claimed in any of his works to have invented or reorganized the brigade de cuisine any more than Alexis Soyer, for example, employed the technique to manage his kitchens at the Reform Club after taking charge in 1837. In fact, the topic of how the brigade came to be closely associated with Escoffier deserves a good examination in a paper or number of papers because, despite years of research, I still have not discovered any contemporary, primary source that credits the system to Escoffier.

The survey that we have just completed indicates that large French and English kitchens operated on a brigade-style management system since at least the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In addition, these bureaucracies were highly stratified and regulated by this time, indicating that they were not recent inventions. I must be clear that I am not trying to argue that the brigade de cuisine was invented during the medieval period: the Forbidden City in Beijing, Edo Castle in Tokyo, the households of Roman imperial patricians all undoubtedly had complex bureaucracies that saw to their masters' alimentary needs during the pre-Christian period. Instead, our survey begins in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries due to availability of evidence and due to my academic training. Scholars may well find that earlier Carolingian and Capetian households maintained extensive kitchen brigades, but more research needs to be done by specialists with training in earlier manuscripts. The question of whether or not the origins of the brigade-style kitchen-management structure can be found before Escoffier is definite: it is a structure that medieval and early modern French and English great household servants would have been familiar with, though the name “brigade de cuisine” is a modern invention.

The kitchen, pantry, buttery, and other departments of French and English great households were regimented to reflect the hierarchies that existed in the outside world: unilateral hierarchies with individuals placed into departmental organizations that were centred around stratified completion of well-defined groups of tasks. Some of these tasks were arranged around the tools required for the work carried out in respective departments, although sometimes sub-departmentalized hierarchies were arranged around volumes of clerical work rather than the types of work that were carried, as in the case of the pastry and saucery sharing the same officers in the English royal household. Other times, the type of work carried out in the department, and the tools required to facilitate it, necessitated sub-departmentalization due to the practicalities of work carried out in the department. This is, for example, we almost never see the boiling house and the bakery unified into the same room: steam from boiling would cause pastries and bread to become stale. With all of the effort it took to produce boiled meats, breads, and other foods, and with extensive costs and complex provisioning strategies required for different categories of ingredients, the urge to sub-departmentalize in order to maximize begins to make more sense.

We have also seen something extraordinary when we consider our discussion on ingredients and food trends. The supposed revolution in taste that is alleged to have occurred, against which I argue in favour of gradual adoption of small groups of ingredients and trends, made no perceptible impact on kitchen management systems in this period. Our kitchen brigade, the numbers of workers included in each sub-department, and the overall tasks of each unit were highly adaptable to whatever need their associated household was experiencing. The form and function of the brigade de cuisine had already undergone centuries of change before the mid-seventeenth-century revolution in taste, so the small modifications that would have taken place during the seventeenth to twentieth centuries were continuations of the habit of adapting brigade-

style kitchen-management systems to whatever kitchen and circumstance they were required to serve. Our analysis of accounts indicated that shifts were only very gradually incorporated into day-to-day menus, offering a good explanation as to why the cooks who are alleged to have created a revolution in taste did not also revolutionize their workspaces. Indeed, great-household kitchens in England and France were already designed to incorporate shifts and changes without much disruption to the workers labouring within. Just as innovations and novelties were peppered with reserve across noble menus, the brigade de cuisine allowed the changes innovations and shifts brought to be peppered across existing labour frameworks with minimal modification of management strategies.

The other principal aspect of the brigade de cuisine that we can verify existed at this early stage is that of the independent function of each sub-department working to facilitate production of a single meal. This has not been contested by many historians, but it would seem to be an important aspect of crediting Escoffier with ushering in brigade-style management systems in kitchens. In my own experience working as a journeyman cook in numerous kitchens in Canada and Europe, the brigade de cuisine is used on a daily basis in almost every large kitchen. Every journeyman cook in Canada is taught to run a large kitchen in this manner as part of their culinary education just as I was as a culinary student, and just as I am now required to do now as a culinary-school instructor.

Further still, I have encountered a great deal of resistance to discussion of the notion that Escoffier did not invent nor institute the brigade de cuisine into professional kitchens among working cooks. The notion is so deeply woven into our professional psyche as cooks that we are willing to attribute the structure to Escoffier in haste to add historical authenticity to the system, without giving credit to the centuries of cooks who came before him and who organized

themselves in the same manner. Today the brigade de cuisine is a malleable concept, adapted to each kitchen as circumstances demand, just as it was in the past. The brigade de cuisine is, indeed, an ancient system passed from cook to cook as a way of handling the demands of large-scale cookery.

Before closing, I should add one final word about my assertion that Escoffier did not incorporate the brigade de cuisine into professional kitchens. What is a professional kitchen? Here we have been discussing culinary professionals within the context of great-household kitchens, but there is another group of cooks that have been something of an elephant in the room in this chapter: urban cook-shop cooks. They, too, were culinary professionals, but their kitchens were usually so small that they did not require an extensive brigade de cuisine, so I have largely kept consideration of their workplaces for the following chapter. We will see that most great-household cooks did not belong to the culinary guilds of London and Paris specifically because cooks', pastelers',³⁶⁰ and bakers' guilds were formed to govern public sale of associated victuals within the cities within which they were founded. As we already know, our great households maintained numerous residences in cities and the countryside, demanding that their cooks travel with the household as it moved from place to place. By nature, the great-household brigade de cuisine was designed to operate in any number of places, serving a private, residential, non-paying population which isolated the professions of great-household cook and public cook-shop cook into separate professions from a trade standpoint. We will explore this topic in much greater depth in the following chapter, but one final and relevant item will come out of the following chapter that should be mentioned here: the *Cuisiniers de Paris*, a guild founded in 1599 as a caterers' and great-household cooks' guild, mentioned the brigade de cuisine in its first

³⁶⁰ Pie-makers.

charters.³⁶¹ Returning to the notion that Escoffier incorporated the brigade de cuisine into professional kitchens, this is untrue even from the professional-kitchen viewpoint: the Parisian great-household cooks who received the city's charter to cater banquets and feasts after 1599 used the brigade that I have outlined in this chapter without ever calling it a brigade. Not only did Escoffier not do anything notable in relation to modifying the brigade de cuisine, but he also did not introduce it into professional kitchens, neither in the great household context, nor in the chartered cooks' guild context.

It is a myth that Escoffier instituted the brigade, and one that the great and honest Escoffier himself never made claim to. Instead, my professional compatriots have long sought to align the honour of our profession with historic authenticity: "We do things this way because it has always been done this way" in a nutshell. While this mindset has served cooks well for centuries before the modern period, the modern profession is evolving into one of the most dynamic, adaptable economic sectors in every region of the globe. Many famous cooks now eschew tradition and make careers out of going against the grain. It seems appropriate, then, that historians help cooks revisit many of the concepts surrounding the origins of the trade in order to give broader definition to the concepts of historical authenticity and tradition that the trade holds so dear.

To this end, I have endeavoured to be as respectful to Escoffier's memory and life's work as I can without removing the achievements of cooks who went before him. Escoffier was an honest gentleman who devoted his working career and his private life to assisting cooks in bettering themselves. While he accomplished this to such an extent that his ideas continue to guide the modern culinary profession in Canada, the United States, France, and England, great-

³⁶¹ This concept and the supporting evidence are analyzed in the following chapter.

household cooks and household officers spent much time in preceding centuries doing much the same: devising rules to govern cooks' work and professional lives. Far from taking away from Escoffier's reputation among culinary professionals, we should remember those who devised earlier, similar kitchen management systems and culinary texts that were appropriate to their own day. Doing so we begin to get a broader, deeper sense of the historical longevity of what we recognize today as the brigade de cuisine.

Chapter Six

“For th’ onoure of this citee”: Cookery Guilds in Paris and London, 1250-1600

Capulet: *Sirrah, go hire me twenty cunning cooks.*

Servant: *You shall have none ill, sir; for I'll try if they can lick their fingers.*

Capulet: *How canst thou try them so?*

Servant: *Marry sir, 'tis an ill cook that cannot lick his own fingers: therefore he that cannot lick his fingers goes not with me.*

-William Shakespeare,
Romeo and Juliet, Act IV, Scene II.

A logical place to begin looking for evidence regarding cooks and their work is cooks' guilds. Many medieval and early modern cities had one or more, and they took pains to codify working rules in professional kitchens within the regions over which they exercised control. Although a small number of great household cooks were recorded among the guildsmen of the London and Paris guilds, overwhelmingly, the London and Paris cooks' guilds focused on regulation of the trade within the public sphere; not in the private sphere. In fact, as we will see, none of the bylaws of either city's guilds pertained to private-household cookery, and wardens of guilds were powerless to enter private individuals' residences to inspect kitchens as they would within the public cook shop context. The relationship between great household cooks and public cooks' guilds has been somewhat misunderstood in the past. Although some bonds existed, regulation of culinary professionals working within the great household context was largely impossible using the legal prerogatives granted to the cooks' guilds of London and Paris.

Great household cooks and cook shop cooks shared the same trade, nominally, but their working lives sat worlds apart. Some, like Maister Jehan le cuisinier and Gautier le cuisinier, are known to have operated cook shops in Paris during the early 1300s; in 1303 Master Jehan was recorded as operating a shop at the northern city gate of Porte St. Denis, while Gautier's shop was at the inner city Place Baudoyer.¹ At almost the same time, in 1306, the domestic management texts of the French royal household record Raoul de Beaumont and Pierre de Martigny working as cooks, Raoul as the personal cook to Philip IV and Pierre as master cook to the commun.² Thus, even if we limit analysis to a single city at a single time, substantive discussion of an archetypal medieval cook is problematic. Jehan and Gautier operated their own shops with unique kitchens and staffing requirements, while even within the royal household, Raoul cooked fine dishes on a small scale specifically for the king and Pierre was in charge of a large-volume kitchen that oversaw daily foodservice to hundreds of staff and royal hangers-on.³

It is important, then, to approach the topic of medieval and early modern cooks with sensitivity to the fact that each cook was an individual responding to different demands. Generalizations about the craft are difficult to make and quickly become muddled in qualifications when tested against surviving evidence. We saw in the first chapter, for example, that roasts of game and fowl were popular centrepieces of European cookery books throughout the medieval and early modern periods. However, whether a cook of the period would regularly prepare roasts depended on the venue in which they worked and the capacity in which they were employed. The Piebakers of London and the *Rôtisseurs* of Paris were restricted from selling fowl and game roasts, the *Poulailliers* of Paris and the Cooks' Guild of London had reserved sales of

¹ Both are listed with their shops' locations in the *Registre des Métiers de Paris, 1303* listed in Nicholas de La Mare, *Traité de la Police*, Tome IV, Livre V, Titre XLV, Ch. IV (Paris: J. et P. Cot, 1729) 633.

² Archives nationales [A.N.], Paris, JJ 57 F. 49, *L'ordonnance de l'ostel le roi* [Philip IV, 1306].

³ The entire household hierarchy of the French royal household was listed in A.N. JJ 57 F. 49, *L'ordonnance de l'ostel le roi*.

cooked poultry as a primary right since their formations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively.⁴ Thus, London and Paris food shops were governed by corpora of guild ordinances that had been established in the High Middle Ages and influenced many aspects of professional culinary labour organization, even influencing what types of food cooks would regularly prepare. Far from being given a *carte blanche* to create whatever they would like, cook shops in Paris and London could only be opened by masters of the various culinary guilds who were required to adhere to guild bylaws in order to avoid prosecution.⁵

Thus, late medieval and early modern European professional cooks present an interesting set of problems when it comes to guilds. Guilds were overwhelmingly concerned with regulation of goods and services for sale to the public. However, professional cooks working in private households did not serve the public and answered to the masters and officers of the households in which they worked. Nevertheless some scholarship has asserted that both royal cooks and public cooks had to belong to their local cooks' guilds. Could the guild actually enter the royal household and inspect the kitchens to ensure that only certified masters were preparing soups and pastries in the king's kitchens? This seems like a transgression of royal power, and indeed, it surely was.

In fact, the private household cooks of Paris and London had an ambivalent, if not competitive relationship with each other between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Public cooks relied on a healthy volume of sales and were forced to jealously carve a niche for themselves within the local victualling economies. Private cooks were usually contractually linked to a master for a specified wage and did not serve the public, placing them outside guild

⁴ Although piebakers sold roasts, they had to be encased in a crust in order to qualify as a pie.

⁵ Unwin, 217.

jurisdiction. Public cooks in both cities could not sell cooked meat and bake bread in the same shop, yet those were essential elements of professional household cookery throughout the period. We also know that the English and French royal households spent much time travelling to royal residences outside the capitals and, therefore, outside the boundaries patrolled by the city guilds.⁶ There is cause to question whether royal cooks actually belonged to Paris and London cookery guilds; however, if public and private cookery were separate crafts, we do not at present understand why or how they differed.

Only minimal extracts of the registers of the London cooks have survived.⁷ The London Cooks' Hall suffered disastrous fires in 1746 and 1771 that destroyed many of the earliest rolls of the Company.⁸ In Paris, the early registers of the cookery masters have not survived, with very limited mention of cooks in the city registers of *métiers* occurring after the sixteenth century.⁹ Thus it is impossible to rely on the guilds' own registers in order to understand what types of cooks comprised city guilds.

Other archival material and primary texts can offer historians an evolving picture of city cookery guilds that were, in many ways, responding to similar problems. Surviving city bylaws, royal Charters, guild ordinances, *bans*, tax assessments, food vending ordinances, and assizes do contain surprising amounts of insight, both explicit and implicit, about how cookery guilds

⁶ Zillah Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress: The Queen's Journey into East Anglia, 1578* (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1996); Mary Hill Cole, "English and European Contexts," in *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999) 13–19. On the complex travel arrangements of the papal household, see Bartolomeo Scappi, [1570] "Letter to His Apprentice" (Book I: Sec. 45), *The Opera of Bartolomeo Scappi*, ed. Terence Scully (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008) 130–132.

⁷ I will use the term *registers* throughout this paper to refer specifically to texts such as guild membership rolls and lists of masters, valets, and apprentices that one must assume the guilds would have kept.

⁸ Alan Borg, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Cooks* (Lindley, Huddersfield, U.K.: Jeremy Mills Publishing, 2011), 45.

⁹ The Paris apprentices, valets, and masters of all guilds, were required to register in a central bureau, called the *Procureur du Roi au Châtelet*, which maintained all official registers of the city guilds of Paris. What was left of these records can be found in the Archives nationales, Paris, *Registres des jurandes et maîtrises des métiers de la ville de Paris*, Ms. 9306^a-Ms.9315.

functioned, and concerns their membership had and offer much insight into the practices and labour norms of cookery masters in both cities. Alone, neither city offers enough textual evidence to engage in a substantive analysis of culinary fraternities in isolation from other guilds. Together, London and Paris offer us enough evidence to begin engaging in a comparative analysis of relative development of late medieval and early modern culinary guild activities within the context of seeking to understand the relationship between public and private cookery masters. Paris and London were home to cookery guilds as well as royal capitals. Since many illustrious households were located in or linked to the capitals, London and Paris are primary candidates for research into domestic household craftspeople and their relationship with local trade guilds.

Part I of this chapter will begin with a survey of some of the general trends in current historiography on professional European cooks, cookery guilds, and the city guild systems of both London and Paris. While the guild system has received a great deal of attention over the past century, cooks' guilds have always remained in the background of this scholarship. By establishing a working understanding of the scope of guild authority both in London and Paris as well as the prosecutorial mechanisms that were at the guilds' disposal to enforce their prerogatives, we will begin to understand the place of cooks within their local victualling economies. If the guilds were merely honorary organizations, they would not be so important to the current discussion. If, however, the guilds had the power to create civic cookery bylaws that had some mechanism of enforcement, their existence within the cities is something that needs close attention within the context of grand household cooks. Did local guild control extend to the kitchens of grand households, and if so, how was it implemented?

In Part II we will then engage in a comparative analysis based on the surviving ordinances of the London and Paris cookery guilds. While all but a few registers and lists of guild membership have been destroyed, a small but rich body of cooks' guild bylaws have survived from Paris and London between the years 1250 and 1600. Somewhat inexplicably, these Charters have largely escaped the attention of food historians. The statutes contained in the Charters reveal a complex and cunning group of pre-modern urban artisans whose deep entrenchment in their local societies was reflected in this unique body of legislative maneuvers. A chronological, comparative analysis of innovations within the communities of cooks will help to investigate whether the themes and concerns present in cookery legislation were shared between Paris and London.

Analysis will show that, far from being consistent, cookery guilds of Paris and London maintained a complex and evolving relationship with the master cooks of local great household kitchens that would not be regularized until the early seventeenth century in Paris and not ever in London.

Part I

European Cookery Guilds Before the Fourteenth Century

European craft guilds have interested scholars for quite some time. More recent approaches to the guilds are usually based, in part, on the work of early twentieth-century scholars such as George Unwin, Etienne Martin Saint-Leon, and Emile Coornaert. Unwin, a scholar of the London Guilds, and Saint-Leon and Coornaert, historians of the French *corporations des métiers*, each produced large-scale works that sought to discuss the legal and economic

development of late medieval craft guilds. These far-reaching works included discussion of many different types of crafts and offer a foundation from which to begin to understand the role of craft guilds in regulating the economic lives of their respective cities.

George Unwin published his 1908 masterwork, *The Guilds and Companies of London*, with numerous subsequent editions into the 1960s.¹⁰ Working largely from archival sources located in a variety of British archives, Unwin stated that his objective was to offer “an outline of the continuous organic development of the guilds and companies of London from the days of Henry Plantagenet to those of Victoria, such as would serve as a starting point for more particular investigations.”¹¹ In doing so, Unwin gathered together a great diversity of archival sources that shed light on the dynamism of guilds and their ability to respond to a wide variety of socioeconomic variables. Some scholarship has argued in favour of a general, early eighteenth-century decline in guild power, especially within the textile crafts.¹² Unwin’s approach instead argued that the seeds that would eventually sprout into trade unions were, in fact, sewn by the craft guilds of the pre-modern era.¹³ In other words, Unwin’s very broad scope within his exploration of the phenomenon of craft guilds placed more emphasis on the modulation of powers as opposed to an overall decline and death of guild control. Both camps of scholars agree, however, on the central importance of guilds to the London civic economy throughout the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.

¹⁰ George Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London* (London: Methuen, 1908).

¹¹ Unwin, v.

¹² J. R. Kellett, “The Breakdown of Guild and Corporation Control over the Handicraft and Retail Trade in London,” *The Economic History Review New Series* 10.3 (1958): 381–394; Heather Swanson, “The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns,” *Past and Present* 121 (1988).

¹³ Unwin, “From Guild to Trade Union,” in *The Guilds and Companies of London* (London: Methuen, 1908) 329–365.

Unlike the guilds of London, Parisian corporations des métiers saw a definite and abrupt cessation of their activities in 1789. In a similar style to Unwin, Emile Coornaert published two narratives tracing chronological development of the French corporations des métiers over the *longue durée* in *Les corporations en France avant 1789* in 1940, and his *Les Compagnonnages en France, du Moyen Âge à nos jours* of 1966.¹⁴ Both of these works were similar to Unwin's approach to the London guilds in that Coornaert always discussed legal and economic patterns of the guilds with reference to a wide variety of different crafts. Although Coornaert's evidence was archival in nature, he and many current scholars relied heavily on Etienne Martin Saint-Leon's 1922 masterwork, *Histoire des corporations de métiers depuis leurs origines jusqu'à leur suppression en 1791*, written in Saint-Leon's capacity as archivist of the Musée social, Paris.¹⁵ His work was one of the first modern scholarly assessments of the French guilds. Saint-Leon's perspective highlighted the importance of guilds and trade protections to the economic life of Paris, but unlike later works, also included a good deal of discussion on guilds of small towns, villages, and even monastic guilds located throughout France.¹⁶ Saint-Leon's approach was one that highlighted the importance of guilds in large and small centres alike, while Coornaert was more concerned with urban guilds. Coornaert's analysis generally took place within a framework that placed greater emphasis on the centrifugal influences Parisian craft guilds had in setting an example of craft regulation in smaller centres.¹⁷

¹⁴ Emile Coornaert, *Les compagnonnages en France du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Gallimard, 1941) and *Les Corporations en France avant 1789* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968).

¹⁵ Saint-Leon, Etienne Martin. *Histoire des Corporations de Metiers Depuis leurs Origines Jusqu'à leur Suppression en 1791* (?Lorenz, 1922).

¹⁶ Etienne Martin Saint-Leon, "Origines de la corporation de métiers en France," in *Histoire des Corporations de Metiers Depuis leurs Origines Jusqu'à leur Suppression en 1791* (Paris: Lorenz, 1922) 46–62.

¹⁷ Emile Coornaert, "Corporations et elements d'administration medieval," in *Les Corporations en France avant 1789* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968) 48–52.

The phenomenon of guilds during the *longue durée* is something that more recent scholars typically divide into smaller, more manageable surveys of specific economic sectors, crafts, or themes such as training and apprenticeship. A more recent pan-European approach to guilds was Stephen Epstein's 1991 *Wage and Labour Guilds in Medieval Europe*.¹⁸ Based in part on the older, socioeconomic histories of French, English, and German guilds, Epstein produced an updated survey of European guilds focusing more on the confraternal and cultural institutions that accompanied the establishment of craft guilds. More so than earlier approaches to guilds, Epstein developed a rich panoramic survey of guilds' religious, charitable, and social activities accompanied by a more general discussion of their chronological history.¹⁹ Many of the innovations that arose in guild practices during the medieval period - granting of Charters, maintaining fraternities, grants of coats of arms - elements of guild life that Saint-Leon, Unwin, and Coornerat used as evidence of some degree of universality in guild organization, were instead used by Epstein to highlight the individuality of guilds in response to local economic circumstances.²⁰ Although he agreed with the idea that all discussion of guilds must be placed into a context that takes into account relative development of trade groups in other regions and periods, Epstein was more interested in highlighting the ease with which local guilds could manipulate their ordinances to suit local market conditions.

The only recent work to have been produced on the specific topic of culinary guilds is Alan Borg's 2011 survey of the Worshipful Company of Cooks of London.²¹ Borg's *History of the*

¹⁸ Stephen Epstein, *Wage Labour and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

¹⁹ Epstein, "Early Craft and Professional Guilds," in *Wage Labour and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) 50–101.

²⁰ Epstein, "Internal Organization," in *Wage Labour and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) 102–154.

²¹ Alan Borg, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Cooks* (Lindley, Huddersfield, U.K.: Jeremy Mills Publishing, 2011).

Worshipful Company of Cooks is an updated and much expanded work on the chronological and sociocultural history of the London Cooks' Company. His work was preceded by Frank Taverner Phillips's short 1996 chronological survey, *A Second History of The Worshipful Company of Cooks, London*.²² Both Taverner Phillips and Borg's works strove to present readers with a relatively comprehensive overview of the very scant evidence that was left by the medieval Cooks Guild of London. Both scholars used the *Letter Books of the City of London* as a foundational body of evidence; however, Borg gathered much new archival evidence in the area of the Cooks' Company activities after the seventeenth century. The greatest difference between the two works is that Borg's treatment of the later history of the Cooks' Company presents readers with a sense of the continuing importance of the company's activities, despite the gradual claw-back of all Worshipful Companies' authority in the later eighteenth century.²³ The Worshipful Company of Cooks is still in operation today and through supporting many charitable and scholarly activities related to cooks, continues to serve an important role in London's gastronomic life.

Other than Borg, very few English or French scholars have engaged the topic of cookery or victualing guilds. Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat's 1992 work, *A History of Food*, made some mention of the multiplicity of cookery guilds that sometimes existed in medieval cities.²⁴ Toussaint-Samat is the only recent scholar to mention the poultry cooks' guild of Paris, *Poulailliers*. Short of defining its work compared to that of the *Rôtisseurs*, Toussaint-Samat did not include any discussion of either guild's evolution over the *longue durée*. Terrance Scully's 1995 work, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages*, also made brief mention of professional

²² Frank Taverner Phillips, *A Second History of The Worshipful Company of Cooks* (London: Private, 1966).

²³ Borg, "The Company in Transition," in *A History of the Worshipful Company of Cooks*, 107–134.

²⁴ Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food* (Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Reference, 1992).

cooks in the final chapter of the book.²⁵ Scully confined discussion of the craft to the Middle Ages, during which time he noted the presence of a rather uncomplicated process of guild establishment and regulation of trades.²⁶ Although Scully confined his comments regarding professional cooks primarily to the cities of London and Paris, Françoise Desportes expanded the scope of discussion to consideration of victualing guilds across Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in her short essay “Food Trades”.²⁷ Desportes noted a proliferation in victualling guilds across Europe throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although Desportes’s essay is short and chronological in nature, she agreed with Scully’s general comments on the uncomplicated operation of medieval cookery guilds. Although a very short treatment of the place of cooks’ guilds within the wider panorama of alimentary history, she aptly points out that “[l]ittle documentation exists in which the cooks’ guilds of medieval Europe, and their vicissitudes or those of their members, are mentioned.”²⁸

In terms of general scholarship on the general topic of cooks, only two scholarly monographs have been published to date: Michael Symons’s *A History of Cooks and Cooking* and Bridget Henisch’s *The Medieval Cook*.²⁹ Both works are compelling scholarly approaches to food, though they are not comparable in content. Symons’s *History* is more a sociological commentary on the significance and symbolism of the act of cookery in reflecting human culture, religion, mores, social organization and even politics. As a sociologist, Symons approached cooking and its associated work not only as something that holds elements of

²⁵ Terrance Scully, “The Medieval Cook: His Training, his Place, his Craft,” in *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 1995) 238.

²⁶ Scully, 239.

²⁷ Françoise Desportes, “Food Trades,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Massimo Montanari and Jean-Louis Flandarin, trans. Albert Sonnenfeld (New York: Penguin, 2000) 275–286, Originally published as *Histoire de l’Alimentation* (Paris: Fayard, 1996).

²⁸ Scully, 238.

²⁹ Michael Symons, *A History of Cooks and Cooking* (Champaign, IL.: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Bridget Henisch, *The Medieval Cook* (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2009).

universality in terms of its importance over the long term but also as an occupation of contrasts in terms of the low social esteem placed on kitchen labourers and cookery tasks throughout history. Also wearing his sociologist's hat, Symons included ancient and modern evidence gathered mostly from the literary and folk traditions of Mesopotamian, Chinese, European, and North American origin. His notion that many elements of cookery work were comparable over vast regions and periods of time is one that, if fine-tuned to specific places and periods, is quite true. Paris and London did have many comparable elements in their culinary aesthetics throughout the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries and their cookery guilds reflected some elements of this shared culinary heritage. However, Symons's approach is very topical and sporadic and though called a history, his work is more properly described as a sociological commentary on the sociocultural significance of food providers.

Henisch's *Medieval Cook* is a fascinating survey of the role of cooks, professional and non-professional, in medieval French, English, and Italian society.³⁰ Henisch's warm and inviting style of prose moves easily through contrasts between the work of cook shop, grand household, and family cooks impressing upon readers the ingenuity of cooks in successfully navigating technological limitations of medieval food preparation. Like Symons, Henisch's approach to the topic is not one of archival inquiry but rather a pioneering attempt to synthesize European art, literature, poetry, and folklore concerning cooks into a cogent survey of culinary work throughout the late medieval period. She accomplished this through producing topical surveys of practical aspects of medieval cookery in chapters whose themes included fast food vs.

³⁰ Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Cook* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2009).

fine dining, staging a feast, or even “The Cook in Art.”³¹ She also included short discussions of religion and medicine in so far as they pertained to cookery.

Henisch’s survey was largely based on very short explanatory passages of thematic topics, each headed with a subtitle every few pages leading to a slightly disjointed narrative. In terms of the differences between private household and public cook shop cooks, she was careful to separate the work of royal household and cook-shop cooks, essentially categorizing grand household cooks as fine dining cooks and cook-shop cooks as much less esteemed, even regarded with a measure of suspicion in literature of the period.³² Henisch did not present any primary evidence concerning cookery guilds of medieval Europe and presented their particularities as rather uncomplicated noting,

The life of a master chef in a royal household was worlds apart from that of a short-order cook with a stall on some busy street but, at least in the later medieval period, there was one common thread to link the two together. Each, in order to practice his craft, had to be a member of a professional organization, a local Cooks’ Guild. The one in Paris had been established in 1268, and the recorded activities of two fraternities of cooks in London can be traced throughout the following century.³³

This research somewhat departs from Henisch on the topic of cookery guilds. Henisch did not set out to present a work focused on primary evidence associated with the guilds, so it is unfair to directly compare her approach to one focused on guild statues. However, her conclusion that royal household cooks had to belong to local guilds is one that I question.

As we know, guilds were forced to limit their power to London and Paris proper. However, many medieval and early modern monarchs maintained residences outside the capitals. As well, since the ancient rolls of the Worshipful Company Cooks and the *Rôtisseurs* of Paris

³¹Henisch, “On the Edge: The Cook in Art,” *The Medieval Cook*, 164–202.

³²Henisch, “Professionals vs. The Rest,” *The Medieval Cook*, 19–20.

³³Henisch, 20.

have not survived, the only lists of early cooks we have are those in *Letter Books of the City of London* and a very limited number mentioned in *Livre des Métiers*. The fourteenth-century cooks listed in *Letter Books*, as we have established, were freemen of the City of London but not necessarily guild members, and none were listed as working in the royal household; those listed by Boileau in *Livre* were public cooks like Master Jehan, the cook of Porte St. Denis and Gautier, the cook of Place Baudoyer, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.³⁴ Of those cooks, none can so far be traced to the royal household. Although not conclusive evidence, the *Charter* of the *Rôtisseurs* of 1258, to be examined shortly, made no mention of household cooks.³⁵ In fact, it was wholly concerned with regulating cooks who sold food to the public from shops. In addition, since guilds were institutions that were erected through the authority of the royal household, it seems unlikely that the cooks of the royal kitchen would be subordinate to external guilds that held their Charters at the monarch's pleasure. *Poissonniers* was the only thirteenth-century guild that we can directly associate the royal cooks with, and in that case, it was as governors with the duty of convening the jury of master *Poissonniers*.³⁶ After the

³⁴ “*Registre des Métiers de Paris, 1303*,” La Mare, T. IV, 633. The other cooks mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, Raoul de Beaumont and Pierre de Martigny, cooks to the royal household, were taken from the *1306 Ordinance* of the household of Philip IV, Archives nationales [A.N.], Paris, JJ 57 F. 49, “*L’ordonnance de l’ostel le roi*” [Philip IV, 1306].

³⁵ La Mare dates the foundation of *Rôtisseurs* to 1258 based on the dates found in *Livre Vert*, one of the *Books of Colour* that were a group of volumes in which the clerks of the *Grand Châtelet* recorded extracts from various procedural transactions involving the guilds of Paris, La Mare, T.III, 212.

³⁶ [1268] *Statute des Poissonniers*: “Article XV: *Li maistres queuz le Roy prent et eslist les iiij preudeshomes du mestier devant dit, et les met et oste à sa volenté, et leur fait jurer seur sains que il tretout le poisson que li Rois aura mestier, ou la Roine, ou leur enfans, ou cil qui poisson ont par pris, priseront bien et léaument, ausi pour ceus qui le prisent come pour les marchans; et li prevoz de Paris fait jurer iceus iiij homes, seur sains, que il le mestier devant dit garderont bien et loiaument en la manière desus devisée, et que se il i trevent poisson porri ou mauvès, que il le feront ruer en Saine, et que il tout iiij, ou li un, au mains trois jors en la semaine, c’est à savoir, le mercredi, le vendre et le sèmedi en charnage, et en quaresme, chascun jour, iront visiter et cerchier toutes les pierres aus poissonniers, et touz les lieux que il sauront ou conmanderont, que mauveis poisson soit, par leur serement; et se il le treuve mauvès, il le doit faire ruer en Saine, si come il est dit pardesus.*”, [1268] “*Statute des Poissonniers*” *Le livre des Métiers d’Étienne Boileau*, ed. René de Lespinasse et François Bonnardot (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1879), 217.

thirteenth century, the royal and noble cooks of Paris are not mentioned in any Charters until their own guild was founded in 1599.

The current study will offer a survey of the Parisian and London cookery guilds in a style similar to the one recommended by Unwin: a more particular investigation into the relative chronological developments that occurred in the Parisian and London cookery guilds between 1250 and 1600. Although Borg's survey of the London cooks is a benchmark in the introduction of culinary guild inquiry into historiography, its scope of commentary was limited mostly to London. Scholars have not yet engaged the Parisian culinary guilds in this manner, and it is still uncertain whether guilds had any role in royal and grand household kitchens. The cookery guild Charters of London and Paris offer historians hundreds of statutes that reflect the goals, ambitions, and concerns held by the London and Parisian cooks. The Charters were uniquely designed to complement late medieval professional culinary work and to offer controls and standards that public cooks were expected to follow. Guild Charters were reissued, adapted, and amended numerous times throughout the late medieval and early modern periods, offering historians the ability to follow some of the concerns and objectives of the guilds as they modified to suit contemporary shifts in city victualing economies.

Before assessing the Charters, it is imperative to survey the early history of both city guild systems. Although we do know that culinary guilds existed in both Paris and London throughout the period under discussion here, there has not yet been scholarly work on the methods by which cooks' guilds enforced their bylaws. If the guilds worked on an honour system, then their Charters may not have had much influence in shaping professional cooks' activities. If, however, there was a mechanism of policing and legally enforcing their power, then guild Charters could

have had a great deal of influence over the craftspeople of both cities. At present, however, the guilds' ability to enforce their bylaws are somewhat taken for granted.

The High Middle Ages marked a revival and redefinition of the craft and trade guild system that arose in many Imperial Roman cities and towns.³⁷ By the fourteenth century, large cities such as London, Paris, Venice, and Florence already had strong, ancient traditions of guilds for bakers, masons, carpenters, cloth workers, and various merchant's guilds.³⁸ Even smaller cities such as York, Dublin, Siena, Toulouse, Rouen, Marseilles, Worms, Augsburg and many others, had such marketplace competition that trade monopolies, oversights, and protections were necessary in order to regulate crafts that represented significant volumes of local trade.³⁹

Most scholars indicate that the craft guilds of late medieval Europe arose out of or in parallel to the various parish fraternal organizations that existed much earlier in both France and England. Saint-Léon noted that early French confraternities were often founded through not only local parishes but also bishops' courts, seigneurial courts, and even monastic chapters.⁴⁰ He noted that early in the Middle Ages, many craftsmen across France were forming local associations of free craftsmen (*artisans libres*) who came together in order to form bodies whose interests centred on labourers' concerns as well as social and religious activities.⁴¹ By the mid-thirteenth-century, the abbot of the Flemish abbey of St. Trudo, Guillaume de Ryckel, oversaw a local community of free masters that included a mixture of trades between 1249 and 1272: five cooks, two cloth workers, two tailors, two bakers, and two brewers.⁴² In much the same way, the early parish guilds of London were open to members of the parish, often without regard to their

³⁷ Epstein, "Roman and Early Medieval Guilds," *Wage Labour and Guilds in Medieval Europe*, 10–49

³⁸ Epstein, 50–101.

³⁹ Epstein, 50–101.

⁴⁰ St. Leon, 59–66.

⁴¹ St. Leon, 63.

⁴² St. Leon, 63.

craft or occupation.⁴³ In the Bread Street Ward of London, for example, guilds are known to have existed at the Church of All Hallows, home to the Guild of Corpus Christi in 1349; the Church of St. John the Evangelist, home to St. John's Guild in 1484; and St. Matthew's Church, which was home to the Guild of St. Mary in 1345 and the Guild of St. Katherine in 1365.⁴⁴ In the Aldersgate Ward, later home to the Cooks' Hall, the local parish of St. Botolph hosted three guilds: the Guild of the Holy Trinity and the Guild of St. Katherine in 1378 as well as the Guild of Sts. Fabian and Sebastian in 1381.⁴⁵ The religious patronages of these guilds, despite being mentioned in locations where we know victualling trades were prominent, are not associated with saints that are obviously connected with victuallers. Since there are virtually no surviving texts associated with the early parish guilds, it remains uncertain whether any were direct antecedents of later craft guilds. It is likely, however, that the religious and fraternal nature that some later craft guilds adopted was modelled on the religious and social activities of the earlier parish guilds.

In fourteenth-century London, cooks were newcomers to a guild scene, already crowded with older and more powerful Chartered guilds. Known as the *Great Twelve*, established guilds existed for the mercers, grocers, drapers, fishmongers, skimmers, saddlers, cordwainers, butchers, tailors, goldsmiths, woolmongers, vintners.⁴⁶ Although membership in the Great Twelve did not bring any notable benefits to members, their ancient statuses were revered and members often occupied the upper civic offices of the City of London.⁴⁷ In a similar manner, *Six corps de*

⁴³ Unwin, 24–27.

⁴⁴ Unwin, "Appendix A," 369. Unwin gathered the names of these parish guilds from bequests mentioned in wills. Little else is known of the individual guilds other than their names.

⁴⁵ Unwin, "Appendix A," 369.

⁴⁶ Unwin notes that, around the fourteenth century, the Great Twelve were already being recognized and summoned to adjudicate on matters relating to trade. The Great Twelve Worshipful Companies included the trades already mentioned on this page, Vintners. Unwin, 77.

⁴⁷ Unwin, 76.

marchands of Paris was a sort of over-body of the corporations des métiers that acted as associations through which masters of similar crafts could represent their interests and pool their influence.⁴⁸ The bodies included in *Six corps* were the cloth workers (*drapiers*), apothecaries and victuallers (*épiciers*), merchants (*merciers*), furriers (*fourreurs*), headpiece-makers (*bonnetiers*), and smiths (*orfèvres*).⁴⁹ Each Chartered guild was joined under the body within the *corps* with which their commercial interests most closely allied.⁵⁰ Each of the *Six corps* maintained its presence in Paris throughout the *Ancien Régime*, adding and removing member guilds as they waxed and waned.⁵¹ As in the case of the Great Twelve, the chief privilege of *Six corps* was the right of each company to cast a vote in Paris's municipal elections.⁵²

It was out of this economic climate that the cooks' companies of London and Paris were established. While each guild possessed its own hierarchy of masters and apprentices, the guilds themselves existed within a larger craft guild hierarchy within which they ranked relatively low. One of the earliest surviving British *Ordinance* pertaining to cooks, the *Ordinance of the Cooks and Pastelers*, passed in 1378 under Richard II, did not offer cooks any special privileges but instead set a list of prices for meat and poultry sale.⁵³ The *Ordinance* makes no mention of a guild or even quality controls but rather was concerned with setting prices for market goods, likely as a way of ensuring a reasonable income for guild members.⁵⁴ Although the *Ordinance*

⁴⁸ Unwin, 76; St. Leon, 399.

⁴⁹ Unwin, 76.

⁵⁰ St. Leon, 399–409.

⁵¹ St. Leon, 399–409.

⁵² St. Leon, 406.

⁵³ "Ordinance of the Cooks and Pastelers, or Piebakers (2 Richard II. A.D. 1378). Letter-Book H. fol. xcix in "Memorials: 1378," in *Memorials of London and London Life: In the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries*, ed. H. T. Riley (London: City of London, 1868), 415–428.

⁵⁴ "The Ordinance of the Cooks, ordered by the Mayor and Aldermen, as to divers flesh-meat and poultry, as well roasted as baked in pasties: the best roast pig, for 8d. Best roast goose, 7d. Best roast capon, 6d. Best roast hen, 4d. Best roast pullet, 2½ d. Best roast rabbit, 4d. Best roast river mallard, 4½ d. Best roast dunghill mallard, 3½ d. Best roast teal, 2½ d., Best roast snyte, 1½ d. Five roast larks, 1½ d. Best roast wodecok, 2½ d. Best roast partridge, 3½ d.. Best roast plover, 2½ d. Best roast pheasant, 13d. Best roast curlew, 6½ d. Three roast thrushes, 2 d. Ten roast

did not mention the presence of a Cooks' Guild, it does offer insight into who was trying to regulate cooks: the city council. The preamble of the *Ordinance* stated that it was "ordered by the Mayor and Aldermen, as to divers flesh-meat and poultry, as well roasted as baked in pasties."⁵⁵ Thus it seems that in London, at least, the initiative to regulate and order cooks came from the aldermen, and possibly citizens themselves, as opposed to the cooks actively forming a confraternity. Since the early manuscripts of the London Cooks Company have not survived, we can never be truly certain when and in what form the Cooks' Guild was established.

In thirteenth-century Paris, the link to royal authority was clearer, earlier. Each officially recognized guild that operated within the city limits of Paris had to be registered with the clerks of the *Grand Châtelet* of Paris as early as 1268, when Boileau compiled *Livre des métiers*. The *Grand Châtelet* was one of the most important bureaucratic centres of Paris throughout the *Ancien Régime* in terms of administering royal justice. The French kings held Paris as a personal fief (the *Vicomté de Paris*), so that at the top of the civil hierarchy, even above the Provost of Paris, was the king as lord of the royal domains of France. Although rights and privileges had been meted out to various civic bodies, guilds, and officers, each power broker within the civic hierarchy of Paris held their office at the king's pleasure.⁵⁶ It is unknown whether the original impetus for forming *Rôtisseurs*, *Talemeliers*, or *Oubliers* into guilds came from themselves or whether they were forced from within the Grand Châtelet. Whatever the case, membership within the city guild system allowed Parisian guilds access to one very crucial element of royal power: the Paris city police.

finches, 1 d. Best roast heron, 18 d. Best roast bittern, 20 d. Three roast pigeons, 2½ d. Ten eggs, one penny. For the paste, fire, and trouble upon a capon, 1½ d. For the paste, fire, and trouble upon a goose, 2d. The best capon baked in a pasty, 8 d. The best hen baked in a pasty, 5d. The best lamb, roasted, 7d.", *Ordinance of the Cooks and Pastelers, or Piebakers* (2 Richard II. A.D. 1378), Riley, 415–428.

⁵⁵ *Ordinance of the Cooks and Pastelers, or Piebakers* (2 Richard II. A.D. 1378), Riley, 415–428.

⁵⁶ In the introduction to the *Livre*, Boileau noted that the monarch was above the entire guild system. The monarch was the primary fount of power by which the entire guild structure and other civic offices held legitimacy.

Most Parisian guilds, throughout the *Ancien Régime*, relied on the police (*bailliage*) of Paris to enforce guild ordinances.⁵⁷ The *bailliage de Paris* was the body within civic bureaucracy, subordinate to the Provost of Paris, through which royal justice was dispensed.⁵⁸ The bailiffs of the *bailliage* acted in much the same way as modern police and court marshals in that they were the branch of royal power that was responsible for responding to civil complaints, investigations, and subpoenaing citizens when their presence was required at court.⁵⁹ Also subordinate to the Provost of Paris was the Provost of City Merchants (*Prévôt des Marchands de Paris*), an office developed in the thirteenth century that was responsible for judicial oversight of the entire city guild and market system.⁶⁰ Since the Provost of Merchants operated under the auspices of the Provost of Paris, as did the *bailliage de Paris*, guild policing was quite straightforward: Citizens would make a complaint, city bailiffs were summoned to investigate the matter. If there was cause to proceed further, individuals were taken into the bailiff's custody and conveyed to the courts of the Grand Châtelet. While the system was highly complex, even by thirteenth-century standards, the powers that were being administered and subdivided were essentially the basic seigneurial powers of the *Vicomté de Paris*, though subdivided in order to complement the complex Parisian economy. Although the system was subject to minor changes, many of the offices and rights remained in place throughout the *Ancien Régime*.⁶¹ The offices were abolished during the French Revolution.⁶²

⁵⁷ Charles Desmaze, *Les métiers de Paris d'après les ordonnances du Chatelet avec sceaux des artisans* (Geneva: Slatkine-Megaritotis Reprints, 1975) 30–33.

⁵⁸ Desmaze, 14–20.

⁵⁹ Desmaze, 14–20.

⁶⁰ Desmaze, 34.

⁶¹ Coornaert, “L’abolition”, *Les Corporations en France avant 1789* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968) 165–178.

⁶² The last *Prévôt de Paris*, Anne Gabriel de Boulainvilliers, was executed in 1793 during the Reign of Terror. Earlier, in 1789, Jacques de Flesselles, last *Prévôt des marchands* de Paris, was executed on 14 July 1789 by a mob that stormed the *hôtel de ville* seeking retribution against officials most directly associated with royal administration.

The *Talemeliers* (bakers) were an exception. The *Talemeliers* of Paris were charged with providing Parisians all types of baked bread within the City of Paris.⁶³ Instead of being under the control of the officials of the Grand Châtelet, they were instead united as a guild under the direct control of the royal household throughout the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁴ Since bread was such an important staple of the late medieval and early modern Parisian diet, successive monarchs maintained control over city bakers, bread prices, baking apprenticeships, and ingredient purity through the office of *Grand panetier de France*.⁶⁵ Sometimes confused as the king's chief baker, the *Grand panetier* was, in fact, a hereditary office of high prestige held by a handful of noble families throughout the *Ancien Régime*.⁶⁶ Through this officer monarchs were able to implement their own prerogatives in regard to the production and sale of bread by maintaining ultimate say in those who held the offices of master of the bakers' guild and what ordinances the guild maintained.⁶⁷ Ordinances, guild masters, bread prices all had to be approved

⁶³ Coornaert, *Les Corporations en France avant 1789*, 42.

⁶⁴ Toussaint-Samat, "The Ritual of Becoming a Master Baker," in *A History of Food*, 221; Anselm de Guibours, "*Histoire généalogique et chronologique des GrandsPannetiers de France*," *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, et des grands officiers de la couronne*, T.VIII (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires Associez, 1733) 603. De Gibours's eighteenth-century treatise on the officers of the royal household, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, still accepted as a masterwork on the French royal household officials and compiled from the royal archives of France before they were dispersed during the French Revolution, listed entries for *Grand panetiers de France* dating from the thirteenth century until the office was suppressed by Louis XIV in 1711.

⁶⁵ A good survey of the office and its holders can be found in the old but still revered survey of the officers of the royal household found in Anselm de Guibours, "*Histoire généalogique et chronologique des GrandsPannetiers de France*," in *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, et des grands officiers de la couronne*, T.VIII (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires Associez, 1733) 603–682.

⁶⁶ All holders of the office held some level of nobility or gentility. Earlier holders included the knight Hughes d'Athies who held the office in 1224, by 1252 Mathieu, Vidame de Chartes held the office, in 1403 the office was back in the possession of the d'Athies family who were by this time Lords of Moyencourt, and by the time the office was suppressed in the eighteenth century, it was held by generations of the illustrious Dukes of Brissac, de Guibours, 603-682.

⁶⁷ "*Li Rois a doné a son mestre panetier la mestrise des Talemeliers, tant come il li plaira, et la petite justice et les amendes des Talemeliers et des joindres et des vallès.*" "Talemeliers," in tome I, section I, article XXI, *Le livre des Métiers d'Étienne Boileau*, ed. René de Lespinasse et François Bonnardot (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1879) 7.

by the *Grand panetier* who, like the Provost of Paris, held their office at the monarch's pleasure.⁶⁸ Although the office was ancient, it was relevant and powerful throughout our period.

Just as in Paris, the cooks of fourteenth-century London were not responsible for directly apprehending tradespeople who violated guild ordinances. Instead, the Court of Common Council of London, a body comprised of the mayor, aldermen, and their proxies, summoned craftspeople to trials by means of bailiffs when the quality of their products or services came into question.⁶⁹ This was not altogether uncommon in medieval London, especially among victuallers. *Letter Books of the City of London* are filled with a large number of cases of cooks being accused of selling unwholesome food. Many of the cases, follow a sequence similar to one brought against cook Henry de Passelewe by a customer who purchased rotten capons in January, 1351:

Pleas holden before Richard de Kyslyngbury, Mayor, the Aldermen, and John Note and William de Wircestre, Sheriffs of London, on the Wednesday next before the Feast of St. Hilary [13 January], in the 24th year of the reign of King Edward the Third.—

Henry de Passelewe, cook, was attached to make answer to the Commonalty of the City of London, and to Henry Pecche, who prosecutes for the city and for himself, in a plea of contempt and trespass; and as to which the said Henry makes plaint that he, the same Henry Pecche, on the Tuesday next before the Feast of St. Hilary, now last past, bought of the aforesaid Henry de Passelewe, cook, at the Stokkes, for himself and his two companions, two capons baked in a pasty; and that he, the same Henry Pecche, and his companions, being hungry, did not perceive that one of the said two capons was putrid and stinking, until they had eaten almost the whole thereof; whereupon they opened the second capon, which he produced here in Court, and found it to be putrid and stinking, and an abomination to mankind; to the scandal, contempt, and disgrace, of all the City, and the manifest peril of the life of the same Henry and his companions; and this he makes offer to prove.

And the same Henry de Passelewe came, and denied the contempt etc.; and he acknowledged that he had sold such two capons to the aforesaid Henry Pecche; but he said that at the time when he sold the same, the said capons were good, well-flavoured, fitting, and proper, and he requested that examination might be made thereof by men of his trade.

And that it might be known whether the same capons, at the time of his selling the same, were putrid and stinking, or good and fitting, precept was given to the serjeant, to summon here eight, or six, good and trusty men of the trade aforesaid, to certify the Court as to the matters aforesaid. And forthwith there came Philip le Keu, JohnWynge, William Bisshop, Walter Colman, Peter le Keu, and William

⁶⁸ De Guibours, 603.

⁶⁹ Unwin, 77.

Miles, cooks, of Bredstrete, John Chapman, cook, of Milkstrete, and Richard le Keu, of Ismongerelane; who, after seeing and inspecting the capon aforesaid, here present in Court, said upon their oath, that the same capon, at the time of the sale thereof, was stinking and rotten, and baneful to the health of man.

Therefore it was awarded, that the said Henry de Passelewe should have sentence of the pillory, there to remain for the space of one league's journey in the day; and that the capon, which had been so found to be putrid and stinking, should be carried before the said Henry de Passelewe on his way to the pillory; and that at the pillory proclamation should be made to all the people there present, as to the reason for the sentence so awarded against the same Henry de Passelewe.⁷⁰

De Passelewe's case revealed the mechanism by which the courts made decisions in cases where trade expertise was required: the bench summoned a panel of craftsmen—in this case cooks that operated shops in Bread Street, Milk Street, and Ironmonger Lane—by means of the court's sergeant, and commissioned them to inspect the capons and state, under oath, whether or not the capons were rotten. The case offers no insight as to whether the precautions were taken to inquire about the relationship between the defendant and the cooks' jury. However, this mechanism of empanelling city cooks allowed the court to secure convictions with legitimacy in a broad range of victualing cases. Between 1351 and 1382, the *Letter Books* mention four other cases in which cooks were empaneled to decide on cases of rotten victuals.⁷¹ In the last of the

⁷⁰ "Memorials: 1351," in *Memorials of London and London Life: In the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries*, ed. H. T. Riley (London: Corporation of the City of London, 1868) 266; Also mentioned briefly in Taverner Phillips, 4–5; Borg, 175.

⁷¹ [1365] "John Russelle, poulterer," *Letter-Book G* (39 Edward III, 1365), fol. CXXXVIII involves the case of a poulterer, or raw poultry vendor, who was found guilty of attempting to sell "thirty-seven pigeons unfit for human food" and was found guilty upon the testimony of "John Vygerous and Thomas de Wynchestre, pyebakeres, John Wenge, Geoffrey Colman, John Lawe, Thomas Colman, and Richard de Daventre, cooks" who "were sworn to examine the pigeons, and they found them unfit for human food." Russelle was sentenced to the pillory and to have his rotten victuals burned in front of him. [1374] "Bochers," *Letter-Book G* (48 Edward III, 1374), fol. CCCXXV was a case against a number of butchers of the city charged with selling rotten meat. The court empaneled "Divers cooks and good men of the City, as well as cooks of Bredstrete, sworn to examine the meat and report thereon, viz., Henry atte Boure, cook, John Bernes, Adam Hermyte, cook, John Biryngham, James Scot, cook, and John Aubrey, and the following cooks of Bredstret, viz., Thomas Colman, Geoffrey Colman, Robert Multone, John Heurl' [*sic*], John Colman, and Thomas Ballard. ("They find that all the meat was unfit for human food, except the meat of Henry Asshelyn"), and it appears one cook, John West, may also have been caught up in the affair, as his case is appended to that of the butchers in the *Letter Book*. [1381] "Punishment of the Pillory, for exposing putrid pigeons for sale," *Letter-Book H* (4 Richard II, 1381), fol. CXXXIII was the case of William Fot, poulterer, who was found guilty of selling eighteen pigeons "putrid and stinking, and an abomination to mankind". The court then gave "[p]recept . . . to John Botkesham, Serjeant, to summon here four cooks of Bredestret, to inform the Court whether the said pigeons were putrid on the Thursday aforesaid or not. Which cooks, namely, Thomas Coleman, Geoffrey Coleman, Robert Multone, and John Hurlle, being sworn, said upon their oath, that the said pigeons on the Thursday aforesaid were putrid, and unwholesome for man." [1382] "Punishment of the Pillory for importing putrid fish respited, the

five cases, the court notary even described the sentence of pillory accompanied by burning of offending victuals as being “the custom of the City in like cases.”⁷² Thus, by the late fourteenth century, the City of London had well-developed, even customary sentences for cases in which victualling craftspersons were found guilty. Since foodborne illness posed a direct threat to the health of any who patronized such unscrupulous masters, it is apparent that the city fathers were eager to mete out very public, conspicuous sentences.

As well, the speed with which juries of cooks could be empaneled would have been crucial to the legitimacy of the sentence. Especially in cases of supposed rotten victuals, the ability to summon a panel of cooks with utmost speed would be necessary in order to inspect the meat before further degradation occurred. The fourteenth-century jury that heard the case of William Fot, a poulterer accused of trying to sell eighteen rotten chickens in 1381, notes that the cooks were empanelled to inspect the chickens on the day the accusation was made, stating that they “said upon their oath, that the said pigeons on the Thursday aforesaid were putrid, and unwholesome for man.”⁷³ A further, earlier case taken from *Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London* resulted in the acquittal of cook Henry de Walmesford, who was accused by priest Robert de Pokebrok of selling veal that was “stinking and abominable to the human race”

offender being a servant of the King,” *Letter-Book H* (6 Richard II, 1382), fol. CLIV was the case of Reynald atte Chaumbre, who imported seven thousand herrings and eight hundred mackerel that “seemed and appeared to be corrupt and unwholesome for man”; the court attached “John Lowe, Geoffrey Coleman, John Westerham, Reynald Coleman, and Robert Multone, cooks, John Filiol, fishmonger, and six other true and lawful men of the same city, having full knowledge of such kind of victuals.” The jury found Chaumbre guilty and condemned him to the extraordinary sentence of “the pillory for six market-days, there to remain for one hour each day; and that the same herrings and mackerel should be burnt beneath him, by reason of his falsity and deceit aforesaid, as is the custom of the City in like cases.” Also see Borg, 175–176 and Taverner Phillips, 4–6 for brief outlines of the cases.

⁷² [1382] “Punishment of the Pillory for importing putrid fish respited, the offender being a servant of the King,” in *Letter-Book H* (6 Richard II, 1382), fol. CLIV.

⁷³ [1381] “Punishment of the Pillory, for exposing putrid pigeons for sale”, *Letter-Book H* (4 Richard II, 1381), fol. CXXXIII.

in 1355.⁷⁴ Fot and de Walmesford's trials, and especially the speed at which the court proceeded with the cases, demonstrate the serious threat rotten victuals posed to urban populations that relied on their local cooks, butchers, grocers, and bakers for the bulk of their nourishment. Rotten food threatened all citizens making the necessity of a quick, efficient, and public judicial process all the more important. By publicly shaming the guilty, the city fathers were sending a signal that not only that offenders would be punished, but that officials sat in vigilant wait for unscrupulous victuallers.

The cooks of London and Paris emerged from the fourteenth century as bodies of craftspeople that were recognized by city governments and courts as distinct from other victualing trades in the city. They were important enough to regulate by means of Charters, assizes, and tailor-made judicial processes that all worked to normalize many of the unique demands that late medieval urban public cookery required. Further, cooks' companies were well integrated into larger hierarchies of local craft guilds, including Six Corps and the Great Twelve, through which the cooks likely built networks of patronage and alliance. These external hierarchies reflected the late medieval socio-cultural, scholastic habit of placing all things into hierarchies and orders of magnitude. The cooks either carved out their own niche within local guild and civic hierarchies or they were placed in them from above. Whatever the case, all guilds in London and Paris were inextricably linked to these structures of external control and governance, to greater and lesser degrees. The masters and clerks of each guild were responsible to their members for navigating these networks efficiently. As we will see, having a strong presence within the city would become all the more important in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

⁷⁴ [1355] 'Roll A 7: 1354–55', *Calendar of the plea and memoranda rolls of the city of London: volume 1: 1323–1364* (1926), pp. 241–257.

Evolution of Victualling Guilds and Their Spheres of Control

The primary sources that we have engaged to this point come from a variety of official pronouncements: assizes, court documents, registers of freemen cooks and so on. While these sources are crucial to understanding the form and nature of control cities placed on cooks, they are not guild records, properly speaking. They do not record the activities of the cookery guilds of London and Paris so much as they reflect recognition on the part of the courts of Paris and London that the occupation of cook was one that was distinct from other occupations. While we have been discussing cookery guilds in general thus far, it is important to discuss their individual evolution over time. The cooks of London and Paris were far from monolithic; over the centuries many forces came together to act on urban cooks that we can see reflected in the oscillations that guilds underwent.

The most lucid example of division of cooks into smaller guilds based on culinary specialties comes from Paris. When the provost of Paris, Etienne Boileau, compiled *Livre des métiers* in 1268, there were four major cookery guilds in Paris: bakers (Talemeliers), pastry cooks (Oubliers), cooks (Rôtisseurs, Oyers) and poultry cooks (*Poulailliers*).⁷⁵ Two minor companies also existed, but they did not have the status and Charters of a fully formed guild. The minor victualling companies were named the *regratiers de pain, sel, et autre denrées*, who sold bread purchased from bakers, salt, cheese, and other foodstuffs, and the *regratiers de fruit*, who sold fruit, fruit preserves, and vegetables.⁷⁶ The major difference between the cookery guilds and the minor companies was that the cookery guilds actually created food, while the minor

⁷⁵ Boileau, *Talemeliers & Oubliers*, tome I: I; *Rôtisseurs oyers*, I:LXIX; *Poulailliers* I:LXX; *Regratiers de pain*, I:IX; *Regratiers de fruit*, I:X.

⁷⁶ Boileau, *Regratiers de pain*, II:IX; *Regratiers de fruit*, II:X.

companies, the *regratiers*, sold groceries and bread or cooked dishes that had been purchased for resale in their shops.

Dividing crafts into smaller guilds based on subspecialties seems to have been a normal practice of the *Vicomté de Paris*, possibly to prevent the build up of monopolies within specific trades. The fish merchants are an interesting example. They were divided into at least three guilds in the *Livre: Pêcheurs de la Seine* (fishermen of the Seine River), *Marchands de poisson de mer* (merchants of saltwater fish), (*Poissonniers*) (fishermen and merchants of freshwater fish).⁷⁷ Interestingly, the freshwater fish merchants of Paris were under the mastership of the king's master cook under article xv of the 1268 Charter, which stated that the jury of master *poissonniers* was invoked under the authority of "the master cooks of the king," and that it was the king's cooks that "shall identify and enlist the four gentlemen jury members of the said mystery [*Poissonniers*], and they shall convene and meet at the royal cook's desire."⁷⁸ In this very powerful position, the king's master cooks were charged with convening and approving the jury of master *Poissonniers*, as well as additionally being granted the right to take fish required by their office with the fine of 20p.s. assessed upon *Ordinance* violators.⁷⁹ Inexplicably, the royal cooks were not given charge of the *Rôtisseurs* or *Poulailliers*.

The zest that successive medieval and early modern provosts of Paris divided trades into smaller and more finite guilds, especially relative to the case of London, might possibly be linked to the population disparity that existed between the two cities throughout the period. Urban historian Vanessa Harding noted that London likely had a population of around 70-80,000

⁷⁷ Boileau, *Pêcheurs de la Seine* I:XCIX; *Marchands de poisson de mer* I:CI; *Poissonniers* I:C.

⁷⁸ Boileau, *Poissonniers* I:C, art. XV. "Li mestres queuz le Roy prent et enlist les iiii preudeshomes du mestier devant dit [*Poissonniers*], et les met et oste a sa volenté."

⁷⁹ Boileau, *Poissonniers* I:C, art. XII also reserves the king's master cooks' right to take whatever fish he should chose at whatever time he should desire upon punishment of 20 Paris sols to be half for the *commun profist* of the masters of the guild.

before the Black Death, and did not recover to such levels until after the 1560s.⁸⁰ By 1600, Harding notes, London's population had swelled to around 200,000.⁸¹ However, comparing the cases of early modern London and Paris she states,

The evidence for Paris indicates a much larger medieval population, but a more complex pattern of growth and change in the early modern period. Far from a figure of around 200,000 in 1500, it is suggested that Paris's population rose quite sharply to 250-300,000 by the middle of the sixteenth century. If this is true, Paris was then about four times the size of London.⁸²

Since guilds were merchant corporations, demographics did seem to play a role in influencing the number of guilds that could exist. Larger populations provided greater market base for individuals to make a living out of more finite trades, as in the case of the fishmongers. Likewise, by the 1260s, there was enough demand for pastries locally that it was economically feasible to have a separate guild for the *Oubliers* (Pastry Cooks) and the *Talemeliers* (Bakers). Smaller, more finite guilds were also partially the result of practical concerns. In the cookery trades, some of these divisions likely arose out of the different tools used in various cookery situations. The *Rôtisseurs* would have relied on an open hearth, stoves, spits, pots and pans in order to roast meat on a spit while the *Oubliers* and *Talemeliers* would have relied on closed ovens, and tools such as peels, kneading tubs, scales and other trade-specific tools in order to bake pastries and bread.

⁸⁰ Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 14. Harding based these figures on the work of B.M.S. Campbell, J.A. Galloway, D. Keene, and M. Murphy, “A Medieval City and its Grain Supply: Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region c. 1300,” *Historical Geography Research Paper Series* (London, 1993), 11.

⁸¹ Harding based these demographics on her previous article: Harding, “The Population of London, 1550–1700: A Review of the Published Evidence,” *London Journal* 15 (1990), 111–128.

⁸² Harding, 15. These figures are based on J. Jacquart, “Le poids démographique de Paris et de l'Île de France au XVI^e siècle”, *Annales de démographie historique* (1980), 87–96.

<u><i>Maison du Roi</i></u>			
<u>Cookery guilds of Paris, 1450:</u>			
<u><i>Grand Panetier de France</i></u>		<u><i>Prévôt de Paris</i></u>	
<i>Talemeliers</i>	est. c. 1100s	<i>Rôtisseurs</i>	est. 1258
		<i>Oubliers</i>	pre 1268
		<i>Poulailliers</i>	pre 1268
<u>Selected <i>banale</i> (minor) victualing companies of Paris, 1450:</u>			
<u><i>Cuisiniers du Roi</i></u>		<u><i>Prévôt de Paris</i></u>	
<i>Poissonniers</i>	pre 1268	<i>Regratiers de pain</i>	pre 1268
		<i>Regratiers de fruit</i>	pre 1268

Table 1: Victualing guilds and minor companies of Paris in 1450.

The cooks, bakers, and pastry cooks' guilds of thirteenth-century Paris would not maintain their monopolies forever. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw a relative explosion in cookery guild proliferation likely linked, in part, to the intense demographic expansion of the city in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Between 1475 and 1599, no less than three additional cookery guilds were granted Charters: the roast and soup *Charcutiers* and *Sauciers* (roast and soup cooks) in 1475, *Boulangers des Pains d'épices* (bakers of spiced bread) in the mid-1500s, and the *CuisiniersTraiteurs* (banquet, noble, and royal cooks) in 1599.

Charcutiers were granted the right to sell only cooked meats, soups, and sauces in 1475, forcing the *Rôtisseurs* to share these rights with the master *Charcutiers*.⁸³ Thus, after 1475, the *Rôtisseurs* could sell all cooked meats, fish, vegetables, soups, sauces, pasties, and ragouts;

⁸³ La Mare, [1475] *Premiers Statutes pour l'établissement de la communauté des Chaircuitiers*, III.V.XXI. ch.V, 117–118; Also listed in the "Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris," ed. Alexandre Tuetey (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1899) Y7, pp. 5. In Tuetey the citation is listed under 17 January 1476, while La Mare listed it as 17 January 1475.

however, they had to allow the more restricted *Charcutiers* to open shops in order to cater to the ever growing urban population.⁸⁴ This interesting division reflected a number of aspects of later fifteenth-century Parisian social life. Primary among these was the dual need for victuallers of cooked food to cater to the religious practices of fifteenth-century Parisians while earning a living. As we discussed in the previous chapter, normal practice throughout late medieval Christendom, and among the early Protestants, was to abstain from meat and dairy products every Wednesday, Friday throughout Lent and during numerous other vigils whose dietary customs varied regionally. Since Lent, alone, presented the *Charcutiers* with forty consecutive days in which they were not able to sell any meat dishes, it seems that the provost of Paris who issued the Charter, Robert VII d'Estouteville, accommodated the economic implications of the fast by also granting the *Charcutiers* the rights to cook fish and soups.⁸⁵ Thereby, after 1475, the *Rôtisseurs* could sell cooked fish and vegetables on fast days and during Lent, while the *Charcutiers* could sell fish and soups during fasting periods.⁸⁶ This arrangement divided cookery guild power into smaller units, as the officials of the Vicomté de Paris seem to have preferred, as well as maintaining the economic viability of both crafts throughout the liturgical seasons.

The early to mid-sixteenth century saw the birth of a smaller guild for *Boulangers des pains d'épices*, who baked a variety of sweet, spiced breads and biscuits that were popular throughout late medieval and early modern France, and which were not unlike the texture and

⁸⁴ La Mare, III.V.XXIII ch. VII, pp. 213.

⁸⁵ La Mare, [1475] *Statutes des Chaircutiers*, T. III, pp. 118.

⁸⁶ “Item. Que nul ne nulle dudit Mestier ne vende Harang & Marées, pource que ès jours que vend ladide Marée & Harang, c'est le jour que on faict lesdites Saulcisses, & que on haiche, & appareille la Char dont on faicticelles, par quoy lesdites Saulcisses pourroient sentir le goust de ladite Marée & Harang que auroient manié lesdites Saulcissiers, & ce sur peine de perdition desdites Marées & Harangs, & de vingt sols parisis d'amende à appliquer comme dessus,” La Mare, [1475] *Statutes des Chaircutiers*, T. III, pp. 118.

flavour of modern hot cross buns.⁸⁷ Little specific information is known about this guild, however, La Mare, using the pre-Revolutionary manuscript collection of the Grand Châtelet, noted that the guild was in its heyday in the mid-sixteenth century, when masters numbered between fifty and sixty.⁸⁸

It is uncertain why the demand for spiced breads dropped among Parisians of the seventeenth and later centuries. In the first chapter we discussed the move away from heavily spiced medieval dishes of the Late Gothic International Style toward a seasoning profile that relied more on herbs, butter, reduction and generally augmentation of flavours naturally present in ingredients.⁸⁹ This shift is usually linked to the kitchens and culinary aesthetics of the elite, since regular and large-scale spice consumption required some level of affluence. The decline of the *Boulangers des Pains d'épices* may have some interesting implications in terms of the shift away from spiced foods among the more common folk of Paris. Although each of the fifty or so spiced bread bakers may not have operated shops, their number indicates that there would have been a fair number of shops throughout the city and the fact that they were granted a guild *Charter* implies that their presence within the city economic panorama had been felt over a long period of time. However, the guild largely disappeared from La Mare's records during the eighteenth century, a fact curious in itself. It was not assumed into another guild or suppressed by royal order; it simply seems that their customer base was waning and the *Boulangers des Pains d'épices* were, for some reason, unable to adapt to their customers' desires. It is also

⁸⁷ La Mare, T. IV, 629.

⁸⁸ La Mare, T. IV, 629.

⁸⁹ Phyllis Pray Bober, "Late Gothic International Style," in *Art and Culture of Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 219–266; Susan Pinkard, "Toward a New Culinary Aesthetic: Foundations of Change, 1600–1650," in *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine, 1650–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 51–94; Barbara Wheaton, "Massialot and the Regency," in *Savouring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300–1789* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983) 149–159.

notable that none of the other baking guilds desired to take control of the craft. Something fundamental about the product the *Boulangers des Pains d'épices* became undesirable to local customers. I would suggest that it is possible that the shift away from the Late Gothic International Style was one that was felt further down the Parisian social scale by the later seventeenth century. The *Boulangers des Pains d'épices* may have been painted into a corner by the limited scope of the products they were allowed to offer for sale: sweet, spiced breads. Their disappearance by the eighteenth century may indicate that even the labouring populations of Paris may have been turning away from the spiced, aromatic flavour profile popular throughout France in the late medieval period. Whatever the reason, when their economic viability decreased in the eighteenth century, the guild of *Boulangers des Pains d'épices* disappeared from the record.

The last sixteenth-century cookery guild to be founded in Paris the *Cuisiniers*, or household cooks. Their foundation *Charter* was granted in 1599 by Henry IV, and seems to have been granted in response to a burgeoning population of royal, noble, and bourgeois household cooks that fell outside the jurisdiction of the *Rôtisseurs*.⁹⁰ The *Rôtisseurs* were exclusively public cooks throughout their history. The first article of their 1258 *Ordinance* noted that only those who sold *vendre cuisine* (cooked food) from their *estal ou fenestre* (shops and windows) were allowed to join the guild.⁹¹ While they received a number of Charters throughout the sixteenth century, the 1526 *Charter* of *Rôtisseurs* re-stated the prescription that only those who sold food to the public for their “well being and use” were granted admission to the guild.⁹² Household cooks did not sell food, but rather, worked contractually as professionals providing cookery

⁹⁰ La Mare, “*Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs de Paris*,” T.IV, 633-636.

⁹¹ La Mare, [1258] *Rôtisseurs*, T. III, 212.

⁹² “*prouffit & utilité*,” La Mare, [1526] *Rôtisseurs*, T. III, 214.

services in a domestic setting and, therefore, fell outside the jurisdiction of the *Rôtisseurs*. Thus, when the *Cuisiniers* were granted their first *Charter* in 1599, the ordinances did not include any articles that regulated sale of food from a public shop. Instead, the *Cuisiniers* were granted mastership only to cooks of royal, princely, and noble households; cooks of the households of presidents and counsellors of the *Parlement de Paris*; and limited membership rights to male cooks of bourgeois households.⁹³ *Garçons de cuisine* (male cooks) of the bourgeois were granted admission only to the journeyman rank of the guild, being specifically prohibited from seeking mastership within the guild.⁹⁴

The primary economic right of master *cuisiniers*, mentioned in the first article of the 1599 Charter, was the right to cater to *noces ou festins* (feasts or dinners) held within Paris.⁹⁵ In fact, the wording of the article was, indeed, very direct:

First Article: Firstly, that the *Pâtissiers*, *Rôtisseurs*, *Charcutiers* and other persons of such mysteries may neither seek to undertake the said mystery [*cuisiniers*] nor to make dinners, feasts, or banquets, neither in their houses nor in other places, unless they be of the mystery...⁹⁶

Since master *cuisiniers* had to be cooks working in large household kitchens already—not smaller bourgeois household kitchens of journeyman *cuisiniers*—they most likely had well-equipped kitchen facilities at their disposal in which to prepare feasts, and many would have had

⁹³ La Mare, “*Cuisiniers*,” T.IV, art. VIII, *Item Que les Ecuyers de Cuisine, Maistres Queux, Potagers, Hateurs, enfans de Cuisine du Roy, de la Reine, des Princes & Princesses, eux voulans retirer en ladite ville de Paris, & se presentans au corps dudit mestier, seront receus Maistres quand bon leur semblera, faisant apparoir seulement leurs Lettres de retenue & certificat, comme ils auront esté employez en l'Etat de la Maison de Sa Majesté & autres*; art. IX, *Item, Que les Ecuyers de Cuisine Maistres Queux Porte Chappes Hateurs enfans de cuisine des Seigneurs, Presidens, Conseillers eux voulans se retirer en ladite ville de Paris, & se presentans au corps dudit mestier, seront receus Maistres audit corps dudit mestier, faisant apparoir du fidel service qu'ils auront fait à leurs Maistres le temps & espace de trois ans & faisant aussi une simple experience dudit mestier de Cuisinier & payant les droits de Confrairie* La Mare, 633.

⁹⁴ La Mare, “*Cuisiniers*,” T.IV, art. X, 633.

⁹⁵ La Mare, “*Cuisiniers*,” T.IV, art. I, 633.

⁹⁶ “*Article Premiere: Premièrement, que les Paticiers, Rotisseurs, Charcutiers & autres personnes, de quelque mestier qu'ils soient, ne pourront entreprendre dudit mestier pour faire nocces, frestins, ou banquets, tant en leurs maisons, qu'en autres lieux, fi ce n'est chacun de leur mestier...*” La Mare, “*Cuisiniers*,” T.IV, art. I, 633.

a number of kitchen workers that specialized in serving large groups of people at events.⁹⁷ The fact that the *Cuisiniers* were granted such sweeping catering rights is likely reflective of the well-connected nature of the members of the guild: it was comprised of cooks who worked in households of the highest social orders. Assumption of such rights was usually preceded by decades, even centuries of legal struggles within the courts of the Vicomté de Paris.

As well as marking the advent of a royal and noble cooks' guild, the late sixteenth century also marked the conclusion of a battle between the *Rôtisseurs* and the *Poulailliers* over the right to sell cooked poultry and game. The dispute was registered in the court of the *Grand Châtelet* in early February 1547 by the *Rôtisseurs*, who sought to “maintain their ancient privilege” of selling roasted poultry.⁹⁸ Henry II issued letters patent certifying the right of the *Rôtisseurs* to sell poultry on 9 April 1547.⁹⁹ In 1567 this right was restated specifically because “the vast number of meats out of which they [*Rôtisseurs*] make dinners, feasts, and banquets are comprised mostly of poultry and game,” implying that the right to cater was one which the *Rôtisseurs* valued.¹⁰⁰ So serious was the issue, and so powerful were the *Rôtisseurs* that in 1578, after more than three centuries in existence, the *Poulailliers* were fully assumed into the guild of *Rôtisseurs*, never to exist as a stand-alone guild again.¹⁰¹ While there likely remained a small number of *Rôtisseurs* that specialized in poultry cookery, the control over the *Poulailliers* was granted to the *Rôtisseurs*. A similar struggle erupted between the *Rôtisseurs* and the *Taverners* in 1603. The *Rôtisseurs* opposed the *Taverners*' habit of selling cooked food in their taverns and

⁹⁷ La Mare, “*Cuisiniers*”, T.IV, art. I, 633.

⁹⁸ “...demandant à être maintenus dans leur ancien privilège de pouvoir vendre la volaille et le gibier...” Alexandre Tuetey, *Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, vol. 2, *Bannières* (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1899) 140. art. 4410; also see *Banns*, 4409-4412, February–April, 1547.

⁹⁹ *Banns*, 4412, April 9, 1547.

¹⁰⁰ “...que la grande superfluité des Viandes qui se fait ès Nopces, Festins & Banquets, apporte la cherté des Volailles & Gibier...” La Mare, [1567] “*Rôtisseurs*”, T.III, preamble to 1567 Charter, 215.

¹⁰¹ La Mare, [1578] “*Rôtisseurs*”, T.III, 216–217.

drinking halls. On 29 October 1603, Henry IV established that the Taverners could only sell cooked food in their taverns if “it was sold to them by a *rôtisseur*,” with the provision that the jury of *Rôtisseurs* would be allowed entry to all taverns in order to ascertain the “provenance” of their meats.¹⁰² By the close of the sixteenth century the *Rôtisseurs*, although retaining a great deal of power and influence throughout the city, were finding themselves increasingly embattled.

<u><i>Maison du Roi</i></u>		
<u>Cookery guilds of Paris, 1600:</u>		
<u><i>Grand Panetier de France</i></u>		<u><i>Prévôt de Paris</i></u>
<i>Talemeliers</i>	est. c. 1100s	<i>Rôtisseurs</i> est. 1258 (<i>Poulailliers</i>)
		<i>Oubliers</i> pre 1268
		<i>Charcutiers</i> est. 1475
		<i>Boulangersdes</i>
		<i>Pains d'épices</i> c. 1550s
		<i>Cuisiniers Traiteurs</i> est. 1599
<u>Victualling guild of Paris, 1660:</u>		
		<u><i>Prévôt de Paris</i></u>
		<i>Vendeurs</i> est. 1656 ¹⁰³

Table 2: Cookery and victualling guilds of Paris, 1600–1660.

In London, possibly because of the smaller sixteenth- and seventeenth-century population, cookery guild evolution followed a much less complex evolution than did the guilds of Paris.¹⁰⁴

During the fourteenth century, various assizes and ordinances referred to the cooks, pastelers,

¹⁰² “*Ordonnance de Jacques d'Aumont, prévôt de Paris, portant que les taverniers-cabaretiers ne pourront exposer en vente la viande rôtie et lardée, si elle n'a été achetée par eux chez les rôtisseurs, et autorisant les jurés rôtisseurs à faire visites chez les taverniers-cabaretiers pour constater la provenance de leurs viandes.*” Livre de Colour du Châtelet 29 October 1603, art. 3238, pp. 73.

¹⁰³ However, the various *banale* (minor) victualling companies of the *Regratiers*, merchants of poultry, game, lamb, suckling pig, eggs, butter, and cheese eventually merged into a single guild, the *Vendeurs*, in 1656, La Mare, T. III, 242–243. The *Poissonniers* continued a company independent of the royal cooks soon after the thirteenth century and remained extant, among other fishmonger guilds, until the end of the *Ancien Régime*, La Mare, T. III, 339–340.

¹⁰⁴ Harding, 14–15, Harding estimated the size of London's population to be around 70,000 after the 1560s and close to 200,000 after 1600.

and piebakers of the City of London.¹⁰⁵ The pastelers and piebakers were cooks that specialized in baked sweet and savoury pies. The pastelers seem to have specialized in making meat pasties and baking roasts in “coffyns”, or thick pastry crusts from which the top was cut and innards removed, while the pie bakers likely made both meat and fruit pies.¹⁰⁶ Besides these were the more ancient Bakers of London, whose existence likely dates to the twelfth century.¹⁰⁷ By the thirteenth century, the Bakers of London had split into two guilds: White Bakers separated into their own guild baking fine white bread, or “Manchet”, while what was left of the original Bakers’ Guild became known as the Brown Bakers and sold more economical varieties of darker breads.¹⁰⁸ The White Bakers were granted a royal *Charter* in 1378 making the White and Brown Bakers the only cookery crafts in London to emerge from the fourteenth-century with their own Chartered guilds.¹⁰⁹

Aldermen of London Court of Common Council of the City of London			
<u>Chartered guilds:</u>		<u>UnChartered craft groups:</u>	
Bakers	c. 1200’s	Cooks	c. 14 th century
White Bakers	est. 1378	Pastelers	c. 14 th century
		Piebakers	c. 14 th century

Table 3: Cookery guilds and related crafts mentioned in fourteenth-century London civic ordinances.

¹⁰⁵ Borg, 28–32; Taverner Phillips, 11, 30. Taverner Philips cites two ordinances issued under Richard II in 1379: *Regulations to the Cooks and Piebakers* and *Ordinances of the Pastelers and Piebakers*. These regulations and ordinances are similar to the Assize of Cooks in that they regulate trade standards as opposed to mentioning guilds, per se.

¹⁰⁶ The piebakers and pastelers were granted a single *Ordinance* so it is difficult to separate whether some ordinances applied more to one trade than the other.

¹⁰⁷ Unwin, 20–33.

¹⁰⁸ Borg, 20.

¹⁰⁹ [1378] “Articuli Pistor’ ordinati quarto die November”, *Calendar of letter-books of the city of London: H: 1375–1399* Reginald R. Sharpe (editor) (1907), fol. XCVII. Also see Unwin 20–21.

While the two most prominent historians of the London Cooks' Guild, Alan Borg and Frank Taverner Phillips, set the date of the formation of the London Cooks guild in the thirteenth century, it is very difficult to establish this as fact.¹¹⁰ Taverner Phillips set the date at around 1311, but without citing why he referred to that date.¹¹¹ Borg focused more on the long-term evolution of the cooks' fraternity. It seems that Borg is correct in being cautious about the official foundation of the London Cooks' Guild. As mentioned earlier, the assizes, court cases, and city ordinances that pertain to cooks never specified that they were to be implemented through a cooks' guild. Rather, it was individual citizens who lodged complaints at the Court of Common Council of London, and it was the court itself that empaneled cooks. Instead, as Borg noted, some records of bonds and debts mention the Masters and Goodmen of the Mystery of Cooks and Pastelers during the early fifteenth century, but it was not until the second half of the fifteenth century when the cooks' guild began to receive the trappings of a Chartered guild. In 1461 the company was granted a coat of arms.¹¹² Later, in 1475, the Cooks of London submitted ordinances to Guildhall that were approved and registered for the mystery of cooks, while in 1482, Edward IV granted the first royal Charter.¹¹³ In 1495, the pastelers followed suit with ordinances for their own fraternity, at which time all cooks and pastelers joined together and formed what would eventually become the Worshipful Company of Cooks.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Borg, 20-21; Taverner Phillips sets the date around 1311, *Foreword*, i.

¹¹¹ It is possible that Taverner Phillips used that date because this was when the first freedoms of the city were granted to cooks.

¹¹² Borg, 39-40; Taverner Phillips, 14.

¹¹³ [1475] "Ordinaciones Cocorum," in *Calendar of letter-books of the city of London: L*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London, City of London, 1912) fol. 110; Taverner Phillips, 13; Borg, 193-194; also see [1482] *Charter of Edward IV* in Borg, 199.

¹¹⁴ [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers," in *Calendar of letter-books of the city of London: L: Edward IV-Henry VII*, ed. Reginald Sharpe (London: City of London 1912), fol. 320. Also see appendix.



Figure 1: Coat of arms of the Worshipful Company of Cooks. The arms of a black chevron and three columbines were granted in 1461. The stags, crest, and motto (*vulnerati non victi* “wounded not conquered”) were added in the early seventeenth century.¹¹⁵

The number of Chartered cookery guilds in London had risen significantly from only two in 1400, Bakers and White Bakers, to an additional two, Cooks and Pastelers, by 1500. The piebakers, although they continued to be enrolled in the *Letter Books* of London as freemen, never achieved Chartered status. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Cooks of London increasingly established their presence as a professional body among the city’s guilds. Records mentioning Cooks Hall on Aldersgate Street appear in the mid-sixteenth century, although it is likely that the first hall was built shortly after May 1500 when the Cooks’ Company took possession of the property.¹¹⁶ The hall was likely the site of various fraternal ceremonies, such as the reading of the statutes of the guild twice per year, mandated in the 1475 Charter, as well as ceremonies such as the annual coronation of the masters of the company, in which the masters and wardens of the cooks were ceremonially crowned with cloth caps,

¹¹⁵ Image borrowed from website of the Worshipful Company of Cooks (http://www.cookslivery.org.uk/page/coat_of_arms).

¹¹⁶ Borg, 45–49; Taverner Philips, 42–47.

symbolizing the assumption of their custody of the craft; a tradition continued by the Company today.¹¹⁷

Thus, by the seventeenth century, the Cooks Company was at the zenith of its power in maintaining a new Court of Assistants, a hall, a coat of arms, and by gathering its fraternity together at least twice per year as a common body. In addition, Stow's 1598 survey of London noted that the Cooks and Pastelers shared the same hall in Aldersgate.¹¹⁸ As we will see in Part II of this chapter, the Cooks and Pastelers of London developed a very active late medieval fraternity and likely used the hall often for a number of activities fraternal, legislative, and religious activities.

Aldermen of London Court of Common Council of the City of London	
<u>Chartered Guilds:</u>	<u>UnChartered Craft Groups:</u>
<p>Brown Bakers c. 1200s</p> <p>White Bakers est. 1378</p> <p>Cooks est. 1482</p> <p>Pastelers est. 1495</p>	<p>Piebakers c. 14th century</p>

Table 4: London cookery guilds and related crafts by 1500.

Overall, the cookery guilds of London did not experience the great proliferation in number witnessed by Parisians in the sixteenth century, nor did the London guilds maintain more than one governing body for guilds. Instead, London adopted a highly centralized system of guild governance wherein each worshipful company was subject to a single court, the Court of

¹¹⁷ [1475] "Ordinaciones Cocorum", final statute. About the coronation ceremony see Taverner Philips 70; Borg 62, 65.

¹¹⁸ Stow, "Aldersgate warde," in *A Survey of London, by John Stow: Reprinted from the text of 1603* ed. C. L. Kingsford (1908), 310.

Common Council, where worshipful companies were granted the rights to establish and maintain their own courts and judicial bodies. In Paris, likely due to the greater population and by extension, greater economic value of each cookery craft, provosts of Paris developed a highly bureaucratic system that peppered royal authority over a number of legal and guild bodies that dispersed the monarch's control of civic trades over a wide variety of offices. Cookery guilds did not gather these rights to themselves in a similar fashion nor chronology, but their presence was one that was powerful in so far as the masters subject to the guilds were concerned. Since we now see that the guilds did, indeed, have a great deal of power in London and Paris from 1250 to 1600, their Charters remain to be examined. Doing so will allow us the ability to understand who belonged to the Paris and London cookery guilds, under what conditions they were selected and trained, and what specific bylaws controlled their working lives.

Part II:

Cookery Guild Charters and their Evolution in Paris and London, 1250–1600

Until now, we have been examining the development of cookery guilds relative to other local craft groups. As we have seen, their developments were not uniform, nor were the manners by which they enforced their ordinances. Each guild strove to be unique, to carve out a specific place for itself within local economies, and regulate its craft so as to have maximum economic viability for masters. At the same time, the cooks of late medieval Paris and London were subject to the flowering of late medieval legal code production; as increasing swathes of economic and social life were coming under official regulation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the cooks of Paris and London were caught up in the new practice of establishing finite laws under which craftspersons operated.

The Charters of the Paris cookery guilds were, by far, the more detailed of the two bodies of Charters we will analyze here. In both London and Paris, Charters were sometimes reissued when a new monarch came to the throne, or more often, when a monarch sought to amend existing elements of a craft's Charter. Although each guild had different foundation dates, it is worth noting that between 1250 and 1650, the *Rôtisseurs* received fourteen new Charters or amendments, the *Oubliers* nine, the *Charcutiers* six, the *Boulangers des pains d'épices* four, and the *Cuisiniers* one.¹¹⁹ Although Scully was speaking of the Middle Ages alone when he noted that guild regulation was uncomplicated, expanding our survey to include the early stages of the early modern period shows that it did, indeed, become very complex over the longer term in Paris.¹²⁰ The same was not true in London. Between 1250 and 1650, the Cooks of London received one royal *Charter* in 1482 and one set of revisions that were issued and retracted by James I between 1614 and 1616.¹²¹ It is unknown what format the original Paris and London Charters would have been in; however, the 1482 London *Charter* is a single parchment membrane written in Latin.¹²²

The earliest of any cooks' guild Charters were those issued to the *Rôtisseurs* by Louis IX in 1258. The form of the *Charter* is very practical: fifteen rules without any introductory preamble. Its Middle French clauses of the 1258 *Charter* highlight many of the operational concerns that the *Rôtisseurs* had during the mid-fourteenth century:

First, concerning all those who seek to hold a stall or window from which to sell cooked food, that all manner of dressed meat should be common and profitable to the people to which it is sold.

Item, That none seek to take a valet of the said mystery, now or ever, if he is not apprenticed of the said mystery for two years, or if he is not the son of a master and is not learned in the ways of the said mystery; and if he is the son of a master but knows nothing of the mystery of which he is

¹¹⁹ All *Charters* and revisions are listed in La Mare, T. III & IV.

¹²⁰ Scully, 238.

¹²¹ Borg, 72.

¹²² It can be found at National Archives U.K., C/66/549.

seeking to exercise, he shall [hire?] at his own expense a worker of the said mystery who is expert in the craft, until such time that he is approved by the masters of the said mystery. And if he is found to have none of the workers of the said mystery or to be in contravention, he will pay 10s. in fine, of that, 6s. to the King and 4 s. to the masters of the mystery for their troubles.

Item, all who shall seek to take an apprentice of the said mystery, the master himself will pay 10s. of which 6 s. will go to the king, and 4 s. to the masters of the said mystery

Item, that no other person may seek to take an apprentice with the fine of 10 s.

Item, that if an apprentice's contract is bought by another master, that the master who took the apprentice will not seek to take another apprentice until the end of the stated terms of the bought apprentice, such as is allowed, and when certificates of apprenticeship are presented during market times to the masters, the apprentice, and their family, on pain of 10s...

Item, that when a master seeks to hire a valet, that the hiring master may not seek to keep or continue employment past the end of the stated term, unless the valet shall agree to be rehired, on pain of 10s...

Item, That no one seek to cook or roast geese, neither lamb, kids, or piglets unless they are good, loyal, and sufficient for eating and sale, and unless the marrow is good on pain of 10s. ...

Item, That no one hold cooked meat up to three days, neither to sell nor to buy, if it is not sufficiently salted, upon the said fine.

Item, that no one may seek to make sausages of anything but pork, and that the pork which is used is healthy, upon the said fine

Item, that no one seek to roast beef, mutton, or pork unless it is good, hearty, and sufficient and with good marrow, on the said fine.

Item, that all meats that are sold are well cooked, salted, and dressed well and sufficiently; and if he is found to have such meats upon inspection and is without answer to the said reproaches, the food items will be condemned to being burned and he will be held liable to pay the said fine to the king and jury...

Item, That none of the said masters seek to sell blood sausages, on pain of forfeiture, for they are a dangerous dish.

Item, that one-third of the portion of fines that are levied and paid to the masters of the said mystery, for the infractions stated above, shall be used to sustain the poor and elderly men of the said mystery who are retired or infirm.

Item, that a person is before the stall or window of a cook in order to buy food, that if another of the cooks calls out before the customer has departed the stall or window, the fine of 5s. will be assessed, of which 3s. will go to the king, and 2s. to the said masters.

Item, that no one seek to defame the meat of another, if it is good, upon the fine of 5 s.¹²³

Notably absent from the ordinances was any mention of household cooks. Rather, the first statute specified that the *Charter* only pertained to “all those who seek to hold a stall or window from which to sell cooked food.”¹²⁴ This crucial clause tells us much about the spectrum of control the *Rôtisseurs* had within the cookery industry of Paris: If one intended to open a shop and sell cooked food, they were subject to the control of the *Rôtisseurs* by default. If, however, one was a professional household cook they fell outside the *Rôtisseurs*' jurisdiction. Full membership in the

¹²³ See Appendix one for Middle French full text.

¹²⁴ “*PREMIEREMENT, Que tous ceulx qui vouldront tenir Estal ou Fenestre à vendre Cuisine*”, La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers* T. III, 212.

guild, like obtaining freedom of the City of London, was the fourteenth-century equivalent to a restaurateur's licence. The *Ordinance* made it clear that being a late medieval Parisian restaurateur was not an open industry. Instead, one had to submit to and be approved by the *Rôtisseurs* if they wanted to run a public kitchen. Otherwise, the jury of *Rôtisseurs* could summon the bailiffs of the *Grand Châtelet* to close the shop.

In total, the *Ordinance* mentioned four different ranks within the guild: jury, master, valet, and apprentice. The jury, as we have seen in the court cases discussed earlier, was limited in number. In addition to our trusty public cooks mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Masters Jehan le cuisinier at Porte St. Denis and Gautier le cuisinier at Place Baudoyer, La Mare included the names and shop locations of five other jury members of the *juré* (jury) of *Rôtisseurs* in 1303: in Porte Ste. Marie he listed “Robert Loyer de saint Merry” and Alain le cuisiniers; at Petit Pont, Guillaume d’Arragon, Robert du Buisson, and Robert de la Porte de Montmartre.¹²⁵ It was these men who were responsible for everything to do with the maintenance and order of the *Rôtisseurs* at the beginning of the fourteenth century. They would not only have inspected shops to ensure that cookery ordinances were being followed but also been present when new masters, valets, and apprentices were received into the guild and played prominent roles in maintaining the guilds’ presence within the Six corps.

These seven jury members seem to have reigned over a moderately sized, early thirteenth-century Parisian cook shop economy. It is impossible to know the exact number of cook shops in Paris during the late thirteenth century, although the *Rôle de taille* of 1292 does shed some light on the situation. Approximately forty citizens of Paris identified themselves as cooks *keus*,

¹²⁵ La Mare, [1303] *Registre des métiers de Paris*, T. IV, 633.

queux, or *cuisiniers* (cooks) in 1292.¹²⁶ The words *keu* and *queu* are interchangeable with the word *cuisinier*, making it impossible to ascertain the significance of the etymological variations in which cooks were recorded in the *Rôle*.¹²⁷ The term “*rôtisseur*” was not one used by the notaries, indicating that *rôtisseurs* would have been included under the terms *keu*, *queu*, or *cuisinier*. All cooks listed in the *Rôle* were male, which does correspond to the all-masculine pronouns used in the *Rôtisseurs’* 1258 *Charter*. What the *Rôle* does reveal is that many females, such as Alaiz of Rue Ste. Martin and Clymence of Rue La Harengerie, found employment within the minor company of *regratiers*.¹²⁸ More than a dozen females were listed as *la regratiere* and would have operated small grocery and victual shops. The *Rôle* does not help us ascertain how many apprentices and valets may have worked alongside the forty cooks of Paris, since apprentices and valets were simply listed as *apprenti* or *valet* without further indication of their craft. The cooks listed in the role were not apprentices or valets, and none were female, making it likely that the forty or so citizens that identified themselves as cooks were shop owners as opposed to general foodservice workers. Therefore, it seems that those listed in the 1292 *Rôle* as *keu*, *queu*, or *cuisinier* were likely *rôtisseurs* who were current or retired masters. Although the medieval population of Paris was much higher than London in the thirteenth century, London also had around thirty-five freemen cooks listed in the 1309–1312 *Letter Books*. Although not subject to the authority of the *Rôtisseurs*, the more than twenty *Poulailliers* also listed in the 1292 *Rôle* would allow us to estimate that around sixty cooked food outlets were available to late thirteenth-century Parisians.

¹²⁶ The *Rôle de taille* of 1292 was transcribed in full in Hercule Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-bel: d'après des documents originaux* (Paris: Crapelet, 1837) 1–181. It included mention of: *keus* c. 9, *queux* c. 12, *cuisiniers* c. 18, *poulailliers* c.2.

¹²⁷ This is, however, not unlike the contemporaneous situation in London where the occupational titles *cook* and *pastelers* seem to have been interchangeable. See Borg, 20, 28–29.

¹²⁸ *Rôle de taille* of 1292 (1837 ed.), 76, 30. Individuals were referred to using their occupation as a last name. Therefore female *regratiers* were listed with the feminine pronoun, *la regratiere*.

The jury of the *Rôtisseurs* of Paris was small in number, but the three other statuses within the guild comprised the majority of members: master, valet, and apprentice. Although the jury was comprised of masters, not all masters were members of the jury. Instead, masters were those who had earned the right to operate a shop or cater a feast within the city limits. Since hiring valets and apprentices indicated that a master intended either to open a shop or cater a banquet, the ordinances were careful to limit who could hire apprentices and valets and under what conditions. Only masters could hire apprentices or valets, and of the two, only valets could agree to take day-work and side catering jobs.¹²⁹ Valets seem to have been directly equivalent to journeymen. The sixth statute tells us that valets had the right to agree to be hired for short periods of time, with masters banned from compelling valets to stay beyond the period of time originally agreed upon.¹³⁰ The statute did not mention anything about the valet's full-time master needing to agree to the extra work; rather, this seems to have been the primary right valets had earned through completing their two-year apprenticeship.¹³¹ Conversely, then, the primary rights of masters seem to have been the ability to run a shop, hire apprentices and valets, and accept catering contracts as proposed by locals.

Apprentices, on the other hand, were the most highly regulated level of the guild. Unlike valets or masters, apprentices could not be hired by the day.¹³² Instead they were closely bound to a master *rôtisseur* who had paid 10 Paris sols [p.s.] to register the apprentice, and who agreed

¹²⁹ “*Item, que pour chascun aprentiz qui sera mis ou dit mestier, li mestre chiès qui il sera miz, paiera x s., c'est assavoir vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus dit maistres du mestier. Item, que nulz ne puisse avoir que un aprentiz suz peine de x s. d'amende, vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus diz maistres. Item, que se un maistre a un valet aloué, que un autre maistre ne lui fortraye, reçoive ou aloue jusques à tant que il ait fait son terme, et ce n'est du gré à ycelui à qui il fu aloué, sur paine de x s. d'amende, c'est assavoir vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus maistre.*” La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 212.

¹³⁰ “*Item, que se un maistre a un valet aloué, que un autre maistre ne lui fortraye, reçoive ou aloue jusques à tant que il ait fait son terme, et ce n'est du gré à ycelui à qui il fu aloué, sur paine de x s. d'amende, c'est assavoir vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus maistres.*” La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 212.

¹³¹ La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 212.

¹³² The sixth statute specified valets, specifically, could be hired: “*Item, que se un maistre a un valet aloué...*” La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 212.

to train the apprentice for a period of two years.¹³³ Apprentices did not have to be the sons of masters. In fact, sons of master *rôtisseurs* that had not been raised working in their father's shop could only open a cook shop if he hired at least one "master of the said mystery who is expert in the craft" that was employed at the unskilled son's "own expense... ." ¹³⁴ Therefore, an apprentice *rôtisseur* in fourteenth-century Paris was something that was partially linked to patrilineal descent from master cooks, but not always. Parisian men who could find a master willing to train them could hypothetically attain mastership within the craft. Sons either had to learn their culinary skills from their fathers or hire someone from the guild who had the needed expertise. Whatever the case, kinship alone was not enough to enable one to open one's own cook shop.

The act of becoming a certified valet or master also included a public ceremony in which masters and the public could witness the reception of the new member into the guild. The fifth *Ordinance* stated that in cases where the term and contract of an apprentice was bought by another master before the apprenticeship was completed, the original term of the apprenticeship had to be completed with no additional apprentices being hired until then.¹³⁵ A little more obscurely, the *Ordinance* stated that the process of certifying the end of the apprenticeship happened "when certificates of apprenticeship are presented during market times to the masters,

¹³³ "Item, que nulz ne puisse prendre varlet ou dit mestier d'ores en avant s'il n'a este aprentiz ou dit mestier deux ans, ou s'il n'est filz de mestre, et aucune chose sache ou dit mestier; et se le filz du mestre ne sait riens du mestier par quoi il puisse la marchandise exercer, que il [tiegne] à ses despens un des ouvriers du mestier qui en soit expert, jusques à tant que ycelui filz de maistre le sache convenablement exercer, aus diz des maistres du dit mestier. Et se il avient que aucuns des ouvriers du dit mestier face le contraire, il paiera x s. d'amende, c'est à savoir vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus maistres du dit mestier pour leur peine... Item, que pour chascun aprentiz qui sera mis ou dit mestier, li mestre chiès qui il sera miz, paiera x s., c'est assavoir vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus dit maistres du mestier," La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers* T. III, 212.

¹³⁴ "{E}t se le filz du mestre ne sait riens du mestier par quoi il puisse la marchandise exercer, que il [tiegne] à ses despens un des ouvriers du mestier qui en soit expert, jusques à tant que ycelui filz de maistre le sache convenablement exercer, aus diz des maistres du dit mestier," La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 212.

¹³⁵ "...que se li aprentilz se rachate, que le mestre de qui il se rachatera ne puisse prendre autre aprentiz, jusques à tant que li termes soit cheuz, que l'aprentiz qui se racheta, estoit aloué," La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 212.

the apprentice, and their family.”¹³⁶ Therefore, the process of progressing from apprentice to valet in thirteenth-century Paris required public witness of the inspection of *bonnes lettres* (valid letters) that certified the apprentice’s successful completion of the two-year apprenticeship. The *marchié* (marketplace) referred to in the statute was likely the central medieval Parisian marketplace of Les Halles and may indicate that the cooks of Paris lacked a hall or other suitable meeting place in which to carry out ceremonies. Since Les Halles would have been home to many cook shops and master *rôtisseurs*, it offered a chance for some of the community of *Rôtisseurs* and the public to witness the inspection and approval of new guild members.

At the other end of their careers, retired guild members of the *Rôtisseurs* seem to have maintained a rudimentary old age or infirmity pension system. The thirteenth statute required that one-third of all fines collected by the *Rôtisseurs* had to be used toward the maintenance of old and infirm members.¹³⁷ The statute did not specify that it was masters that were to be cared for but rather poor and insecure members of the guild.¹³⁸ This is the only clause in the 1258 *Charter* that gives us indication that the guild of *Rôtisseurs* maintained any sense of a fraternal community outside regulating training, workers, and food. While members may still have been destitute even with the guild’s support, legislated maintenance and care of older and infirm members seems to indicate that the guild of *Rôtisseurs* maintained networks and relationships with those who worked in cook shops on a daily basis, and their predecessors who no longer took an active part in the economic life of the community.

¹³⁶ “*et que bonnes lettres se facent lors du marchié entre les maistres et les aprentiz ou leur amis, suz peine dix s. d’amende, c’est assavoir vj s. au Roy, iiij s. aus maistres.*”, La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 212.

¹³⁷ “*...que le tiers des amendes qui seront levées afférans à la portion des maistres du dit mestier, pour les causes dessus dites, soient pour soustenir les povres vieilles gens du dit mestier qui seront deceuz par fait de marchandise ou de vielleuce,*”, La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 213.

¹³⁸ La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 213.

Beyond regulation of the membership, the most repetitive and overwhelming concern of the *Rôtisseurs* was with food safety. Seven of the fifteen articles of the *Charter* regulated food safety practices. In these respects, the statutes of the *Rôtisseurs* of Paris shared much in common with nearly contemporaneous food safety ordinances that were being promulgated in London. The first *Ordinance* of the 1258 *Charter of Rôtisseurs* stated that no cook in the city could sell any food unless it was “common and profitable to the people to which it is sold.”¹³⁹ This sweeping statute legislated that all ingredients that composed each dish were not to in any way make people sick. The sale of rotten meat, contaminated vegetables, and even food contaminated through unsafe working practices was prohibited. Likewise, the *Ordinance of Cooks* of Henry III stated in very similar language that the cooks of London were prohibited from selling “meat or fish in pastry or in soup or any other dish whose preparation is not wholesome to the human body, or, after holding it so long that it has lost its natural wholesomeness and is reheated and sold.”¹⁴⁰ It is striking that both Paris and London seem to have passed these very similar regulations within a decade of each other.¹⁴¹

Four of the *Rôtisseurs*’ seven food safety clauses specifically prohibited sales of unwholesome beef, mutton, pork, geese, lamb, kids, piglets, specifying that both the meat and the marrow of the bones had to be fresh, while a fifth clause completely banned the sales of

¹³⁹ “...toutes manières de Viandes communes & prouffitables au Peuple que à eulx appartient à vendre,” La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 212.

¹⁴⁰ “...carnes vel pisces in pane, vel in aqua vel alio modo, non sanas corpori hominis, vel postquam talia tenerint, ita quod debitam naturam amiserint, & ea recalesciant & vendant,” [c.1266 as listed by Pickering] *Ordinance of the Cooks, The statutes at large*, ed. Danby Pickering (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham, 1726) 49; also see Thomas Carney Forkin, “Oure Citee: Illegality and Criminality in Fourteenth-Century London,” in *Essays in Medieval Studies*, vol. 24 (2007) 31–41.

¹⁴¹ The exact date of the promulgation of the *Ordinance of Cooks* seems to be unknown, however, all scholars agree that it was passed under Henry III, therefore, the latest the *Ordinance* could have been established would be in the year of Henry’s death, 1272.

boudins de sanc (blood puddings).¹⁴² These clauses offer interesting insight to how cooks of the late medieval period assessed meats for their wholesomeness. They not only smelled or tasted the meat but also examined the nature of the bones in order to establish whether ingredients were “good, hearty, and sufficient and with good marrow... .”¹⁴³ It is very likely that parameters similar to these very basic tests of freshness were also used by the London cooks’ juries when empaneled to decide court cases of rotten victuals; there were few other available techniques of testing meats. Thus, the *Charter* indicates that smell, texture, visual appearance, and possibly taste were the primary methods used by cooks to assess the wholesomeness of ingredients for preparation in dishes.

In terms of leftovers, the *Charter* contained some questionable stipulations. While the *Ordinance of Cooks* of Henry III forbade selling reheated meat in London, the Parisian cooks seem to have been allowed to hold cooked food for two full days.¹⁴⁴ The original wording of the eighth statute of their *Charter* stated that no master was allowed to hold meat “until the third day” (*jusques tiers jour*).¹⁴⁵ It is difficult to imagine cooked meat lasting more than one day in pre-refrigeration Parisian kitchens, especially during the summer. The eighth statute indicated that salt was somehow used in the preservation of cooked foods, since leftovers could only be held if they were “sufficiently salted.”¹⁴⁶ This very obscure clause seems to imply that cooked meats were covered in salt in order to be stored overnight; how the salt was removed and in what form the cooked meat was reheated is unknown.

¹⁴² “*Item, que nulz du dit mestier ne puisse vendre boudins de sanc, à peine de la dite amende, car c'est périlleuse viande.*”, La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 213.

¹⁴³ “*Item, que nulz ne cuise char de buef, de mouton ne de porc, se elle n'est bonne et loial et souffisante à bonne mouelle, sur la peine dessus dite.*”, La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 213.

¹⁴⁴ “*Item, que nulz ne puisse garder viande cuite jusques au tiers jour pour vendre ne acheter, se elle n'est salée souffisamment, suz les peines dessus dite.*”, La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 213.

¹⁴⁵ La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 213.

¹⁴⁶ La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 213.

The *Rôtisseurs' Charter* of 1258 gives us a small glimpse into the form and function of a thirteenth-century cookery guild. The Parisian cooks were highly regulated compared to their London counterparts, who seemingly only had Henry III's short *Ordinance* at the time. While the London cooks were required to sell wholesome food in general, the Parisian cooks were regulated with more specific laws that included mention of various categories of fowl and quadrupeds, specified times for training and ceremonies through which apprentices were approved, as well as maintenance of the older body of masters. There is also much the *Charter* does not tell us. It is silent on anything to do with the materials kitchens were constructed out of, how masters were approved, and whether fraternal activities of the guild extended beyond the maintenance of infirm members and witnessing of the valet induction ceremony in the market. As well, none of the statutes mention household kitchens or cooks. That does not mean that grand household cooks did not belong to the guilds, but rather there was no specific law forcing them to become members of the guild, as Heinsch asserted.¹⁴⁷ We do know that a small minority of London freemen cooks, four out of the thirty-six between 1309 and 1312, worked in private households. However, the Paris *Rôtisseurs' Charter* of 1258 did not contain any discernible mention of statutes that were specifically tailored to private household cooks.

The *Rôtisseurs* kept their original *Charter* from 1258 until a 1509 revision due to the erection of the *Charcutiers* guild more than thirty years earlier, in 1475.¹⁴⁸ The *Charcutiers* gained their first Charter, according to La Mare, in order primarily to supply the poor with cooked roasts.¹⁴⁹ The *Rôtisseurs* were allowed to sell all types of cooked dishes before and after the creation of the *Charcutiers' guild*. However, by 1475, the stranglehold that the *Rôtisseurs*

¹⁴⁷ Heinsch, 19–20.

¹⁴⁸ La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Chaircutiers*, T. III, 117.

¹⁴⁹ La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Chaircutiers*, T. III, 117.

had on the Parisian cookery economy was such that the citizens of Paris, according to La Mare, required more food vendors to service specifically to poorer areas.¹⁵⁰ Although La Mare did not state why the poor specifically needed the service of the *Charcutiers*, it was almost certainly due to Paris's rising urban population in the late fifteenth century as well as inadequate housing and cooking facilities. Harding noted that Paris's population was experiencing marked growth in the late fifteenth century, to an estimated 200,000 or more by the year 1500.¹⁵¹ The seemingly generous, easy-to-implement statutes of the 1258 *Charter of Rôtisseurs* that allowed masters to sell all types of meat, fish, and cooked dishes, was, in fact, stifling the food supply of the city's rapidly growing population. Although rôtisseurs could sell all types of cooked food, no other guild could do so. Long training periods for rôtisseurs, a lack of a place within the guild for wives and daughters, and a larger population seeking to patronize cooks resulted in the households of newer sections of Paris being inadequately served by local food vendors.

In order to differentiate the new guild from the Rôtisseurs, the *Charcutiers* were restricted to selling only cooked meats, sauces, and lard; their statutes specifically prohibited them from selling "any fruits, cabbages, chards, greens, butters, cheeses" as well as any uncooked meat, which was confined to butchers alone.¹⁵² Since the 1258 *Charter of Rôtisseurs* was still in effect in 1475, and did not contain any similar prohibitions, the *Rôtisseurs* were allowed to sell the same cooked meats and sauces as the *Charcutiers*, but also dishes such as pasties, vegetables,

¹⁵⁰ "...il étoit trop utile pour le pauvre Peuple," La Mare, *Premier Statutes des Chaircuitiers*, T. III, 117.

¹⁵¹ Harding, 15.

¹⁵² About other victuals the 1475 Charter stated: "Item. *Que nul dudit Mestier ne se ingère doresnavant vendre aulcuns fruits, choux, poirées, verdures, navets, beures, formages & aultres choses, excepté Saulcisses, Char cuite, sain doux & aultres Chars & Denrées de Boucherie qu'ils ont accoustumé de vendre, sur peine de confiscation desdits fruits, choux, poirées, verdures, navets, beures, formages & aultres qui sont de la Marchandise de légumes, & de vingt sols parisis d'amende, à appliquer comme dessus.*" In regards to the butchers and sale of raw meat, another clause stated, "Item. *Que nul dudit Mestier ne achepte, ne tuë, ne fasse achepter ne tuer aucune beste vive pour vendre ne débiter en leurs Hostels, ne ailleurs, & ne vende aucune char crue en leursdits Hostels, excepté Lard, sur peine de confiscation desdites Chars, & de vingt sols parisis d'amende, à appliquer comme dessus.*" La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Chaircuitiers*, T. III, 118.

soups, and ragouts. In addition, the manner in which roasts were displayed for sale was regulated with the *Charcutiers' Charter*, mandating that all roasts were to be displayed in clean vessels, covered with a white napkin, and labelled appropriately.¹⁵³

The two most innovative aspects of the *Charcutiers' 1475 Charter* were their inclusion of females as sworn members of the guild and their requirements for apprenticeship and mastership. Wives and daughters of masters were allowed in some earlier Parisian cookery guilds, although never usually as equals with male masters. The 1406 *Charter* of the *Oubliers* allowed wives and unmarried daughters of master pastry cooks to work in their husbands' shops so long as they did not attempt to produce and sell Eucharistic bread.¹⁵⁴ However, the *Charcutiers* went further in their 1475 *Charter* by including wives, widows, and both married and unmarried daughters of master *charcutiers*.¹⁵⁵ Like men, female *charcutiers* were required to take the oath of the guild upon initiation and pay the same fee of 12p.s. in order to become officially registered craftspersons.¹⁵⁶ Unlike men, females were not allowed to take apprentices unless they were widows and the apprentice had been employed before their husband's death.

¹⁵³ “*Item. Que chacun Charcutier cuise les chars, qu'il cuira en vaisseaulx nets & bien escurez, & couvre les chars quand elles seront cuites de naples & singe blanc, qui n'ayt à rien servy depuis ce qu'il aura esté blanchy, sur peine de vingt sols parisis d'amende, à appliquer comme deslus,*” La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Charcutiers*, T. III, 118.

¹⁵⁴ “*Item, Que femme quele qu'elle soit, ne puisse faire pain à celebrer en Eglise,*” La Mare, [1406] *Statutes des Pâtissiers*, La Mare, T. IV, 617.

¹⁵⁵ “*Premièrement. Que tous les Charcutiers & Saulcissiers dessus nommez, tant hommes que femmes vefves qui tiennent & exercent de présent ledit Mestier, & tiennent Ouvroirs en cette ville de Paris, cy-dessus nommez, demoureront, seront le serment & seront passez Maistres en iceluy Mestier: C'est assavoir iceux hommes Maistres, sans faire aucun Chef-d'œuvre, en payant au Roy douze sols parisis, & les femmes desquelles les maris auront exercé le dit Mestier, & au regard des autres qui se sont ingérez eulx entremetre dudit Mestier, qui ne sont cy-nommez, & qui n'auront point fait de serment, ne payé lesdits droits, deffence leur sera faite de non plus eulx entremetre doresnavant dudit Mestier, sur peine de soixante sols parisis d'amende, & de confiscation des Chars qu'ils seront trouvez vendans, & des Saulcisses qui seront trouvez faisans & vendans.*”, La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Charcutiers*, T. III, 117.

¹⁵⁶ La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Charcutiers*, T. III, 117.

The *Charcutiers* were also mandated to submit to a four-year apprenticeship, which was much more than the two required of their contemporary *Rôtisseurs*.¹⁵⁷ However, the clause that implemented four-year apprenticeships did not restrict females from apprenticing and also did not ban non-family members from completing their apprenticeship. The *Charcutiers* seems to have been a tool of the *Grand Châtelet* to not only feed increasing populations, but also broaden the employment panorama of the city to include more residents in the economic life of the victualling trades. It seems that in order to counteract the ease with which one could join the *Charcutiers*, the *Grand Châtelet* increased the length of the training period to double that of the *Rôtisseurs*.¹⁵⁸

As well, unlike the *Rôtisseurs*, the *Charcutiers* were slightly more specific about the path toward mastership within their guild. When a valet, presumably male, had served a master charcutier for an unspecified period of time, the master could nominate his valet for mastership by providing testimony about the valet's skill, and through the valet's completion of a *chef-d'œuvre* (masterpiece).¹⁵⁹ The *Charter* did not specify any parameters for the masterpiece, but certainly it would have included presentation of a variety of cooked meats and sauces that demonstrated his mastership of the mysteries of the *Charcutiers*. If the valet was successfully received into the guild as a master, he was required to pay the standard 12p.s. membership

¹⁵⁷ “Item, que nulz ne puisse prendre varlet ou dit mestier d'ores en avant s'il n'a este aprentiz ou dit mestier deux ans, ou s'il n'est filz de mestre, et aucune chose sache ou dit mestier; et se le filz du mestre ne sait riens du mestier par quoi il puisse la marchandise exercer, que il [tiegne] à ses despens un des ouvriers du mestier qui en soit expert, jusques à tant que ycelui filz de maistre le sache convenablement exercer, aus diz des maistres du dit mestier. Et se il avient que aucuns des ouvriers du dit mestier face le contraire, il paiera x s. d'amende, c'est à savoir vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus maistres du dit mestier pour leur peine.” La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers* T. III, 212; “Item. Que chacun Maistre dudit Meltier ne pourra avoir que ung Aprenty, & à quatre ans de service, sur peine de vingt sols parisis d'amende, & payera chacun Aprenty pour son entrée deux sols parisis; c'est assavoir, douze deniers au Roy, & douze deniers à la Confraire dudit Mestier,” La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Chaircutiers*, T. III, 118.

¹⁵⁸ La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Chaircutiers*, T. III, 118.

¹⁵⁹ “Premièrement...,” La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Chaircutiers*, T. III, 117.

rate.¹⁶⁰ Anyone who avoided apprenticing and serving as a valet, and who opened an unlicensed charcuterie, was liable to pay the harsh fine of 60p.s. for each time they were caught trying to sell cooked meats, soups, and sauces.¹⁶¹

It should be noted that unlicensed cooks, hucksters, or *foran* (foreign) masters, whether they were charcutiers, rôisseurs, or poulailliers, not only infringed on guild bylaws but also deprived masters of business and apprentices and valets of the validity of doing an apprenticeship in their respective crafts. Thus, guild policing emanated from the *Grand Châtelet*, but community policing of trades was also most likely a very effective tool in identifying and prosecuting violators. Craftspersons that had devoted years of their lives and their economic livelihood to a craft would have been very likely to lodge complaints against those that they felt were transgressing the very clear rights of the Charcutiers.

Although the *Charter* of the *Charcutiers* did not make mention of any specific place in which valets and apprentices were received into the guild, the entire body was mandated to convene each year on the first day of October, the feast of Saint Remigius, in order to elect one or both of the members of their jury. This election was open to all gentlemen of the guild, an act that had the effect of eliminating females from the election process but including all levels of male master, valet, and apprentice.¹⁶² By extension, it seems that only men held the offices of jury members. It would be incorrect to characterize the practical function and administration of the *Charcutiers* as democratic, especially from a gendered perspective, but it did operate on a

¹⁶⁰ “*Premièrement...*” La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Chaircutiers*, T. III, 117.

¹⁶¹ “*Premièrement...*” La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Chaircutiers*, T. III, 117.

¹⁶² “*Item. Et pour la garde dudit Mestier y aura deux Jurez, qui se seront & esliront par les Preud'hommes du commun dudit Mestier, & chacun an, au jour de saint Remy, en seront changez ung ou deux, & en seront esleus d'autres par lesdits Preud'hommes; laquelle eilection se sera par ceux dudit Mestier oudict Chastelet, devant Nous, ou nostre Lieutenant, & jureront lesdicts Jurez bien & loyalement garder lesdits Statuts & Ordonnances, & apporter les fautes qu'ils trouveront, en la Chambre dudit Procureur du Roy: Et oultre seront tenus lesdit Jurez par chacun an, de rendre compte oudict Mestier des amendes & aultres,*” La Mare, [1475] *Premier Statutes des Chaircutiers*, T. III, 118.

notion of universal suffrage for males, regardless of rank within the guild. Like the guilds that governed them, each cook shop functioned on a well-defined hierarchy that preserved an unequal allocation of power and participation based on traditional social values.

The fact that the *Charcutiers* were given their own jury, as opposed to being established as a minor company under the watch of the jury of *Rôtisseurs*, seems to have been a strong statement on the part of d'Estouteville in regards to limiting the monopoly previously held by the *Rôtisseurs* on the fast food economy of the city. For an unknown reason, the *Rôtisseurs* did not lodge any grievances or applications for modification of the statutes of the *Charcutiers* at the Grand Châtelet. The *Livre de couleur du Châtelet*, the register of official transactions of the Grand Châtelet, contains no grievances against the *Charcutiers* in response to their achievement of the right to sell cooked meat. In the sixteenth century, the *Rôtisseurs* would busily populate the courts of the Châtelet with grievances against the *Taverniers* and *Poulailliers* that we shall explore shortly, but the *Charcutiers* were left to their own devices in so far as the *Grand Châtelet* was concerned.

In fifteenth-century London, arrangements were much simpler. The establishment of the Worshipful Company of Cooks—from an unChartered guild to a worshipful company with full rights of inspection and governance of its craft—happened over a relatively short period between 1461 and 1495. The year 1461 did not mark the promulgation of any new cookery legislation in London, but instead was the year that the King of Arms granted the Cooks' Guild their first coat of arms.¹⁶³ Just over a decade later, the London Cooks registered their first self-made ordinances, the *Ordinaciones Cocorum*, that were approved by the aldermen of the city in 1475.¹⁶⁴ We know

¹⁶³ Borg, 39; Taverner Phillips, 14.

¹⁶⁴ [1475] "Ordinaciones Cocorum," *Calendar of letter-books of the city of London: L*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London, City of London, 1912) fol. 110. Also see appendix.

that this *Ordinance* was the handiwork of the Cooks' Guild itself, since it was registered in the form of a "petition of good men of the Mistery of Cooks that certain Ordinances might be approved."¹⁶⁵ Although not a complex law—it contained only seven proper bylaws—the 1475 *Ordinaciones Cocorum* was a more substantial body of ordinances than any the London cooks had ever been subject to previously. The short *Ordinance* stated:

That no one of the Craft sell fish and flesh together on Wednesdays.

That no one sell any vitailles to any huxter that is to say Elys Tartes nor Flawnes nor any suche bake metes sauf onely to free persones of the said Citee nor no mold ware be made by hande nor by mold to sell in their Shoppes nor to any huxter to retaiill nor to any other but if it be bespoken fore to the Feests, under penalty.

That no one of the Craft colour nor mayntene any foreyn persone nor sett him awerk as long as ther is any freman to set awerk that can werk.

That no one of the Craft sende any maner Roost vitaille to any place but it be paied fore in money to the value of the vitaille withoute plegge or it go oute of their dores or be cutte of their broches

The Ordinances to be shown to the whole of the Fellowship twice a year at a convenient place, under penalty.¹⁶⁶

This *Ordinance* was a move made by the cooks to revise the disjointed body of ancient assizes that governed their craft within London and to update some penalties. The statute that repeated Henry III's assize against selling rotten meat was newly updated with the hefty fine of 6s. 8d.¹⁶⁷ Some of the statutes are themselves quite unclear. We know, Wednesdays, Fridays, Lent and other observances were mandated as fast days by the church; however, the first article of the 1475 *Ordinance* only banned the mixing of fish and flesh on Wednesdays, being silent on the requirements for other fast days. The clause that mentioned sale of "fish and flesh together" may

¹⁶⁵ [1475] "Ordinaciones Cocorum," *Letter Book L*, fol. 110.

¹⁶⁶ [1475] "Ordinaciones Cocorum," *Letter Book L*, fol. 110.

¹⁶⁷ "Provided alwey that if any of the saide feolasshippe sell any vitaille Rawe or unseasonable that than he satisfye the Bier of his hurtes and make fyne of vjs. Viijd," [1475] "Ordinaciones Cocorum", *Letter Book L*, fol. 110.

refer to soups and sauces specifically a clause that, as we know from the *Charter of Charcutiers*, promulgated the same year was a concern in Paris as well.¹⁶⁸

The style of the *Ordinaciones Cocorum* was similar to the thirteenth-century *Assize of Cooks* in that it included very few but sweeping statutes that seem to have been designed to be applied in the broadest possible circumstances. The *Charcutiers' Charter* of 1475 contained more than fifteen statutes, some of which were repetitive in nature but more definite in detail than the London *Ordinaciones* of 1475. For example, the *Ordinaciones* was silent on anything to do with apprenticeships or the method by which members could obtain mastership. The overwhelming concern of the 1475 *Ordinaciones* was with the elimination of foreigners, or non-Londoners, and with the prohibition of transporting food for sale throughout the city except in cases where masters were catering to feasts.¹⁶⁹ It seems that the masters did not want other cooks carrying food around for sale, not only for sanitary reasons, but likely due to the fact that a huckster might take up a lucrative spot near a cook shop, thereby forestalling cook shop customers. London's increasing fifteenth-century population was comprised, in part, by recent migrants seeking more employment opportunities who could very well have been making finger foods in their house and transporting them for sale in baskets throughout the city simply to make ends meet. Shortly after the *Ordinaciones* were registered with the aldermen in 1475, the guild was officially granted the status of worshipful company through the *Charter* of 1482.¹⁷⁰ Borg obtained the *Charter* and included a translation in his 2011 *History of the Worshipful Company of Cooks*; however, the *Charter* itself does not innovate on the 1475 *Ordinaciones*. Instead the

¹⁶⁸ “That no one of the Craft sell fish and flesh together on Wednesdays,” [1475] “*Ordinaciones Cocorum*,” *Letter Book L*, fol. 110.

¹⁶⁹ “That no one sell any vitailles to any huxter that is to say Elys Tartes nor Flawnes nor any suche bake metes sauf onely to fre persones of the said Citee nor no mold ware be made by hande nor by mold to sell in their Shoppes nor to any huxter to retail nor to any other but if it be bespoken fore to the Feests, under penalty,” [1475] “*Ordinaciones Cocorum*,” *Letter Book L*, fol. 110.

¹⁷⁰ Borg, 199–201.

text was restricted to establishment of the validity of the jury of the Cooks' Company.¹⁷¹ This *Charter* would be re-stated by successive monarchs throughout the early modern period with only the ordinances themselves subject to manipulation.¹⁷²

The most complex ordinances came for the London Cooks in 1495. While cooks and pastelers seem to have been treated as relatively separate in the fourteenth century, by the end of the fifteenth century they had joined together. Earlier we mentioned that Stow's early seventeenth-century *Survey of London* noted that the hall in which the Cooks of London met was called the Cooks and Pastelers' Hall.¹⁷³ While this seems to imply that the guilds were joined by the seventeenth century, the Pastelers *Ordinance* of 1495 demonstrates clearly that the two guilds had joined sometime in the fifteenth century or earlier. The lengthy new *Ordinances* seem to have superseded the Cooks' earlier Ordinances of 1475 by incorporating all elements of the 1475 Charter, as well as including a number of new statutes.¹⁷⁴

The seventeen clauses contained in the 1495 *Ordinances* were concerned with three primary categories of legislation: powers belonging to the warden's court, regulation of the fraternal activities of the guild, and regulation of catering and banquet services. Other than restricting sale of food from suspected hucksters, the 1495 *Ordinances* of the cooks did not include any increased food safety measures.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Borg, 199–201.

¹⁷² James I briefly issued a new Charter in 1605, however, this Charter was subsequently replaced with the 1482 Charter by 1614, Unwin, 264.

¹⁷³ Stow, "Aldersgate warde," in *A Survey of London, by John Stow: Reprinted from the text of 1603* ed. C. L. Kingsford (1908), 310.

¹⁷⁴ [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers," in *Calendar of letter-books of the city of London: L: Edward IV-Henry VII*, ed. Reginald Sharpe (London: City of London 1912), fol. 320.

¹⁷⁵ "That no one thenceforth send any victuals ready dressed about the streets or lanes to be sold, under penalty of forfeiture of the same to the use of poor prisoners in Ludgate and Newgate and fine.," [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers", *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

Instead, the most echoed concern of the document was with regulating catering of banquets. Commerce in banquet catering seems to have increased markedly during the fifteenth century. Early ordinances did not mention feasting or banqueting at all, while the 1475 *Ordinances* mentioned only that food was allowed to be transported throughout the city for banquets and feasts.¹⁷⁶ However, the 1495 *Ordinances* regulated catering through five new statutes. The overwhelming concern of these statutes was in maintaining the right of members of the Cooks' Company to cater to all feasts that happened within the city limits. Foreigners were specifically prohibited from coming to London and offering their services as a caterer, with the fine of 10s. and forfeiture of all food with which they were caught.¹⁷⁷ Other statutes banned masters from catering more than two lunches and one dinner per day with a hefty 6s. 8d. fine assessed upon violators.¹⁷⁸ In addition to reserving the right of catering within the city for themselves, the 1495 *Ordinances* also regularized kitchen service in the Lord Mayor's household and in the Tower of London saying,

That whate persone or persones of the same Crafte that hereafter shall serve the Maire for the tyme beyng or any of the Shireffes for the yere of Mairaltie or Shervalte as their householde Coke or Cokes shalle neither in his own propre persone nor by any his servaunt or servauntes by Colour Crafte or otherwise that yere dresse or do to be dressed any Festes brekfastes dyners or Sopers for any Weddynges obites Craftes or otherwise out of the Maire or Sherriffes houses without suche Fest brekfast dyner or Souper be made at the cost and charge of the said Maire and Sherreffes for the tyme beyng to thentent that every man of the same Feaulisshippe may have a competent livyng, under penalty prescribed.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ "That no one sell any vitailles to any huxter that is to say Elys Tartes nor Flawnes nor any suche bake metes sauf onely to fre persones of the said Citee nor no mold ware be made by hande nor by mold to sell in their Shoppes nor to any huxter to retaill nor to any other but if it be bespoken fore to the Feests, under penalty.", [1475] "Ordinaciones Cocorum", *Letter Book L*, fol. 110.

¹⁷⁷ "That if any foreyn or straunger take upon hym to make or dresse any Fest dyner or Souper within the same Citee or liberties therof that thanne it shalbe lefull to the Wardeyns for the tyme beyng with a Serjaunt of the Maires to them assigned to attache take and arrest any such Foreyn or straunger so makynge any Fest dyner or Souper and to bryng the same Foreyn or straunger to prison and to bide the punysshement of the Maire and Aldermen for the tyme beyng and over that to forfeite at every tyme so doying 10s. to be divided in maner and forme abovesai," [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers", *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

¹⁷⁸ "That no one of the Craft shall from henceforth make or do to be made upon one day more than ij dyners and one Souper, under penalty of 6s. 8d.," [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers", *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

¹⁷⁹ [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers," *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

Therefore, it seems that cooks who served the Tower of London and the Lord Mayor's household served for a term of one year with an unspecified process existing for replacing outgoing cooks. As well, although there is not a stated reason that the Lord Mayor and tower's cooks were prevented from serving banquets, it is possible that their employment was regular and remunerated well enough that they were seen to have sufficient employment. Other feasts happened regularly enough that they were listed as examples of the types of feasts for which masters had to apply for the rights to serve: the annual Mayor's Feast, Sheriffs' Feast, Tailors' Feast, and Sergeants' Feast, and so on.¹⁸⁰ The *Ordinances* note that this was not only so that the masters could control work in the catering industry, but also so that feasts would be "welle and worshipfully dressed for thonoure of this Citee..."¹⁸¹

Although mentioned less frequently than the theme of banquets, the 1495 *Ordinances* marked the beginning of a protracted period of consolidation of the Company's control over food inspection and dispute resolution over the entire craft that would not conclude until the establishment of the Court of Assistants in 1616. Two rather unassuming statutes in the 1495 *Ordinances* state:

That disputes be submitted to the Wardens before action be taken at law.

That the Wardens have authority to search and oversee all manner of dressed victuals in open shops, to see if they be wholesome and also whether the penyworthes therof be reasonable for the comon wele of the Kynges liege people or not.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ "That no persone nor persones enfranchised in the said Crafte of Pastelers from hensforth shalle take upon hym or theym to make any grete Festes as the Serjauntes Fest the Maires Fest the Shireffes Fest and the Tailours Fest without thadvice of the Wardeyns to thentent that the Fests of everiche of theym shalbe welle and worshipfully dressed for thonoure of this Citee and also for thonour and proffite of the persones that shalle bere the charges therof, under penalty prescribed.", [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers," *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

¹⁸¹ [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers", *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

¹⁸² [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers", *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

While aspects regulating banquet catering appeared in five of the 1495 statutes, the only two statutes that regulated aspects of the Company's control over ordinance enforcement were those above. Before the 1495 *Ordinances*, it seems that it was up to plaintiffs to seek wardens to summons cooks that sold rotten meat. However, the new clause that forced members to allow the wardens of the Cooks' Company to enter their shops and inspect all food seems to be one of the most important steps in consolidation of the cooks' control over the craft. It did not remove that right from the agents of the Court of Common Council; however, it did establish that the company itself was an entity in the inspection process alongside the agents of the Court of Common Council.

Even more ambitious was the statute seeking to insert the jury of the Cooks Company as an intermediate adjudicating body between the cooks of the city and the Court of Common Council: "That disputes be submitted to the Wardens before action be taken at law."¹⁸³ Although the 1475 *Ordinaciones Cocorum* did not mention any modifications to the traditional process of masters being tried at Common Council, the 1495 *Ordinacio dez Pastelers* was clearly moving in the direction of establishing the jury of the Cooks Company as an intermediary mechanism of dispute resolution within the craft. Since there was not a fine attached to this statute, it seems that it was more of an early, soft attempt at overtaking the responsibilities of the Court of Common Council. In 1616 when James I established the Court of Assistants, it became, in law and in practice, the wardens of the jury of the Cooks' Company that issued summonses, heard cases, and decided upon outcomes; however, it seems that the roots of this movement can be seen in the 1495 Charter.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers", *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

¹⁸⁴ Borg, 72.

In addition to assuming more control over the craft, the 1495 *Ordinances of Pastelers* was also concerned, in large part, with regulating the activities of the cooks' fraternity. The 1475 *Ordinances* only vaguely referred to the presence of a confraternal bond between the cooks of London in that they were to maintain the older masters of the craft. The *Ordinances* of 1495 now took great care to regulate the more aspects of the confraternal life of the cooks than any previous legislation. Most notably, "every brother of ability and power" was to pay 4s. each year for the "for the priest and clerks."¹⁸⁵ Since this 4s. fee was assessed on each member by financial ability, it is difficult to know how much money the company would have collected for housing of clergy, and by extension, the size of the ecclesiastical community associated with the Cooks of London. We know that the Cooks' Hall was built shortly after May 1500, making it unlikely that the late fifteenth-century cooks of London carried out their confraternal activities at a purpose-built Cooks' Hall. Instead, it seems that the religious activities of the company were carried out in a church, since a later statute noted that each member of the craft was to attend mass on the Feast of the Exultation of the Holy Cross, or each 4 September, and that they were to "attend an appointed church."¹⁸⁶ Therefore, word was sent around the community beforehand, with each member expected to attend at the specified church on 14 September and pay a fee of 1d.¹⁸⁷ On the next morning, every 15 September, the guild members were required to attend a solemn memorial requiem mass in commemoration of the deceased cooks of the city.¹⁸⁸ This memorial requiem mass likely took a form similar to the traditional All Souls Day mass wherein the full requiem was said in the presence of an unoccupied catafalque, and without a procession and graveside service. When members of the Company did die, all members were required to attend

¹⁸⁵ [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers", *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

¹⁸⁶ [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers," *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

¹⁸⁷ Masters who could not attend the mass were not exempt from the 1d. fee, [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers," *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

¹⁸⁸ [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers," *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

the requiem mass as well as organize the carrying of the body to the church and to the gravesite.¹⁸⁹ It is possible that the family members of deceased masters did not have to pay a separate fee for the requiem, since the Company already had a priest and choir in its employ.

The pace of modification of the role, form, and function of the Cooks' Company altered dramatically at the close of the fifteenth century. The guild had only received its coat of arms in 1461 and by 1500 had the status of a Worshipful Company, possession of a plot of land on Aldersgate Street on which to build the Cooks' Hall, and maintained a regulated fraternity of craftsmen who provided for sick and destitute brethren, and who organized funerals of their brethren and sistern, and cared to the spiritual needs of the living and deceased. Except for the brief revocation of these statutes by James I from 1614 to 1616, there were no further modifications to the ordinances that were registered with the Court of Common Council. Unfortunately, the company's achievement of a Court of Assistants led to the ability to produce and approve its own internal bylaws, as opposed to needing to register them with the civic courts; these would have been kept in the Cooks' Hall and were likely among the records destroyed in the fires.

While the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries marked a period of increasing power and control for London's Cooks' Company, the opposite was true for the *Rôtisseurs* of Paris. The sixteenth century marked the onset of an extended period of damage control for the *Rôtisseurs*, likely stemming from the end of their monopoly on cooked meat when the *Charcutiers* were established in 1475. In 1509 the *Rôtisseurs* received a new *Charter* from Louis XII, which maintained all of the medieval rights granted to them, with a single major innovation: the

¹⁸⁹ "That every brother, on due warning, attend funerals, obits, &c., of Brethren and Sistern of the Fellowship," "That every one enfranchised in the Craft that hereafter shalbe commaunded by the Wardeyns to bere the Corce of any brother or sister of the same Crafte to burying shall bere the same Corce or Corces to the Churche and to burying without any resistence grudge or geyneseyng of any persone or persones so commaunded upon peyn of iijs. iiijd." [1495] "Ordinacio dez Pastelers", *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

Charter of Louis XII interrupted the *Poulailliers*' monopoly on sales of roasted poultry and game, establishing that the *Rôtisseurs* could also sell "all manner of dressed, larded, redressed, re-feathered, or roasted meat that is becoming to the human body."¹⁹⁰ In the 1258 *Charter*, in effect until 1509, poultry was not mentioned as a meat to which the *Rôtisseurs* had the rights of sale. The term *en plume* in the 1509 *Charter* made it clear that the *Rôtisseurs* now had the right to sell feathered birds.¹⁹¹ This touched off a process of litigation in the *Grand Châtelet* that continued over the next half-century and would ultimately see the *Rôtisseurs* assume control over the *Poulailliers* in 1578.¹⁹²

Although the *Charters* alone do not clarify whether the *Poulailliers* sought to join the *Rôtisseurs* of their own volition, whether it was a motion that originated from within the royal court, or whether they were taken over; however, *Livres de Couleur* show that it was the *Rôtisseurs* who appealed for the right to sell poultry and game in a *requêt* (request) submitted to the *Grand Châtelet* in February 1547.¹⁹³ Between February and April 1547, a complex series of events unfolded. Francis I decided on the case in favour of the *Rôtisseurs* on 12 February 1547, but then issued a separate declaration stating that the *Rôtisseurs*, *Poulailliers*, and *tous autres* (all others) could sell poultry and game within Paris.¹⁹⁴ It is unknown why this broad phrase was included in the decision; however, it essentially deregulated the sale of poultry and game within the city. Nevertheless, Francis I died on 31 March 1547, and Henry II issued two new *lettres de cachet* (royal seal), on 9 April 1547 that reregulated the sale of poultry, confined rights to vend

¹⁹⁰ " ... toutes Viandes habillées, lardées, en poil, en plume, rosties, & prestes pour Tissage du corps humain ...", La Mare, [1509] *Confirmation des statuts des Oyers*, T. III, 213.

¹⁹¹ La Mare, [1509] *Confirmation des statuts des Oyers*, T. III, 213.

¹⁹² La Mare, [1567] *Confirmation des statuts des Oyers*, T. III, 215–216.

¹⁹³ Feb. 1549, #4409, *Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, vol. 2, *Bannières*, ed. Alexandre Tuetey (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1899) 140.

¹⁹⁴ Feb. 1549, #4410 & 4411, *Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, vol. 2, *Bannières*, 140.

to the *Rôtisseurs* and *Poulailliers* alone, and took the dramatic step of joining the guilds.¹⁹⁵ It seems that between 1547 and 1578, the *Poulailliers* continued to exist as merchants in their own right until the *Arête* of 1578, issued by Henry III, suppressed whatever remnants of the *Poulailliers* guild that had survived the initial takeover by the *Rôtisseurs* in 1547. After 1578, the *Poulailliers* ceased existence as a separate guild within the city, never to be revived. The push toward this suppression, we can now say, came from the *Rôtisseurs*' patient and skillful use of the city merchants' courts.

The *Rôtisseurs*' enjoyment of their newfound freedom to sell poultry would be short lived. The preamble of their 1567 *Charter* noted that the right to sell cooked poultry was granted largely because of the need for cooked game and chicken at catered banquets.¹⁹⁶ It is impossible to know how much catering master cooks did; however, it was an important enough part of their craft to be given as the primary reason for granting *Rôtisseurs* the rights to prepare poultry in 1567. This would change abruptly and permanently in 1599 when the guild of *Cuisiniers* was founded.

Their full name, *Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, alluded to the only commercial monopoly that the *Cuisiniers* were granted: *traiterie* (catering). However, catering was not the full-time occupation of master *cuisiniers*. When they were established in 1599, the *Cuisiniers* first *Charter* declared that mastership within the guild was limited to cooks that currently served the royal household, princely and other noble households resident in Paris, and cooks working in the households of

¹⁹⁵ April 1549, #4412, *Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, vol. 2, *Bannières*, 140.

¹⁹⁶ "Ledit Seigneur deuëment informé, que la grande superfluité des Viandes qui se fait ès Nopces, Festins & Banquets, apporte la cherté des Volailles & Gibier, veut & entend que l'Ordonnance fur ce par luy faite, soit renouvelles & gardée, & pour la contravention d'icelle, soient punis des peines y apposées, tant ceux qui font tels Festins, que les Maistres d'Hostels qui les dressent & conduisent, & les Cuisiniers qui y servent," La Mare, [1567] *Confirmation des statutes des Oyers*, T. III, 215.

the presidents of the Parlement de Paris.¹⁹⁷ Provocatively, the first statute of the 1599 *Charter* prohibited Rôtisseurs, Charcutiers, Pâtissiers and *autres personnes* (other people) from carrying out any form of feast, banquet, or dinner catering within the city.¹⁹⁸ *Livres de Couleur* do not list any appeals lodged at the *Grand Châtelet* against the *Cuisiniers* by the Rôtisseurs. This is all the more notable, since the *Cuisiniers* took the entire monopoly on catering, whereas the usual practice of the *Grand Châtelet* in previous centuries had been to share monopolies, such as the sharing of the rights to sell cooked meat between the *Charcutiers* and the *Rôtisseurs* after 1475. Since the *Cuisiniers* represented a formal confraternal network that encompassed the cooks of the most prestigious kitchens in the city, it is possible that they appealed to their masters to somehow help facilitate such a smooth acquisition of guild status and the catering monopoly from another, much more ancient culinary guild.

The charters did not say why the right to cater was granted to the cooks of elite household specifically. Although *garçons de cuisine* of the bourgeois were allowed membership in the guild, they were prohibited from holding any status above journeyman, and this precluded their ability to cater feasts unless they were hired by a master cuisinier.¹⁹⁹ The *Charter* also included a

¹⁹⁷ “Article VIII: *Item, Que les Ecuyers de Cuisine, Maistres Queux, Potagers, Hateurs, enfans de Cuisine du Roy, de la Reine, des Princes & Princesses, eux voulans retirer en ladite ville de Paris, & se presentans au corps dudit mestier, seront receus Maistres quand bon leur semblera, faisant apparoir seulement leurs Lettres de retenue & certificat, comme ils auront esté employez en l'Estat de la Maison de Sa Majesté & autres;* Article IX: *Item, Que les Ecuyers de Cuisine Maistres Queux Porte Chappes Hateurs enfans de cuisine des Seigneurs, Presidens, Conseillers eux voulans se retirer en ladite ville de Paris, & se presentans au corps dudit mestier, seront receus Maistres audit corps dudit mestier, faisant apparoir du fidel service qu'ils auront fait à leurs Maistres le temps & espace de trois ans & faisant aussi une simple experience dudit mestier de Cuisinier & payant les droits de Confrairie & de boëte; & dont ils seront aussi tenus faire serment pardevant nostredit Procureur,*” La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

¹⁹⁸ “Article Premier. *Premierement, que les Paticiers, Rotisseurs, Charcutiers & autres personnes, de quelque mestier qu'ils soient, ne pourront ereprendre dudit mestier pour faire nopces, festins, ou banquets, tant en leurs maisons, qu'en autres lieux, si ce n'est chacun de leur mestier, à peine de l'amende,*” La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

¹⁹⁹ Article X. *Item, Que les garçons de cuisine portant la hotte pourront, lorsque bon leur semblera, aller travailler pour les bourgeois en leurs maisons, seulement à leurs journées, & ne pourront autrement entreprendre dudit mestier de Cuisinier, soit en nopces ou festins, a peine de l'amende qui sera jugée en la maniere accoustumée,*” La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

set of very specific rules that outlined how one could obtain both their journeyship and mastership. The rules varied depending on a number of factors with mastership being the most difficult level to obtain. Unlike any other culinary guild in Paris, the *Cuisiniers* had to adapt their membership structure to reflect the large variety of culinary positions that existed in large sixteenth-century households. Cooks of any status that worked in a noble or royal household—*Ecuyers de Cuisine, Maistres Queux, Potagers, Hasteurs, Enfants de cuisine*—were allowed membership in the guild at the status of a journeyman upon presentation of *lettres de retenue* that certified the individuals' employment status within the royal household or in any of the various princely households of Paris.²⁰⁰ Any level of cook from noblemen's households or the household of a president or counsellor of Parlement de Paris, however, had to supply *lettres de retenue* that recorded at least three years' employment within the household. As well, the cooks of royal and princely households were exempt from making a minor masterpiece (*simple experience*), while noble and parliamentary cooks were required to do so.²⁰¹ What would be included in a minor masterpiece is unclear, however, as it seems to have been a way of certifying unknown and newcomer cooks of rural nobility that may have been brought from country seats to serve their masters in their Parisian households. It is unclear whether the quality of food and kitchen organization would vary greatly between the household of a prince and a duke so it

²⁰⁰ “Article VIII: *Item, Que les Ecuyers de Cuisine, Maistres Queux, Potagers, Hasteurs, enfans de Cuisine du Roy, de la Reine, des Princes & Princesses, eux voulans retirer en ladite ville de Paris, & se presentans au corps dudit mestier, seront receus Maistres quand bon leur semblera, faisant apparoir seulement leurs Lettres de retenue & certificat, comme ils auront esté employez en l'Estat de la Maison de Sa Majesté & autres,*” La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

²⁰¹ Article IX: *Item, Que les Ecuyers de Cuisine Maistres Queux Porte Chappes Hasteurs enfans de cuisine des Seigneurs, Presidents, Conseillers eux voulans se retirer en ladite ville de Paris, & se presentans au corps dudit mestier, seront receus Maistres audit corps dudit mestier, faisant apparoir du fidel service qu'ils auront fait à leurs Maistres le temps & espace de trois ans & faisant aussi une simple experience dudit mestier de Cuisinier & payant les droits de Confrairie & de boëte; & dont ils seront aussi tenus faire serment pardevant nostredit Procureur.*”, La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

seems that the statutes were heavily influenced to reflect social status as opposed to some intrinsic operational difference between princely and ducal kitchens, for example.

In order to receive the mastership, journeymen had to complete three years of service under a master before being allowed to create the masterpiece.²⁰² The *Cuisiniers* placed a great emphasis on the masterpiece in their Charters. The masterpiece took the form of a banquet, prepared in the kitchen of a master *cuisinier* who also had to be a member of the jury, and at the expense of the potential master.²⁰³ Although the masterpiece banquet was cooked in the household of a jury member, a second jury member had to also be present and witness the event.²⁰⁴ The potential master was permitted up to twelve guild members to help him create the feast.²⁰⁵ Although the menu was not set, it had to include at least meat and fish and a variety of accompanying dishes that would be served at such events.²⁰⁶ The sons of master *cuisiniers* were allowed mastership after serving a two-year apprenticeship either under their father or one of the other masters, and without having to create a masterpiece feast.²⁰⁷ Beyond statement of their rights, specifying who could enter the guild, and how mastership was achieved, the *Cuisiniers* did not create any statutes that further defined the activities of their guild.

²⁰² “Article V. Item, *Que ceux qui desireront parvenir audit chef-d'œuvre & maistrises, seront tenus de faire apparoir de leur obligé, & service fait aux Maistres dudit mestier, le temps & espace de trois ans entiers, lesquels trois ans, ils s'obligeront à l'un desdits Maistres pour parvenir au chef-d'œuvre-ordonné cy-dessus, après lequel accompli ils seront receus Maistres audit mestier, & totitesfois ne pourront achever leurdit apprentissage chez leur Maistre, à cause de son décès, où il viendrait à deceder; en ce cas ils pourront achever leurdit apprentissage chez un autre Maistre dudit mestier*” La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

²⁰³ “Article IV. Item, *Que le chef-d'œuvre qui sera fait par celui qui voudra estre receu Maistre audit mestier, sera de chair & de poisson, le tout diversement & à ses dépens, selon les saisons de l'année, & sera fait en la maison de l'un desdits Jurez, auquel pourront assister douze Maistres dudit mestier.*”, La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

²⁰⁴ “Article III. Item, *Que nul ne pourra estre receu à la maîtrise dudit mestier des Maistres Queux, Cuisiniers & Porie-Chappe en ladite ville de Paris, que au préalable il n'ait fait chef-d'œuvre, en la presence de deux Maistres dudit mestier qui seront esleus Jurez*,” La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

²⁰⁵ “Article IV”, La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

²⁰⁶ “Article IV”, La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

²⁰⁷ “Article VI. Item, *Que pour le regard des fils de Maistres dudit mestier, ils seront receus maistres sans faire chef-d'œuvre, après toutefois avoir servi leur pere, ou l'un des Maistres, le temps & espace de deux ans seulement, & payé les droits de Confrairie & de boëte, dont ils seront seulement tenus de prêter le serment pardevant notredit Procureur au Châtelet.*”, La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

Possibly to appease the *Rôtisseurs* at the loss of their rights to cater within the city, the *Grand Chatelet* granted the jury of *Rôtisseurs* two concessions two years after the foundation of the *Cuisiniers*: in 1601 Henry IV granted lettres de cachet to the *Rôtisseurs* that forced the Taverners and hoteliers to only sell meat in taverns that had been bought from a master *Rôtisseur*, and that the jury of *Rôtisseurs* would have the rights to enter taverns and inspect their premises.²⁰⁸ Concessions regarding catering were never granted to the *Rôtisseurs*. In fact, by 1663 the *Cuisiniers* received their second *Charter*, which reaffirmed their right to cater feasts and formally legislated a number of confraternal aspects of the guild, indicating that the guild had only gotten stronger and surer of itself in the intervening sixty years. By 1663 the cooks claimed the Church of the Holy Innocents as the home of their fraternity and legislated members' attendance at a number of services and requiems as well as establishing such traditions as the annual donation of an altar cloth to the parish of Holy Innocents and financial support to old and infirm masters. Interestingly, the Church of the Holy Innocents was located adjacent to Les Halles, the ancient meeting place of the *Rôtisseurs*, so certainly the *Rôtisseurs* would have witnessed some of the public processions and spectacles of the *Cuisiniers*. However, once the *Rôtisseurs* lost the right to cater feasts, they lost it for good to an increasingly well-organized, well-connected guild of elite household cooks.

As we can now see, archetypal discussion of a medieval or early modern cook is plagued with difficulties when we examine what little evidence survives from pre-modern European cooks' guilds. It is likely that the complexities and vicissitudes that we can see playing out in London and Paris cooks' lives throughout the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries were also borne

²⁰⁸ Dec 1601–May 1604, #3432-3434, *Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, vol. 2, *Bannières*, 84.

out by the cooks of other European cities. Certainly a great amount of comparative research could be done in this area. Cooks touched a central nerve in medieval and early modern societies, and it was one that required careful and constant attention from authorities. The cooks Capulet referred to in the introductory quote of this chapter were, indeed, most cunning. *Romeo and Juliet* was set in late medieval Verona, but had Capulet been seeking to hire his cooks in London or Paris at the same time, he would have inevitably encountered the cooks' guilds maintaining their monopolies on catering and public cookery. Not only would Capulet have encountered the cooks' guilds, but had he flaunted their rules and hired an uncertified cook for his feast, he could very well have found his cooks' ingredients confiscated and the cook himself subject to fine or imprisonment.

It is also now possible to assert that great household cooks were not typically included as regulated, chartered members of the medieval cooks' guilds of Paris and London. This has led to some confusion in the past; however, it is now clear that the evidence that remains does not support the notion that cooks' guilds could assert controls in private household kitchens. The cooks that began to be listed as freemen in *Letter Books of the City of London* in 1309 did not necessarily reflect the presence of a cooks' guild. Rather, their presence reflected the recognition that they had obtained the freedom of the City of London alongside their brother masons, carpenters, vinters, spicers, and so on. The charters themselves demonstrate that the cookery guilds of Paris and London were almost entirely concerned with regulating public sale of goods and services. The cooks of London never did include any regulations pertaining to household cooks, and far from including professional household cooks in the Parisian cookery guilds, they were excluded until they founded their own guild in 1599.

We sometimes think of guilds as honorary bodies that represented a certain level of craftsmanship. While it is true that guilds of thirteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe did represent elements of quality craftsmanship and honour, the legal mechanics through which the Paris and London cookery guilds exercised their controls over local cooks sometimes resulted in anything but a sense of honour. As Henry de Passelewe discovered while watching his rotten capons burn from his perch in the London pillories, the cooks' guilds could augment or destroy a cooks' honour. The public maintenance of their fraternities, priests, requiems, and processions offered a level of credibility to the cooking profession that was unknown before the late medieval period. The processions of London cooks, slowly wending its way through the streets of medieval London, solemnly carrying their departed brethren and sistern toward the grave, while being led in the chanting of the *Miserere*, by the guild's priests must have left onlookers with a sense of authority, tradition, and respect concerning the cooks' guild, even if the occupation itself garnered little public esteem. On more happy occasions, the royal cooks of Paris could inevitably be found sitting down to a masterpiece banquet prepared by an exhausted but newly-received master, reaffirming their bonds of confraternal kinship through the commensality that naturally accompanied the craft.

Conclusion

Strange though they might have been, cooks and the culinary profession of pre-modern Europe have offered up some of their secrets to us. Great household cooks, in particular, have proven to be rich sources of information when seeking to understand kitchen management systems. Did Escoffier do anything original in regards to the kitchen brigade? No. Not to take away from his accomplishments, but brigade-style management systems dominated large, professionally staffed kitchens in France and England for centuries before Escoffier's life. It was never called a brigade during our periods, but functionally the core of the hierarchical, finite, task-oriented staffing structures of late medieval and early modern French and English great household kitchens represented the clear and logical forerunner to what is recognized today as the brigade de cuisine.

I originally intended to survey only French great households seeking to understand whether or not brigade-style management structures existed before Escoffier. The present study expanded to include England when I came to the realization that it would be worth including the sizeable and circuitous body of English evidence that led me to French diet accounts and servant lists. It would be an interesting and somewhat more manageable regional focus, so I thought, than the previous pan-European foci of earlier monographs. As it turned out, just as they fought on the battlefield during our period, so too did my French and English bodies of evidence vie for expression in the present study. One study could never sufficiently examine all comparative aspects of French and English great household dietary systems, but I hope to have begun to make a case for the antiquity and commonality of brigades de cuisine in large, professionally staffed kitchens of the past and encourage other scholars to examine the same questions in Iberian,

German, Eastern European, Russian, Byzantine, Ottoman, and even in Japanese and Chinese imperial contexts. Far from arguing that the French and English were unique in using brigade-style kitchen management, I instead assert that the structural approach to facilitating large-scale cookery in fourteenth-century French and English large-scale domestic contexts seems so similar that further and more far-reaching engagement with household records is necessary in order to trace where such influences originated. By the fourteenth century, and even the thirteenth, both France and England had long traditions of approaching large-scale kitchen management from remarkably similar perspectives. True, this was likely the result of the Norman Conquest, but still, did the Normans learn these practices from earlier large courts like Charlemagne's? We will likely never know, but the question is interesting nonetheless.

In other respects, we have been able to watch cooks operating under both ideal and day-to-day contexts. Within the ideal scope of vision, we saw cooks functioning with a full and varied pantry in recipe collections, able to combine and present the best of everything to their masters. It has been well established by past scholars that elite cooks had considerable amounts of experience in cooking vast arrays of quadrupeds, fish, and fowl to please their masters. Closer quantitative analysis of medieval French and English cookbooks, however, points to the fact that cooks used most types of ingredients without discernible consideration of any implications surrounding the use of simple ingredients like onions or beef and mutton bones. Broths were popular in medieval soups, sauces, and braised dishes, and simple dishes of eggs and herb sauce were common in Count Humbert's household on fast days. Each ingredient had its place high-status households.

Further still, the shifts associated with the mid-seventeenth-century French revolution in taste seem to appear not only before the mid-seventeenth century but in English cookbooks as

well. Some aspects of the old medieval style held on in England longer than others, a result of a predilection for spices and pointing soups and sauces with verjuice among other habits. But offal, some vegetables, less strongly seasoned dishes, beef, mutton, poultry, and many varieties of fish appeared in English and French cookbooks of both periods, causing cookbooks to reflect a cuisine that was less strict in its use of ingredients and interpretation of haute cuisine than some histories lead us to believe.

Moving away from the ideal, diet accounts reveal a far different picture of the demands that were placed on cooks working in large noble households. While a great variety of fowl and quadruped species appeared in the account groups examined here for both the medieval and early modern periods, our diet accounts indicate that the bulk of daily ingredients prepared by great household cooks were required for the domestic *familia*. Certainly our medieval accounts showed some tendency to receive fowl in volumes that reflected consumption of relatively few diners whereas beef and mutton appeared in volumes that indicated larger numbers of *familia* were relying on it for their primary sustenance. Considering these patterns, our medieval cooks of French and English great household were much more often consumed with managing and delegating relatively banal cookery tasks alongside a smaller quantity of fine or haute cookery.

The daily cookery and household dietary regimens pertaining to cooks working in French and English great households during the period leading up to the mid-seventeenth-century alleged revolution in taste show considerable variability, though these variables were not necessarily more pronounced than variables of previous centuries. Poultry and fowl continued to receive strong representation, alongside larger portions of beef, veal, mutton, lamb, udders, “merrybones”, and so on, in our sample of sixteenth- to mid-seventeenth-century diet accounts. The Reformation brought some changes to fasting patterns in English and, one could argue, to

France with the discontinuation or irregularly maintained Wednesday fasts, according to our sample of post-1550 royal *comptes de bouche*. Even more surprisingly, English great household cooks included in our sample were preparing remarkably greater varieties of fish during the post-Reformation periods than the cooks of great English great households included in our medieval sample. Some of these differences can be attributed to the evolution of more specific and thorough scribal conventions in diet accounts, but much of it was also due to a general expansion of dining habit convention that had been building across our period.

While cookbooks and diet accounts tell part of the story, our servant lists assist us to catch glimpses of cooks at work in their own elements as interdependent, hierarchical, dynamic groups of workers ready to see to their masters' needs through adapting their kitchen-management structures as needed. The presence of brigade-style kitchen management systems in great households from across our period is undeniable, though I must stress caution in the strength of using the structure of the brigade, or any one perspective—economic, literary, guild, household—with too much emphasis. The notion of the brigade works well for a comparative analysis such as the one presented here, but it is not a complete analytical tool from which a full understanding of cooks can emanate. As Woolgar cautioned regarding economic approaches, I have a similar caution regarding the use of the brigade as a conceptual model: One approach alone cannot fully reveal the complexity of the inner workings of medieval and early modern great households. Lines of power and control often crossed making each household that we have examined here a complex web of networks of hierarchy and task-oriented work that kept one foot in the noble realm and one foot in the public market place. How these aspects of culinary work were facilitated was different and unique in each household. Still, many of the thirteenth-century kitchen brigade positions are still present in modern brigades de cuisine under the same

names: garde manger, patissier, potaigier, saucier and so on. Duties have evolved, to be sure, but cooks have been organizing themselves into these types of systems within the great household context since before the temporal and regional parameters I have examined here.

Within the public cook-shop context, a completely different side of cooks presents itself. I was only able to focus on Paris and London due to the complexity of the civic bureaucracies within which they were embedded, but there are other caches of guild charters in the archives of Rouen, Dijon, Marseilles, York, Dublin, further afield in Rome, and I suspect in many other European archives. With more time and scholarly interest in analysing victualling guild charter evolution, it should be possible to develop a more complete understanding of aspects about which our documents provided little insight: the components of apprenticeship completion and training, masterwork-exam components, wage comparisons, familial entry and external entry patterns to trades, and so on. Within our larger discussion regarding great household cooks, it seems clear that the vast amount of Paris and London's early cooks' guilds' efforts was directed at governing public sale of food within respective city limits. Some household cooks appear in the *Letter Books* of London, but most seem to have been cooks working at urban cook shops, working under charters whose first clauses—in both cities—often established that only those who sold food to the public were subject to guild membership. Our royal household cooks did not always work in London or Paris proper throughout the year, nor were the guild wardens ever brazen enough to try to inspect royal or noble kitchens. The wardens could neither inspect an artisan's household kitchen staffed by one or two maids or inspect a labourers' kitchen unless they suspected illicit creation and sale of food to the public without meeting all guild criteria. *Cuisiniers* (1599) of Paris offered the first formal mechanisms through which to allow great

household cooks entry into a civic guild, and in this case, wardens could examine new masters and inspect goods being prepared for catered events.

Professional cooks working in late medieval and early modern Europe sat at intersections of their societies that placed them on the forefront of translation of prevailing social customs and norms into tangible, tasty morsels. If we were a fly on the wall, we could discern with a careful, prolonged study of the operation of the kitchen whether one worked for a Reformed master, a grand noble, or the master cook of an urban cook shop. Unfortunately the modern historian is left with much less to study than medieval flies had at their disposal. We must be ready to engage cooks on their own terms before the larger patterns present in their trade sectors reveal themselves. This is true today, but it is true of how we must engage with evidence regarding their work from centuries past.

Bakers, too, deserve consideration given that evidence used in the present survey indicates that, in many cases, some bread was bought from bakers and some was baked in-house, even within the same diet accounts and on the same days. Why this was happening I cannot deduce, but a scholar who has studied more about bakers and their profession could likely shed some light on the question. Did household bakers belong to their trade's local guilds? Similar questions could be asked about many of the trades that were found as operational departments of great households and as artisanal guilds with shops located in surrounding towns. What was the relationship between household vintners, brewers, carpenters, notaries, physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons of great households to their respective local guilds?

We now know much about the operational core of great households, but it has raised more questions about the periphery of the realms in which the domestic sphere of great households and even large monasteries met with the public sphere in the goods and services

marketplace. Further questions are raised about the nature of Reformed English and Counter-Reformed French beliefs, given the sudden and notable variances in fasting habits seen in both regions after 1550. Eamon Duffy has long argued that the Reformation percolated very gradually throughout all levels of English society, but the persistence and regularity of fasting habits within elite households that were firmly rooted in the Reformed traditions of early seventeenth-century England, an insight that adds new credence to these claims. Fasting, after all, was tantamount to voting with ones feet in terms of religious belief, so the nature of early seventeenth century religious practices among elites directly connected with the court still needs some attention. Additionally, what of the French shift away from Wednesday fasts after the 1550s? Traditionally we think of the Counter-Reformation as something that intensified Catholic orthodoxy in many ways, but dropping the Wednesday fast within the royal household under successive monarchs after 1550 is evidence of a shift in Counter-Reformation thinking that has not fully been documented by historians.

It is a misunderstanding of history that a claim never made by Escoffier would be attributed to him with such regularity less than eighty years after his death. Such is the quest to marry the practices of present kitchens with those of the traditional past, that we—professional chefs—occasionally invent fables of our heritage, cloaking them in the trappings of tradition. Questioning superiors is never a popular trait in young kitchen apprentices, and this occasionally allows fable to transform into fact. Such is the way of the professional chef: part show person, part alchemist, part cook, part philosopher. The *divell* may not have sent them, but it is true, indeed, that modern and ancient cooks inhabit a world that transcends a variety of societal ephemera in a manner that continues to mystify the outside world.

Appendices

- Appendix I: List of Diet Accounts Used in this Dissertation
- Appendix II: Graphed Data Extracted from Diet Accounts Listed in Appendix I
- Appendix III: Physical Descriptions of Archival Sources
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Appendix I
List of Diet Accounts Used in this Dissertation

I.I Printed Primary			
<u>Reference</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Date Range</u>	<u>Citation</u>
National Archives, Richmond, MS E 101/350/11	<i>Expenses of the Household of Bristol Castle, Including Those for the Household of Eleanor of Brittany</i>	7 June 1225 to 6 March 1226	Anon., <i>Household Accounts from Medieval England</i> , Vol. I, ed. Christopher Woolgar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 126-150.
Archives départementales de l'Isère MS B3	<i>Ordinatio pro Hospitio Domini Dalphini ac Dom. Dalphine, 1336</i>	1336	Anon., <i>Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins</i> , T. II, ed. Jean-Pierre Moret de Bourchenu Valbonnais (Geneva: Fabri & Barrillot, 1722) 308-318.
Bodleian Library MS Add. Roll 63207	<i>Households Account of Dame Katherine of Norwich at Mettingham, Suffolk</i>	Oct. 1, 1336 – April 20, 1337	Anon., <i>Household Accounts from Medieval England</i> , Vol. I, ed. Christopher Woolgar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 179-228.
Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office MS DR 37/Box 73	<i>Household Account of Sir William de Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire</i>	Dec. 11, 1433 – Nov. 7, 1434	Anon., <i>Household Accounts from Medieval England</i> , Vol. II, ed. Christopher Woolgar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 433-450.
National Archives, Richmond, MS C 47/4/8B	<i>Household Book of Dame Alice Bryene</i>	30 September 1411 – 20 March 1414	Anon., <i>Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412-1413</i> , ed. M.K. Dale & V.B. Redstone (Ipswich: W.E. Harrison, 1931).

<u>I.II Archival Sources</u>		
<u>Reference</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Date Range</u>
<u>National Archives, Richmond</u>		
E 101/96/3	Exchequer, <i>Account book of the diet of the council, Henry VIII</i>	Oct 5, 1541 – July 13, 1542 (50 days)
LS 9/1	Lord Steward's Accounts, <i>Kitchen Books, Charles II</i>	Oct 3, 1663 – July 31, 1664 (134 days)
<u>Lambeth Palace Archives, London</u>		
MS 1228	<i>Household Account of Lionel Cranfield, 1st Earl of Middlesex</i>	Feb 15, 1622 – 18 July, 1622 (43 days)
<u>Chatsworth House Archives, Derbyshire</u>		
MS BA 13	<i>Diet Account of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, Bolton Abbey</i>	Oct 18, 1575 – April 29, 1577 (185 days)
MS SC 67	<i>Diet Account of Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland, Skipton Castle</i>	Dec 1, 1623 – June 9, 1624 (155 days)
<u>Archives Nationales, Paris</u>		
K 118/64	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Louis XIV</i>	Oct 16 & 28, 1653 (2 days)
K 105/A	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henri IV</i>	Nov/July/Oct, 1592 (11 days)
K 100/47/1&2	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henri III</i>	April 1-20, 1579 (20 days)
K 98/52/1&2	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Charles IX</i>	June 5-24, 1572 (19 days)
K 92/36/1&2	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Francis II</i>	Oct 1-30, 1559 (30 days)
K 92/31	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Francis II</i>	July 29-Sept 21, 1559 (13 days)
K 92/4	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henry II</i>	Aug 1, 1557 – Nov 28, 1557 (13 days)
K 504/5	<i>Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon</i>	Sept 1-30, 1508 (30 days)

Appendix II

Graphed Data Extracted from Diet Accounts Listed in Appendix I

Appendix II

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II.VII	Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, 1663-1664
II.VIII	Diet Accounts Related to the French Royal Household, 1508-1653
II.IX	Subdivided Diet Accounts Related to the French Royal Household, 1508-1560
II.X	Subdivided Diet Accounts Related to the French Royal Household, 1561-1653

II.I

Katherine de Norwich,

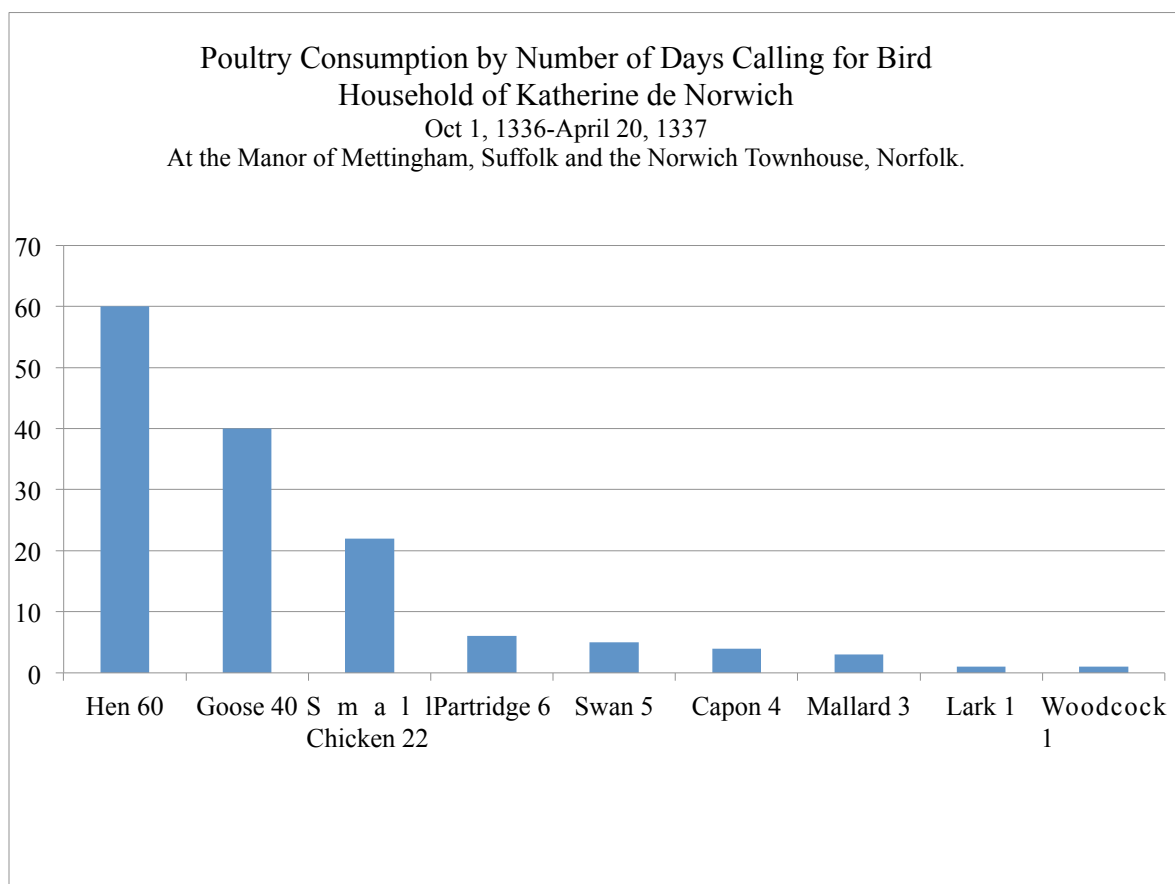
Oct 1, 1336 – April 20, 1337

(c. 82 fast days / 171 total= c.89 meat days)

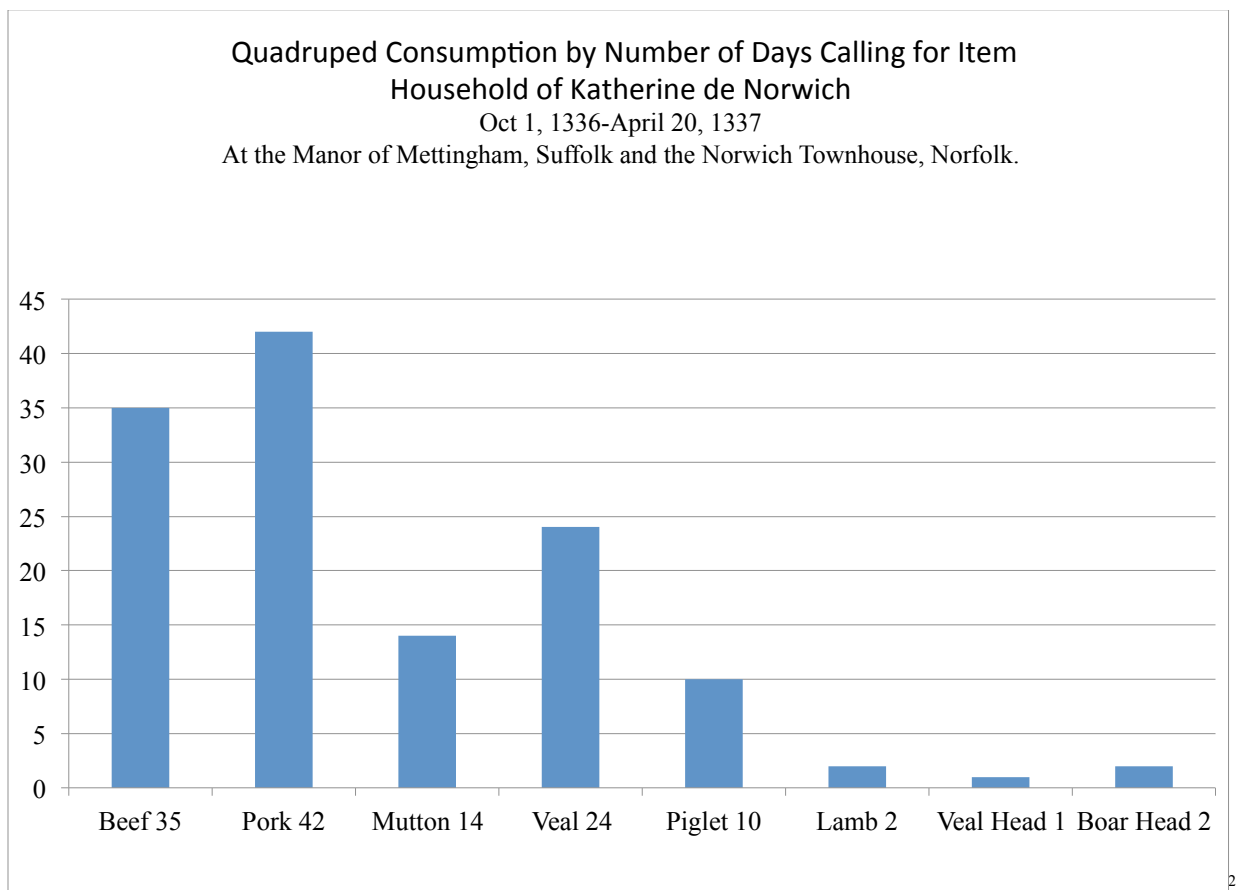
Katherine de Norwich,
Oct 1, 1336 – April 20, 1337

(c. 82 fast days / 171 total= c.89 meat days)

Poultry:

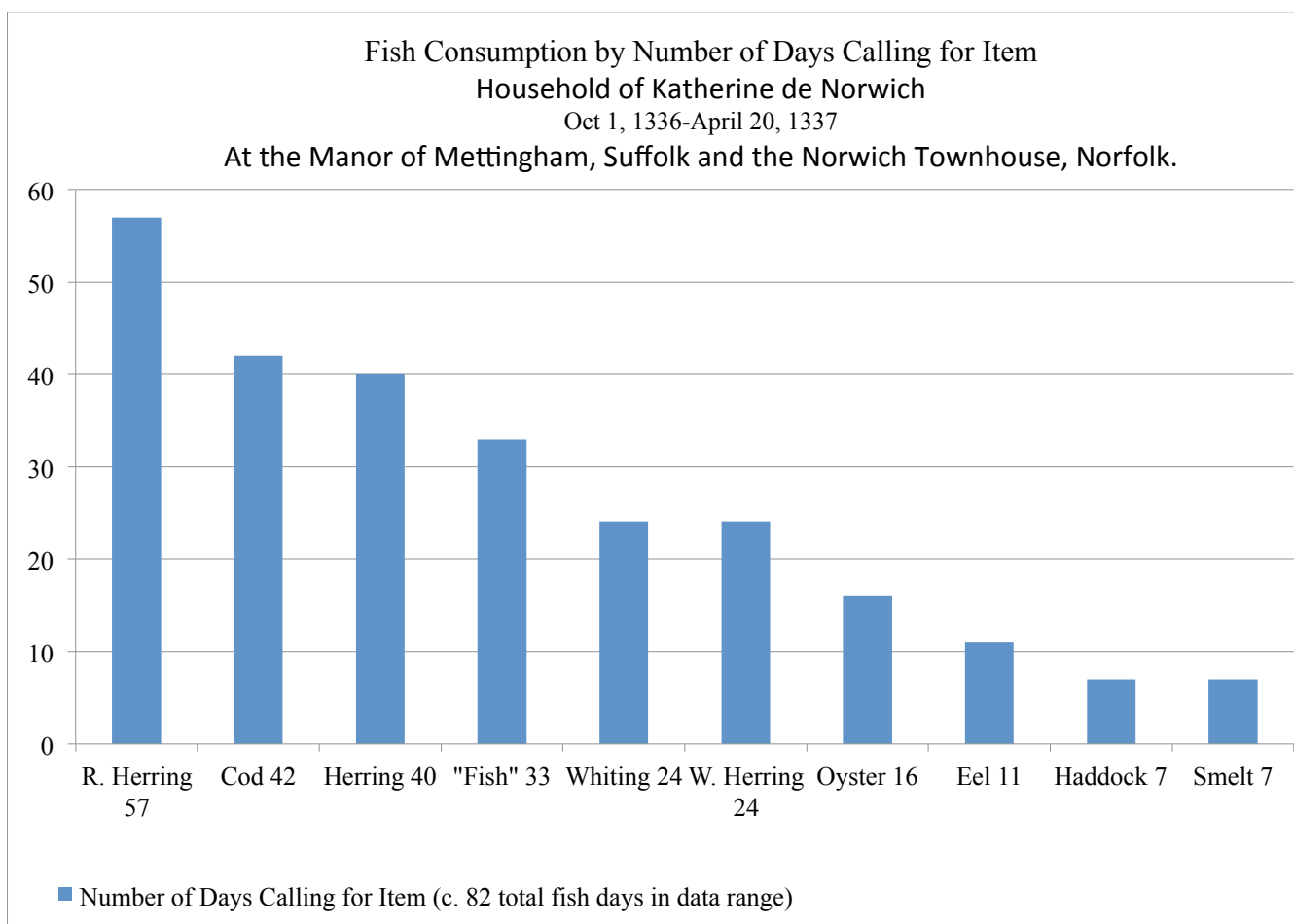


¹ Hen 60, goose 40, small chicken 22, partridge 6, swan 5, capon 4, mallard 3, lark 1, woodcock 1.

Quadruped:

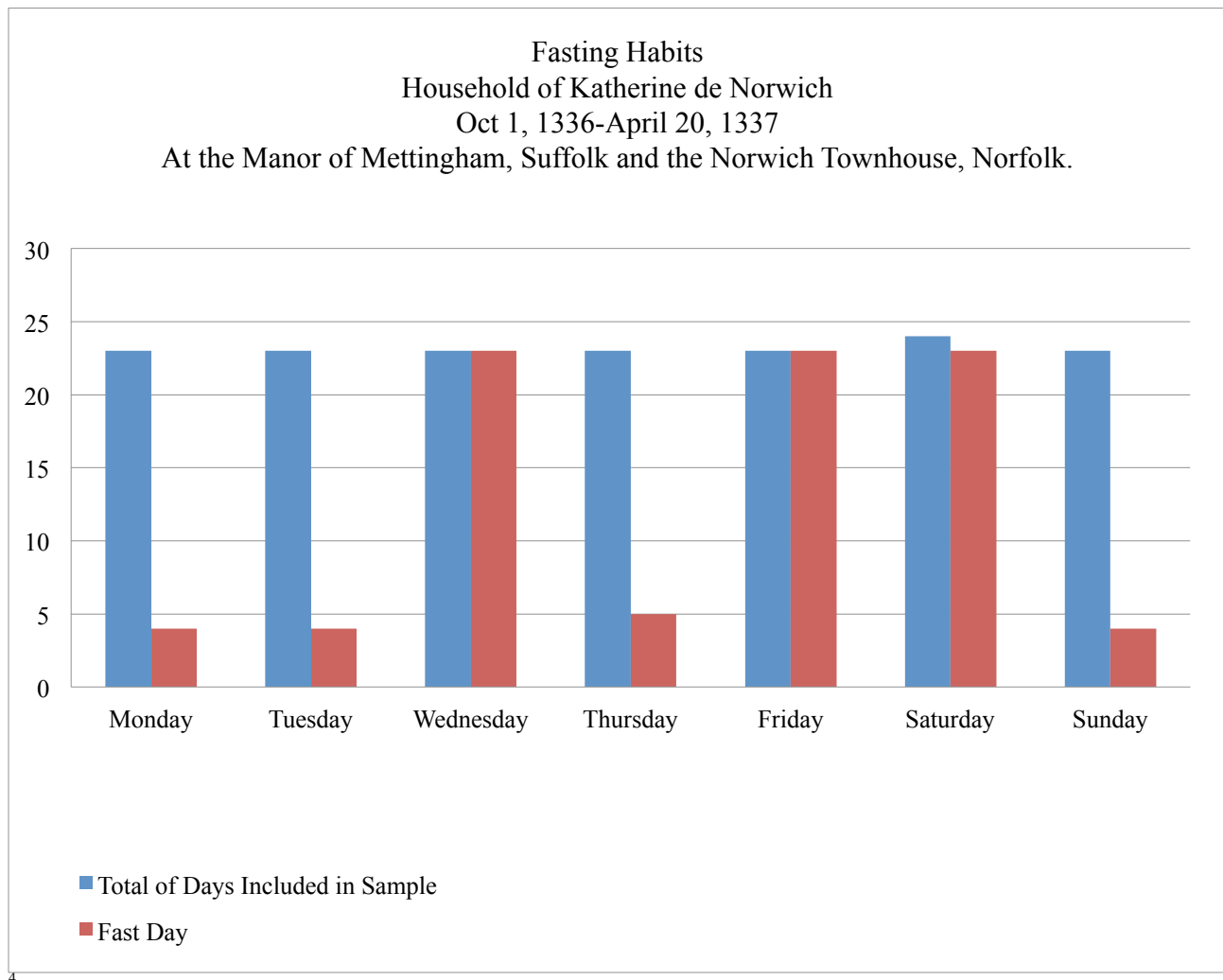
² Beef 35, pork 42, mutton 14, veal, 24, piglet 10, lamb 2, veal head 1, boar head 2.

Fish:



³ Cod 42, whiting 24, stockfish herring 40, red herring 57, white herring 24, haddock 7, oysters 16, smelt 7, eel 11, fish 33.

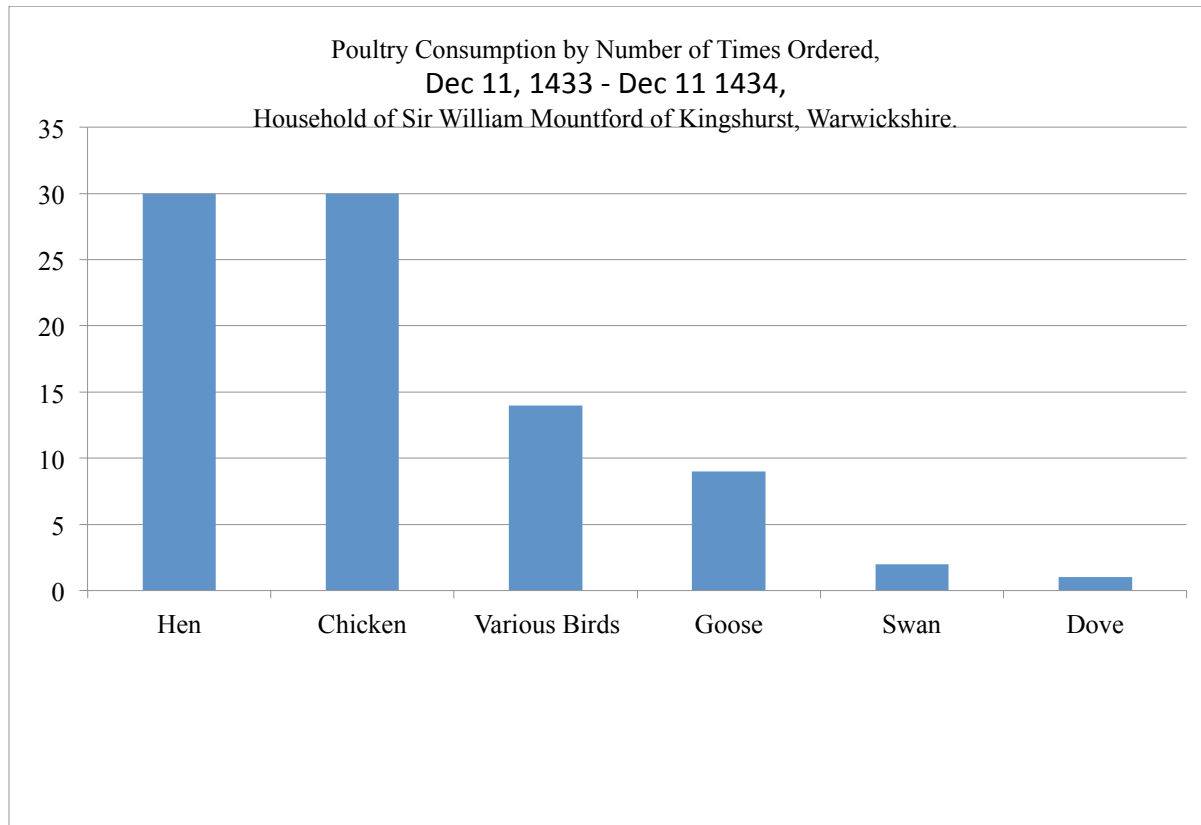
Fasting Habits:



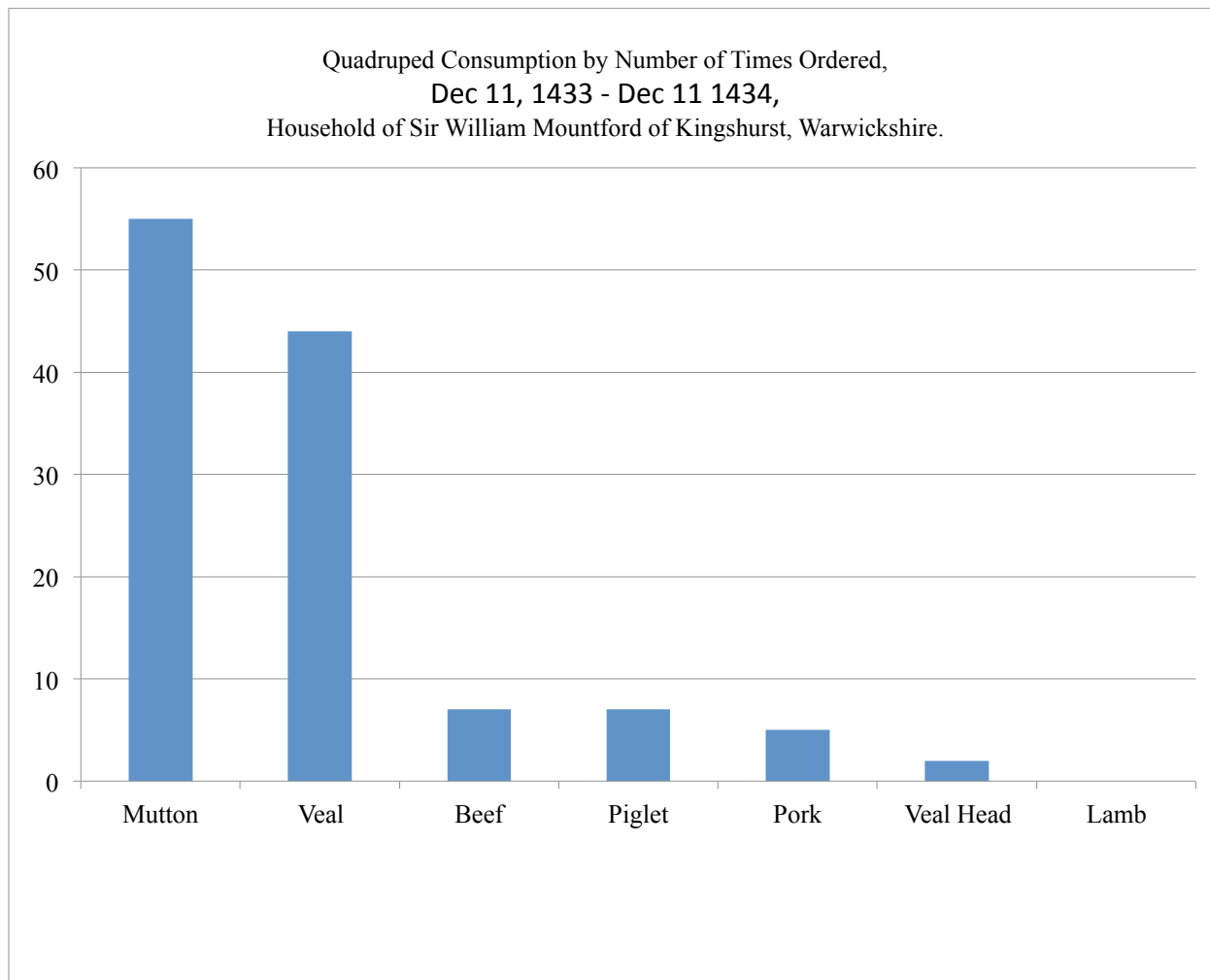
⁴ Mon. (total) 23/ (fast) 4; Tues. 24/4; Wed 24/23; Thurs. 23/5; Fri. 24/24; Sat. 24/23; Sun. 23/2. No meat was served each Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday except Christmas and Easter Saturday. Herring and bread (likely one loaf) served every day to the 13 paupers fed by the house, “*in putura pauperum ut supre de pane et allec novo*”.

II.II**Household of****Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire.****Dec 11, 1433 – Dec 11 1434**

(c. 150-200 fast days / 365 total= c.215-165 meat days)
(Entries: 164. avg: 1 entry every 2.2 days)

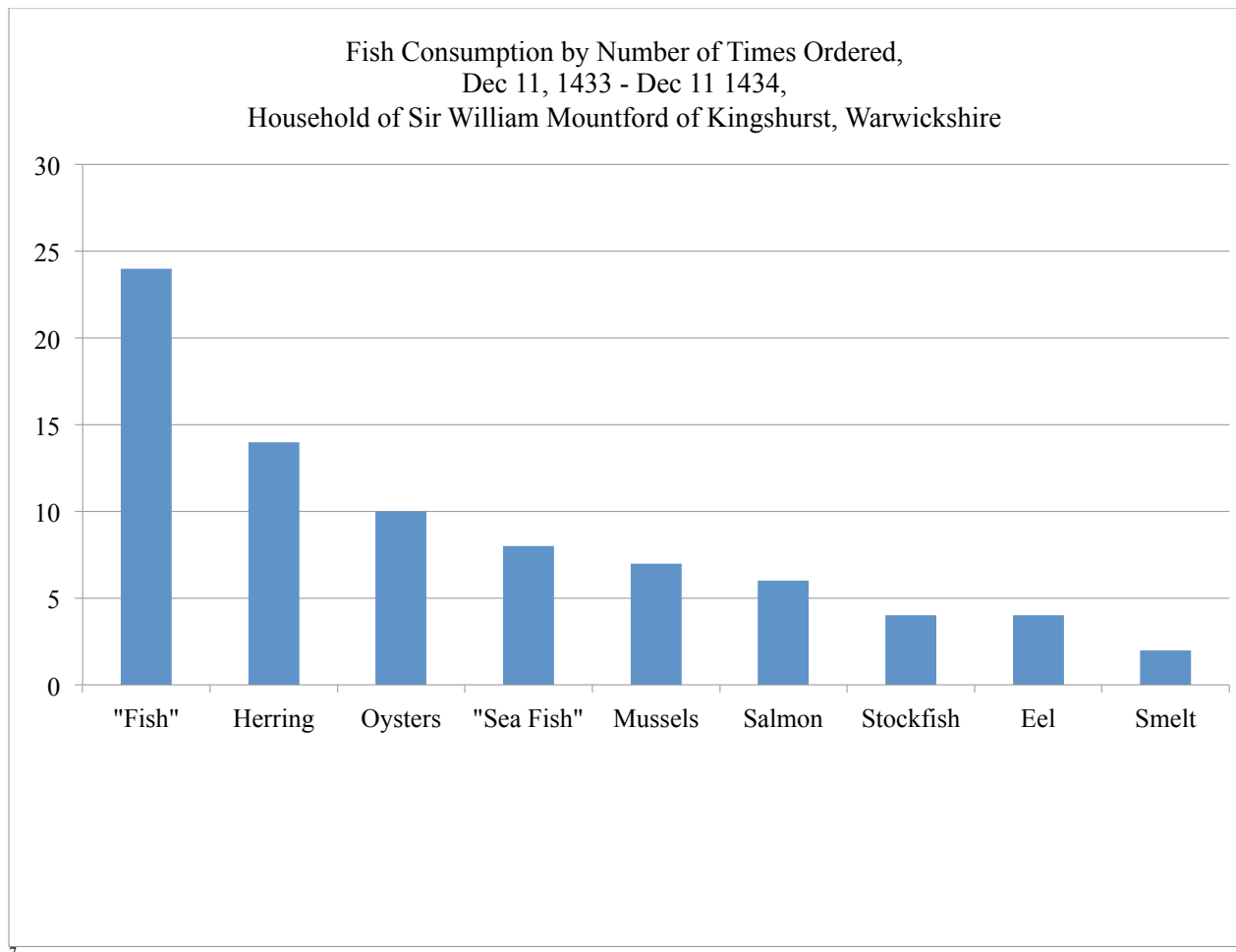
Poultry:

⁵ Hen 30; chicken 30; goose 9; various birds 14; swan 2; dove 1.

Quadruped:

6

⁶ Beef meat 7; veal meat 44; veal head 2; pork meat 5; piglet 7; mutton meat 55; lamb meat 0.

Fish:Misc.:Fruit, Dairy, Ale, Wine

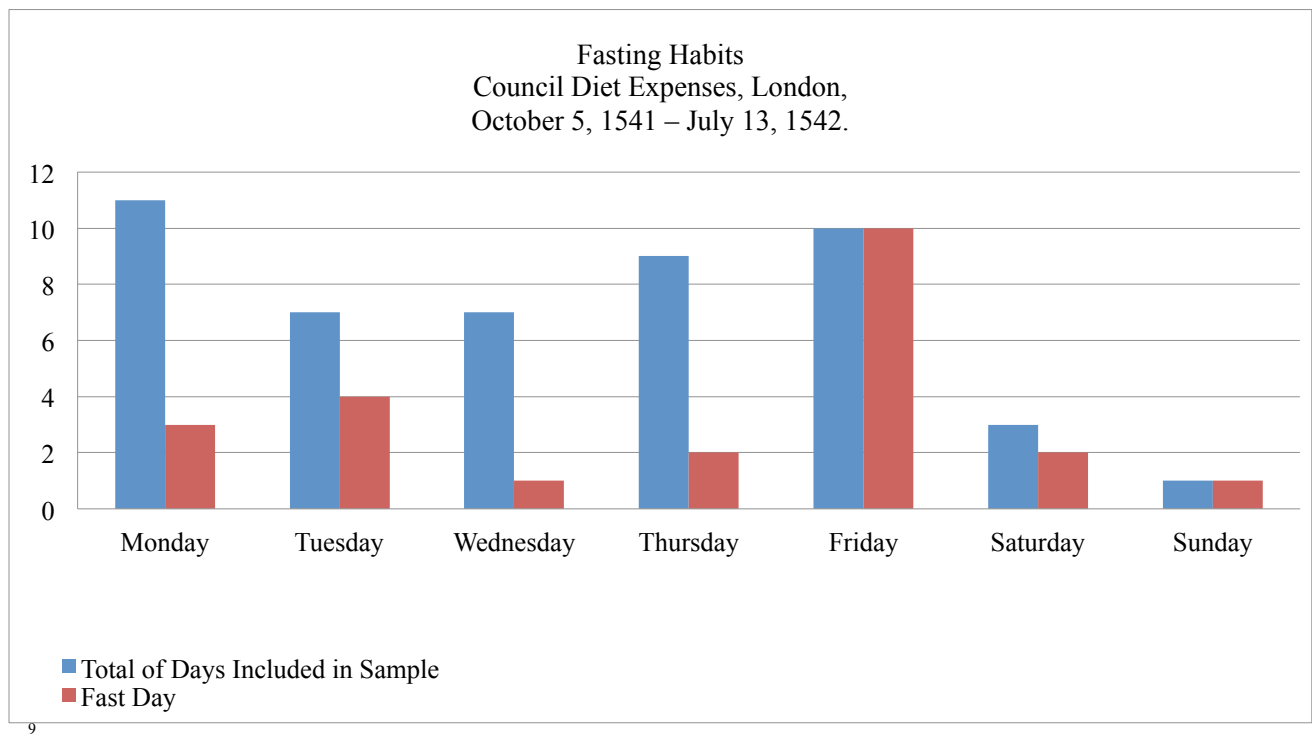
Pears 2, dates 1. Eggs 13, milk 3, cheese 6, butter 2, ale 2, wine 0.

⁷ Mussels 7, oysters 10, smelt 2, eel 4, salmon 6, herring 14, stockfish 4, eel, "fish" 24, sea fish 8.

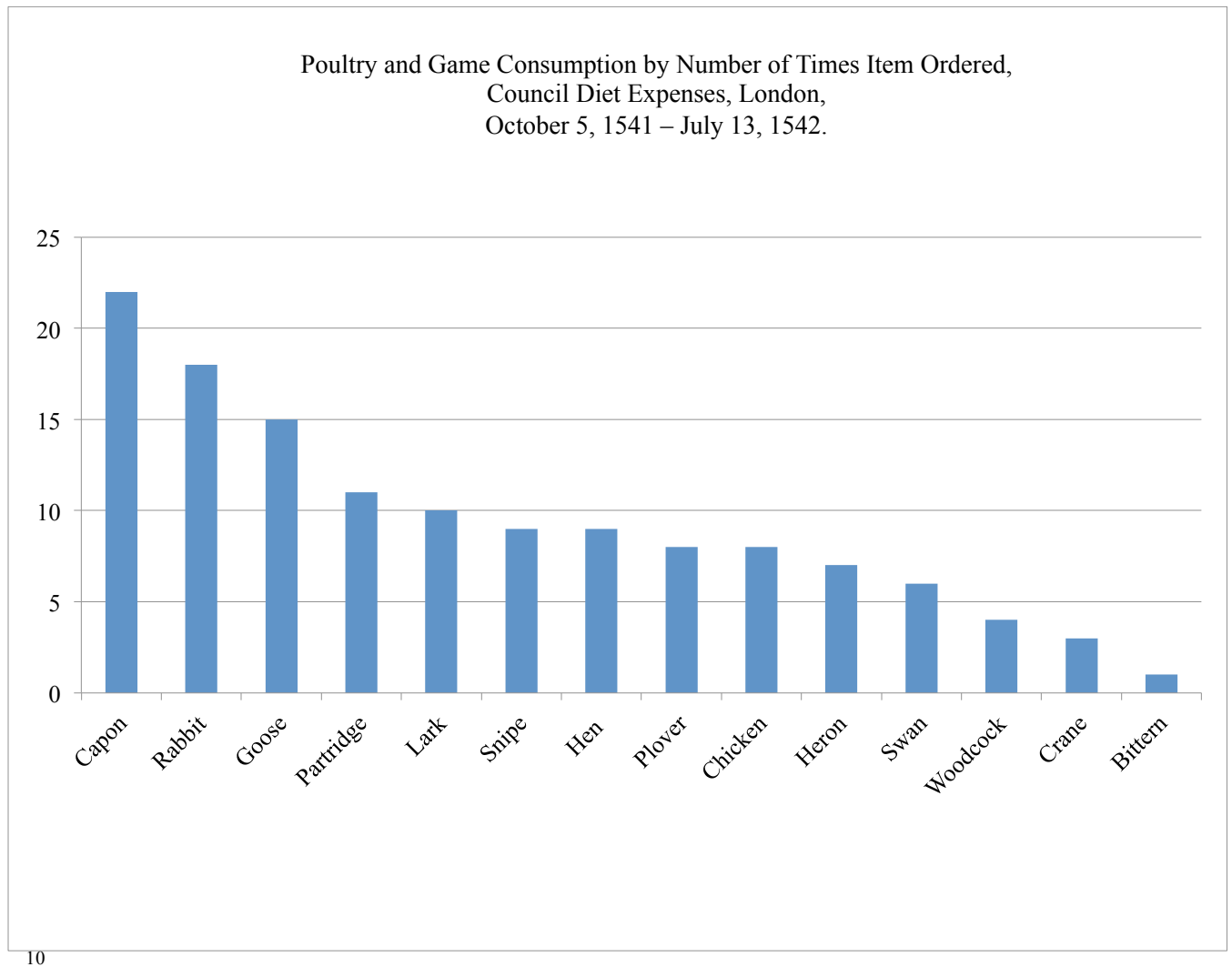
II.III**Account Book of the Diet of the Council****1541-1542****London, Palace of Westminster**⁸

(23 fast days / 50 total days = 27 meat days)

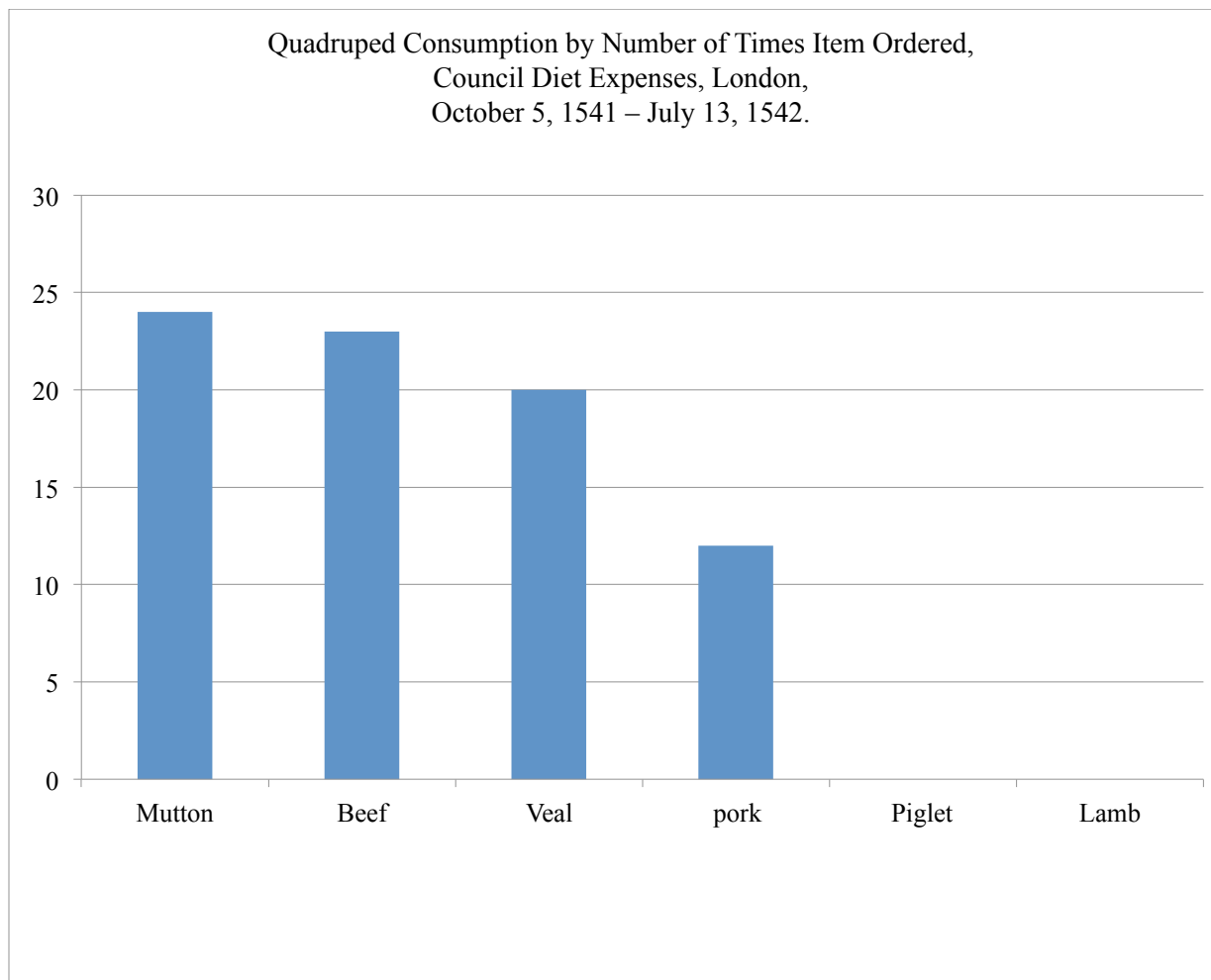
⁸ National Archives, Richmond, E 101/96/3, Exchequer, Account book of the diet of the council, Henry VIII, Oct 5, 1541 – July 13, 1542 (50 days).

Fast:

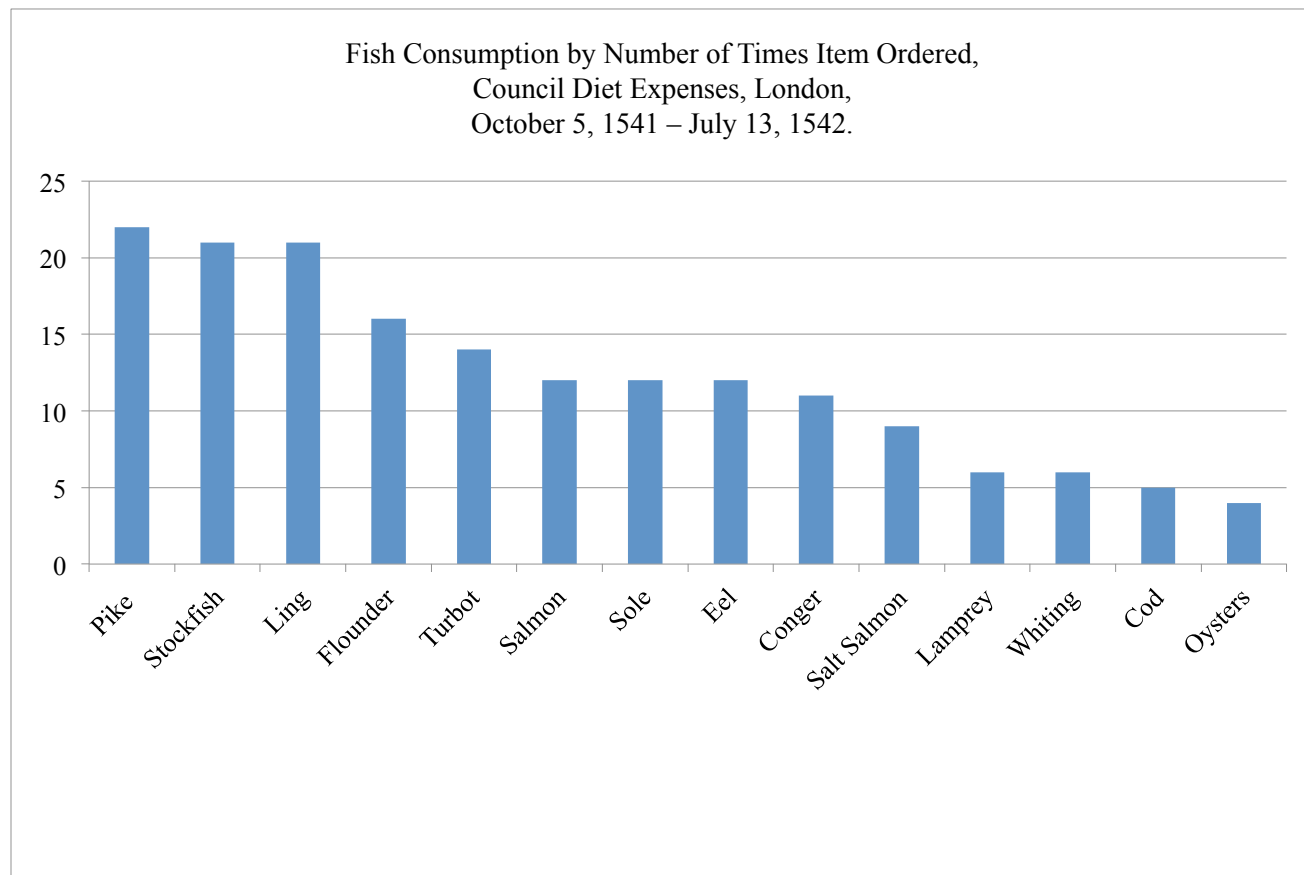
⁹ Fast maintained every Friday but sporadically on other days: Mon. 11/3; Tues. 7/4; Wed. 7/1; Thurs. 9/2; Fri. 10/10; Sat. 3/2; Sun. 1/1.

Poultry:

¹⁰ Goose 15, various birds 2, swan 6, bittern 1, plover 8, snipe 9, woodcock 4, lark 10, partridge 11, heron 7, crane 3, rabbit 18, hen 9, chicken 8, capon 22.

Quadruped:

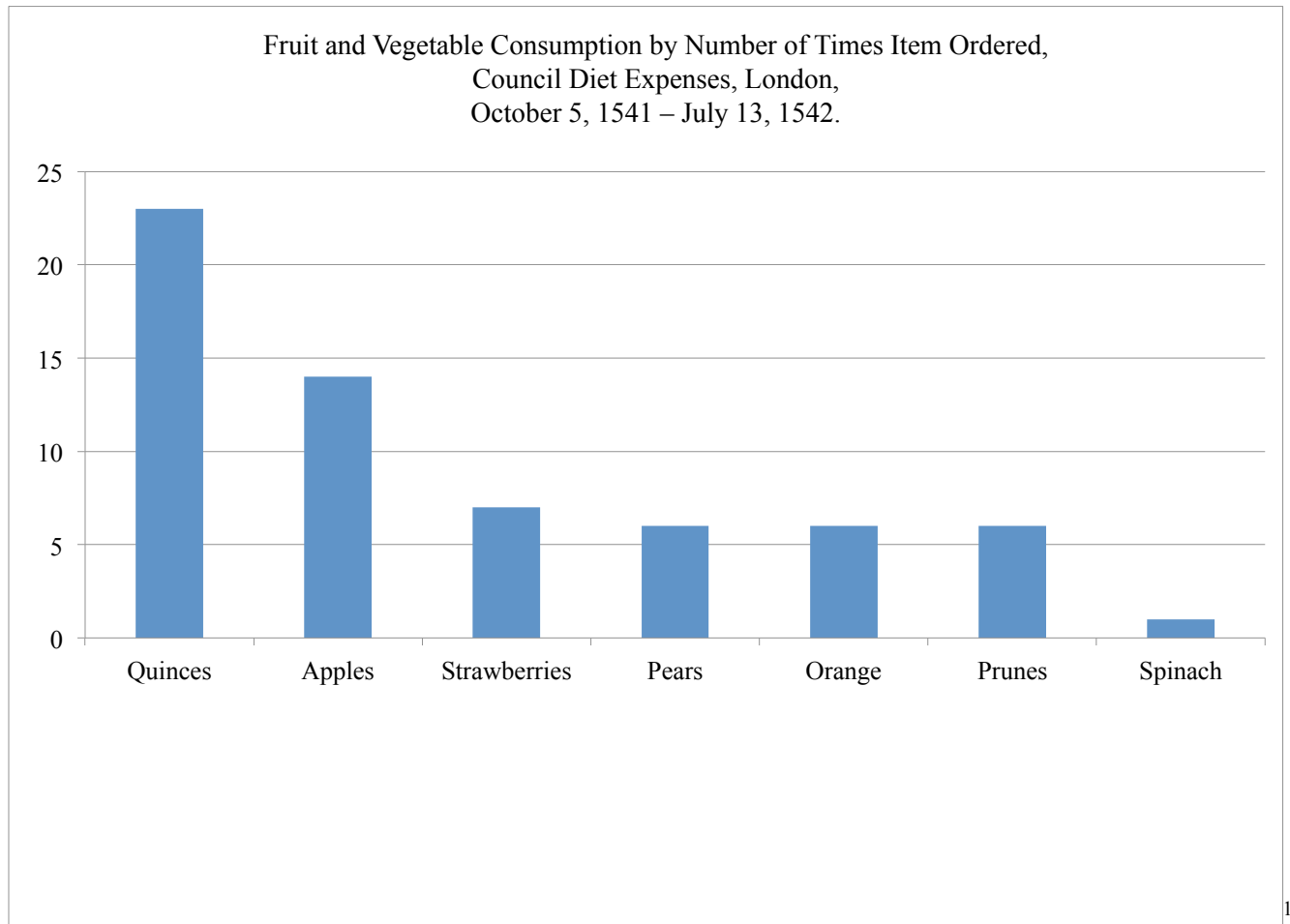
¹¹ Beef meat 23, veal meat 20, veal head 0, pork 12, piglet 0, mutton meat 24, lamb 0.

Fish:

12

¹² Cod 5, whiting 6, stockfish 21, oysters 4, salmon 12, salt salmon 9, lamprey 6, conger 11, eel 12, pike 22, turbot 14, flounder 16, sole 12, ling, 21.

Vegetables & Fruit:



Staples:

Onions, 49 herbs 49, spice 49, trencher 49, manchet 49, eggs, 49, cream 49, ale 49, beer 49, wine 0.

¹³ Spinach 1, prunes 6, oranges 6, strawberries 7, pears 6, quinces 23, apples 14.

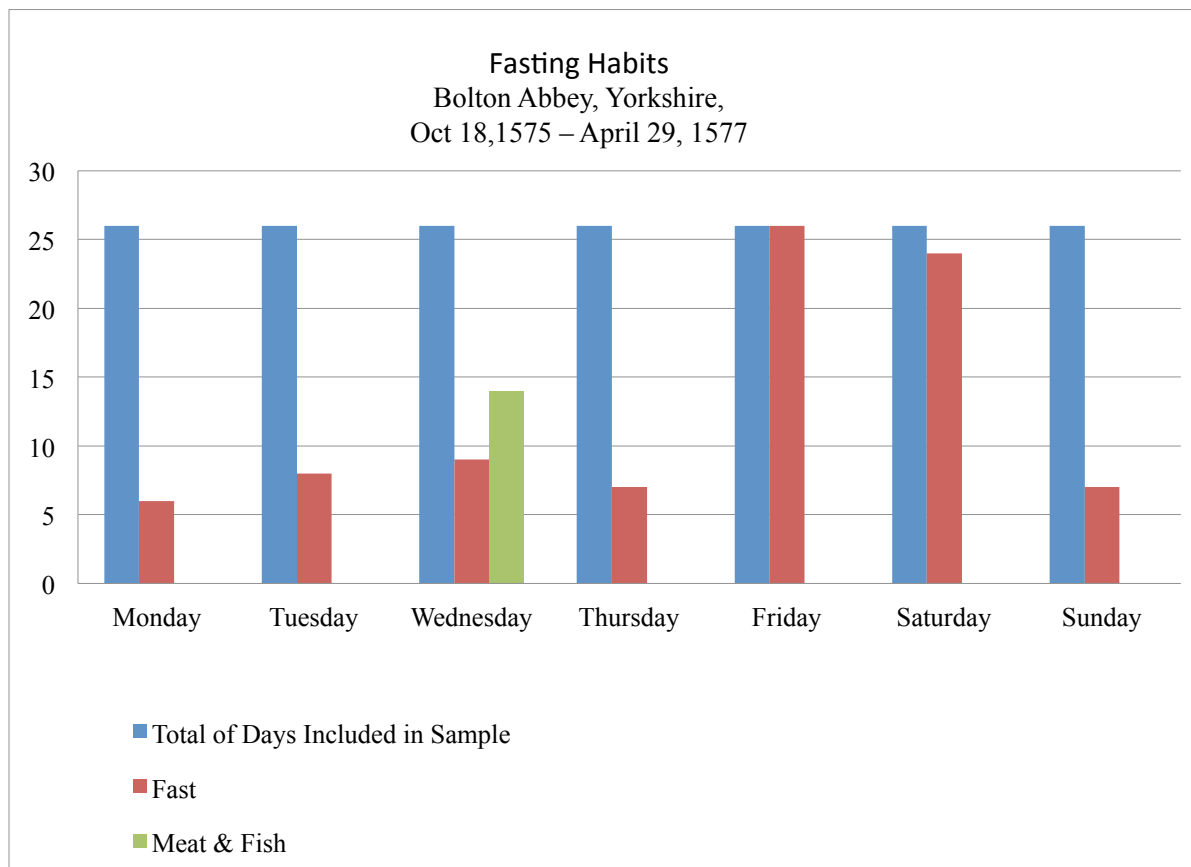
II.IV

Diet Account of George Clifford
3rd Earl of Cumberland, Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire
Oct 18, 1575 – April 29, 1577¹⁴

(87 fast days / 185 total = 98 meat days)

¹⁴ Chatsworth House Archives, Derbyshire, MS BA 13, *Diet Account of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, Bolton Abbey*, Oct 18, 1575 – April 29, 1577 (185 days).

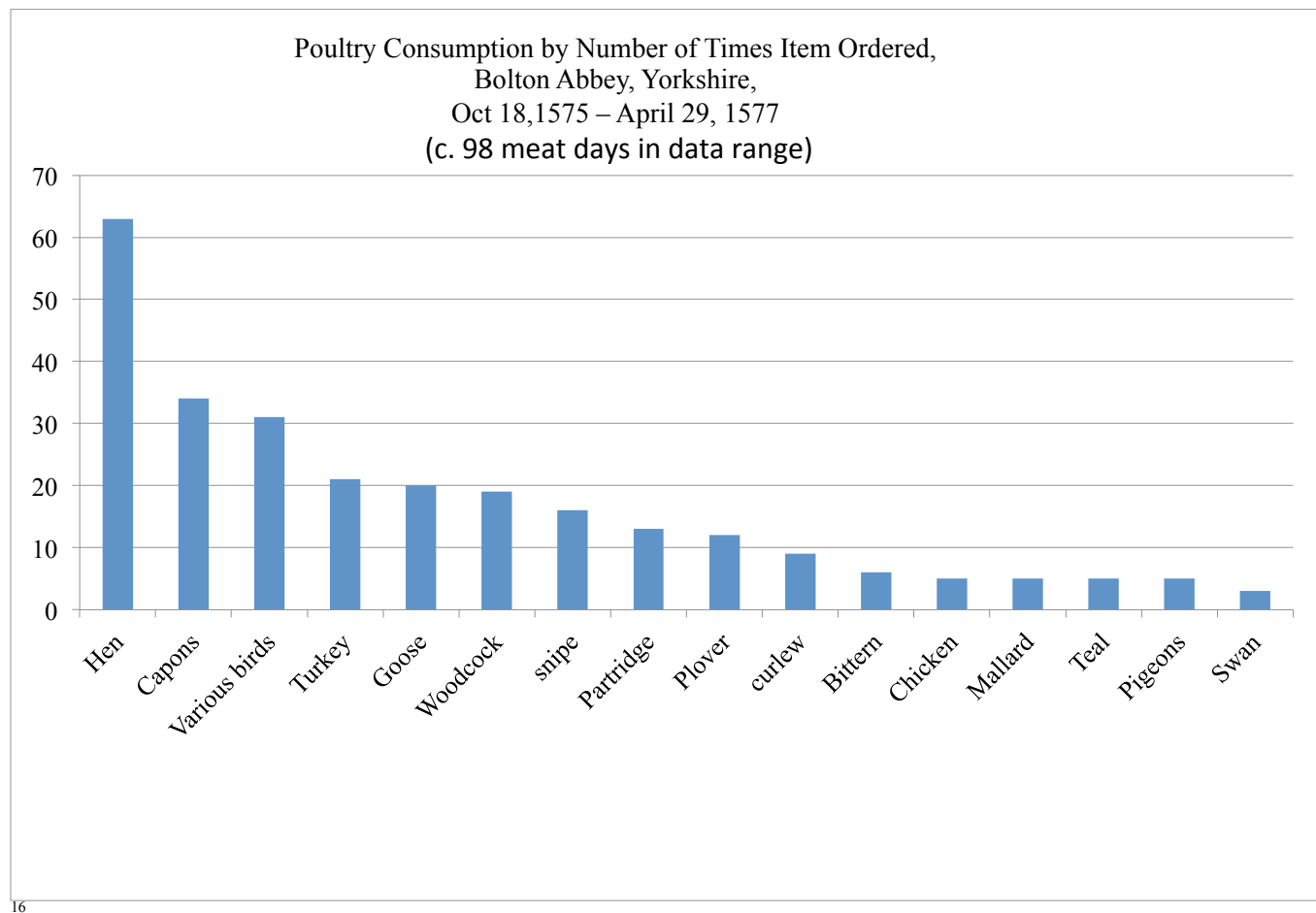
Fasting Habits:



15

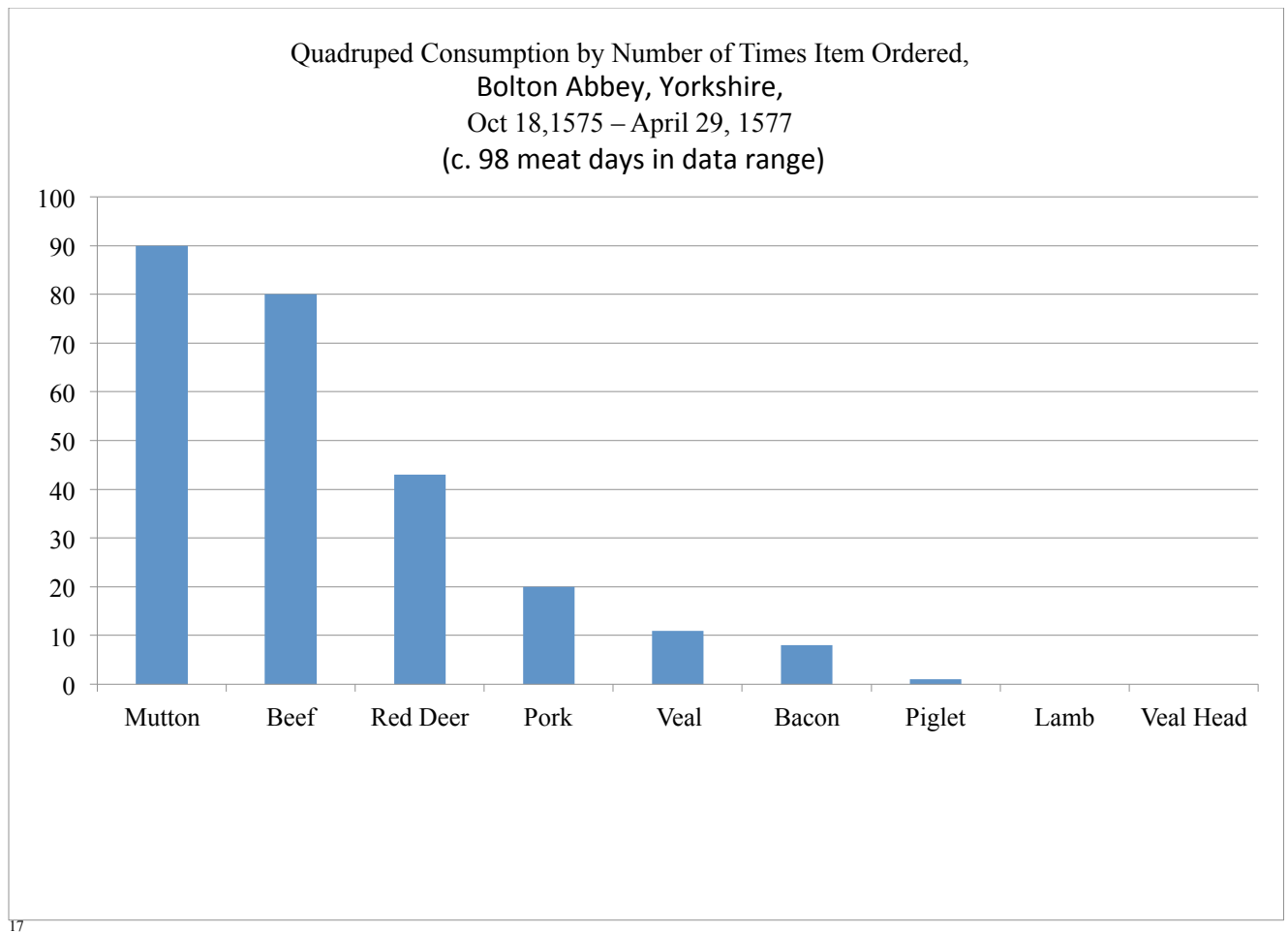
¹⁵ Mon. 26/6, Tues. 26/8, Wed. 26/9/14, Thurs. 26/7, Fri. 26/26, Sat. 26/24, Sun. 26/7.

Poultry:

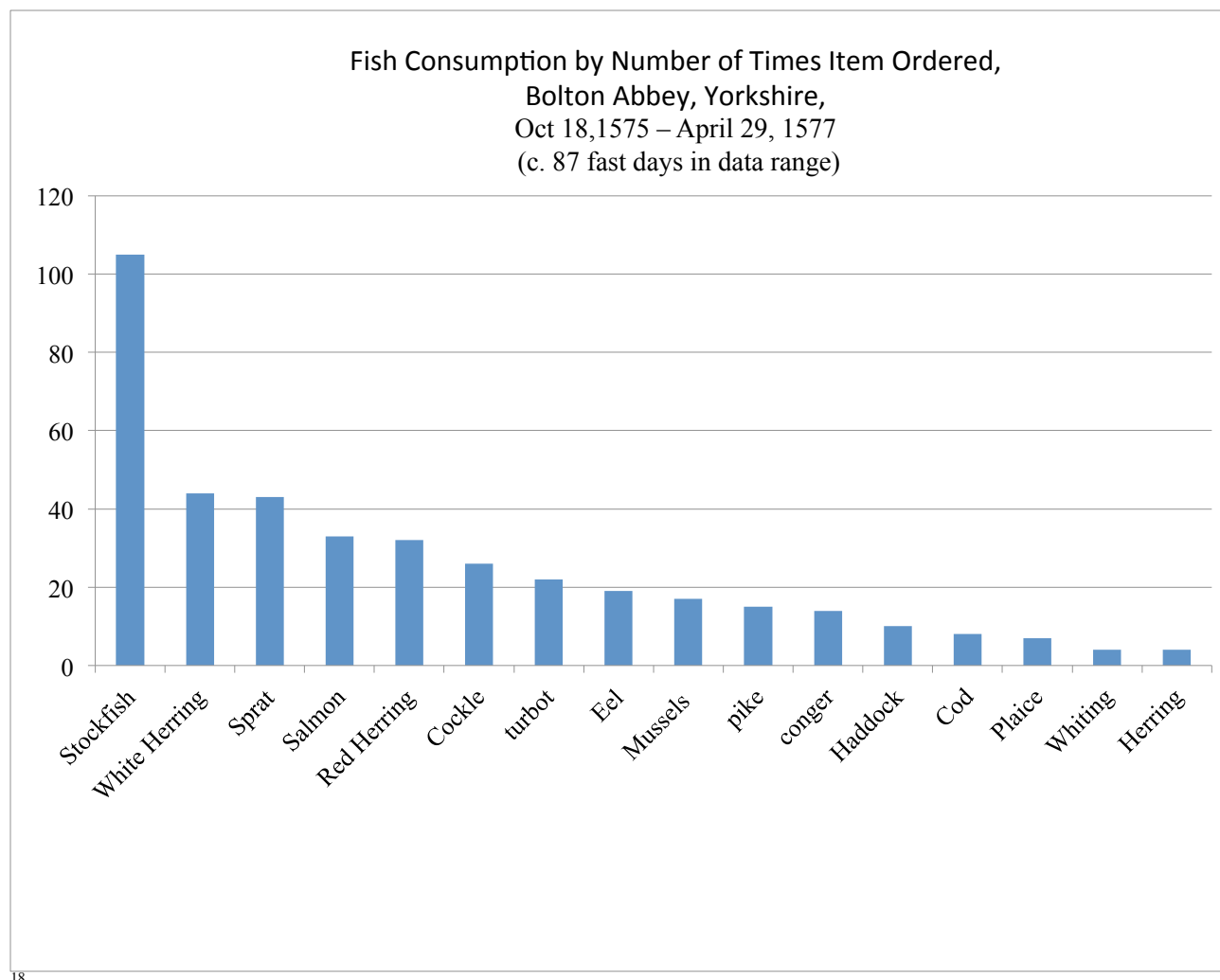


16

¹⁶ Hen 63, chicken 5, capons 34, mallard 5, duck/teal 5, goose 20, turkey 21, swan 3, curlew 9, partridge 13, pigeons 5, bittern 6, plover 12, snipe 16, woodcock 19, various birds 31.

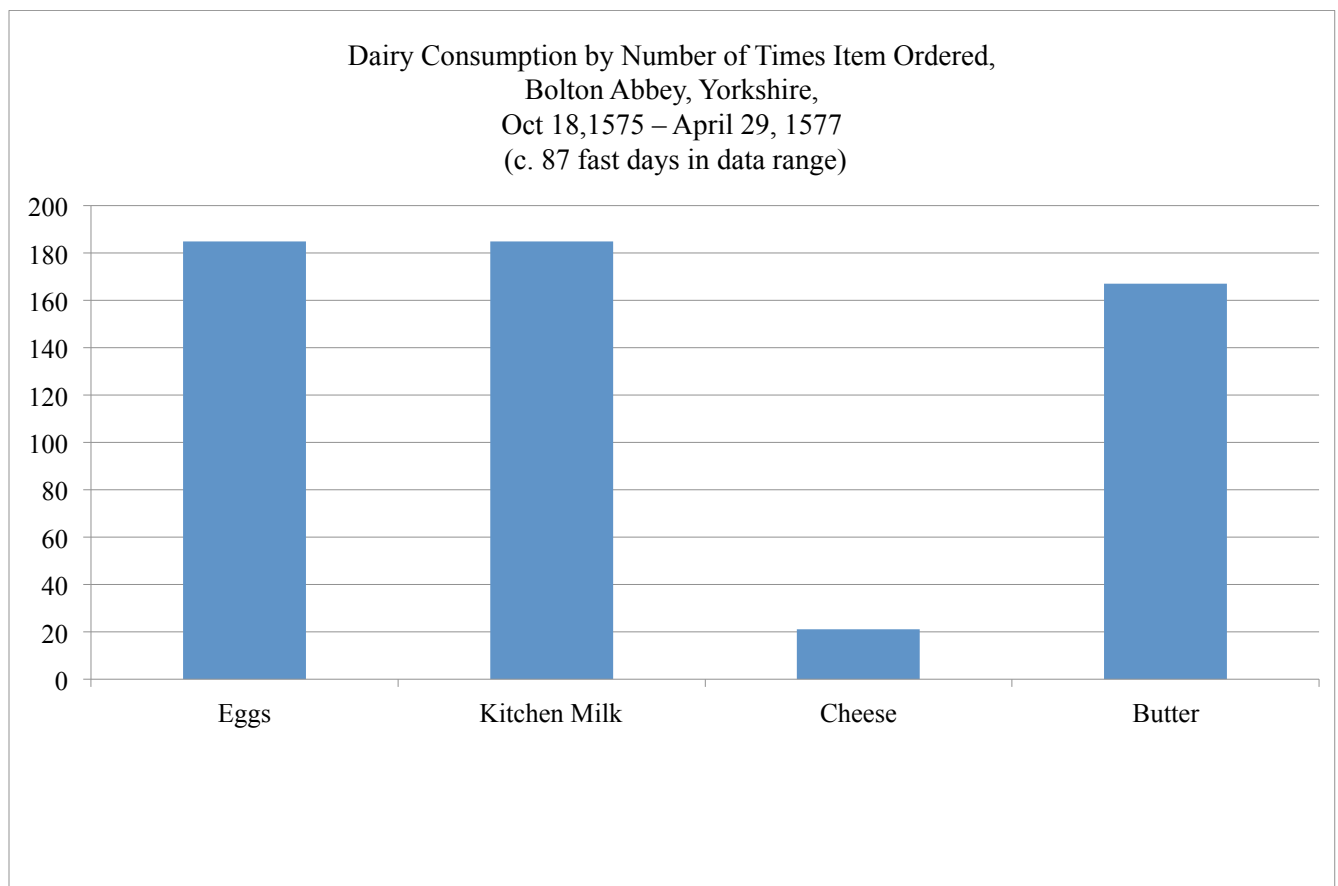
Quadruped:

¹⁷ Beef meat 80, veal meat 11, veal head 0, pork 20, piglet 1, bacon 8, mutton meat 90, lamb 0.

Fish:

18

¹⁸ Cod 8, whiting 4, stockfish 105, herring 4, sprat 43, red herring 32, white herring 44, haddock 10, cockle 26, pike 15, plaice 7, mussels 17, turbot 22, salmon 33, conger 14, eel 19.

Dairy:

19

Bread, beer & wine:

Manchet 185, ale 0, beer 185, wine 3.

Aromatics

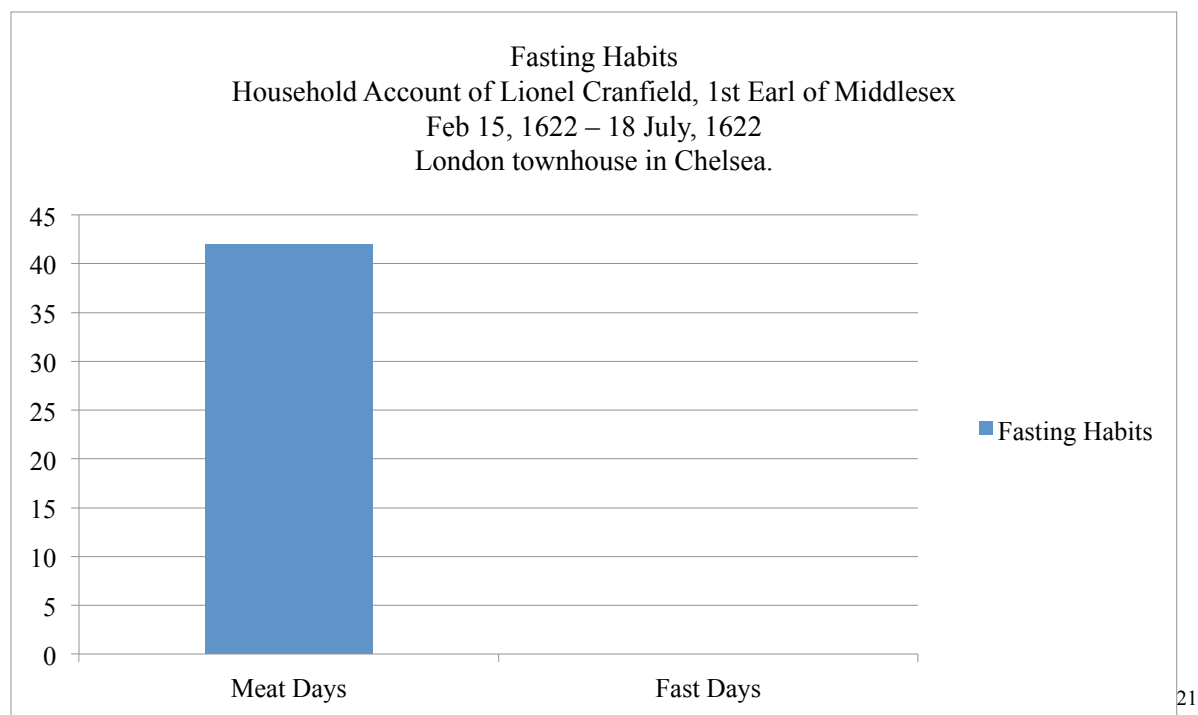
¹⁹ Eggs 185, kitchen milk 185, cheese 21, butter 167.

Dec 17: Sugar 1, Ginger 1, Grains 1, Cloves 1, Nutmeg 1

II.V

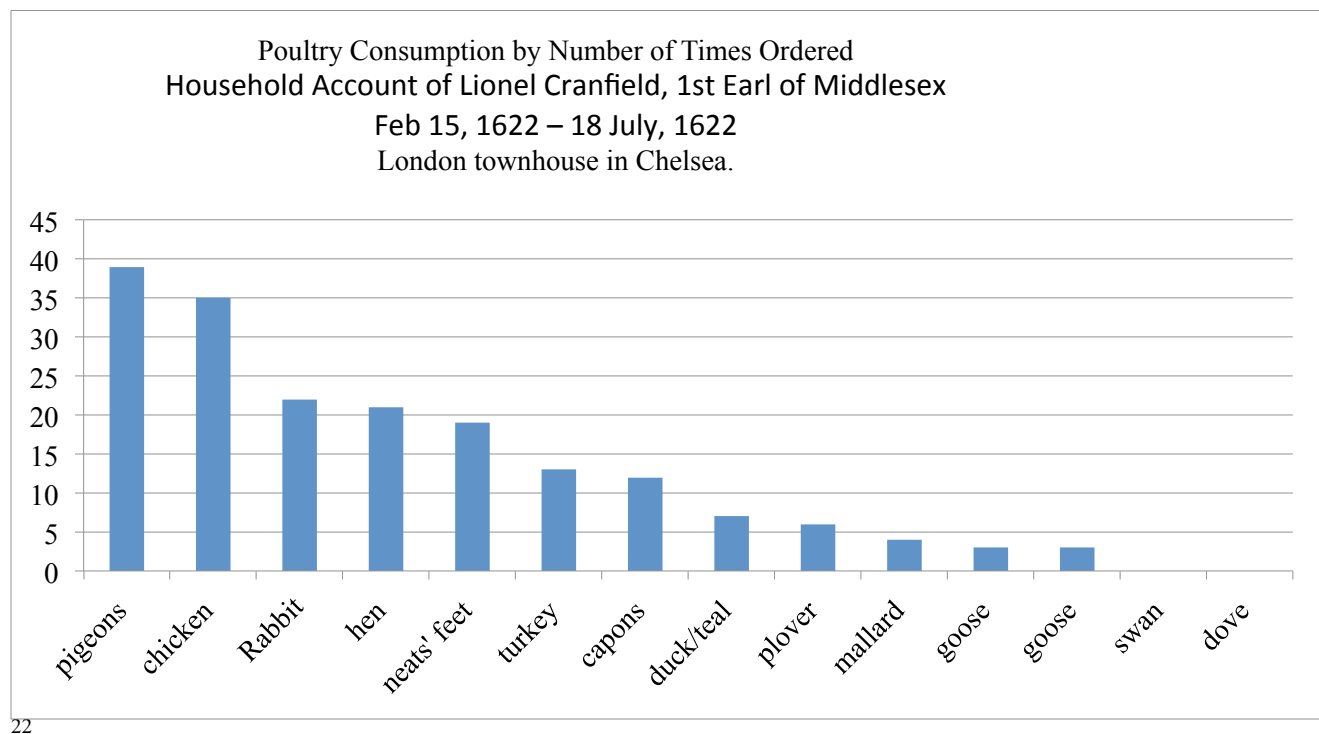
Lambeth Palace Archives, London
MS 1228, *Household Account of Lionel Cranfield, 1st Earl of Middlesex*,²⁰
Feb 15, 1622 – 18 July, 1622 London townhouse in Chelsea.
July, 1622 (43 days).

²⁰ Lambeth Palace Archives, London, MS 1228, *Household Account of Lionel Cranfield, 1st Earl of Middlesex*, Feb 15, 1622 – 18 July, 1622.

Fasting Habits:

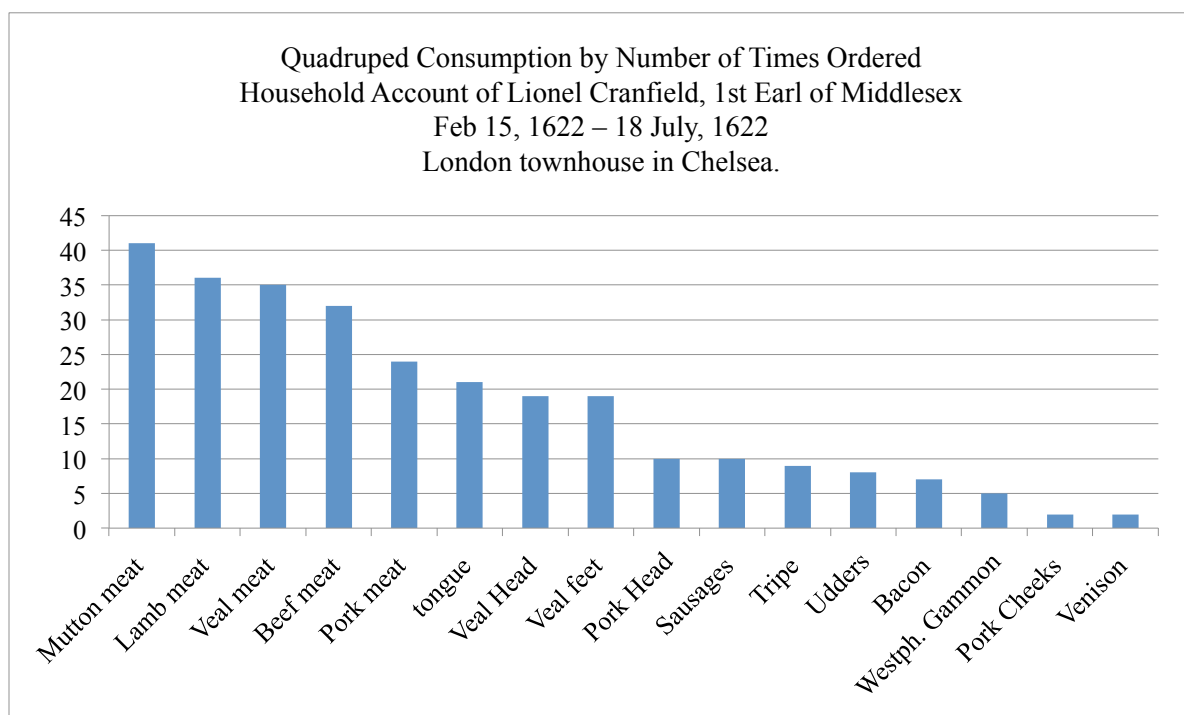
²¹ 42 meat days; 0 fast days.

Poultry:



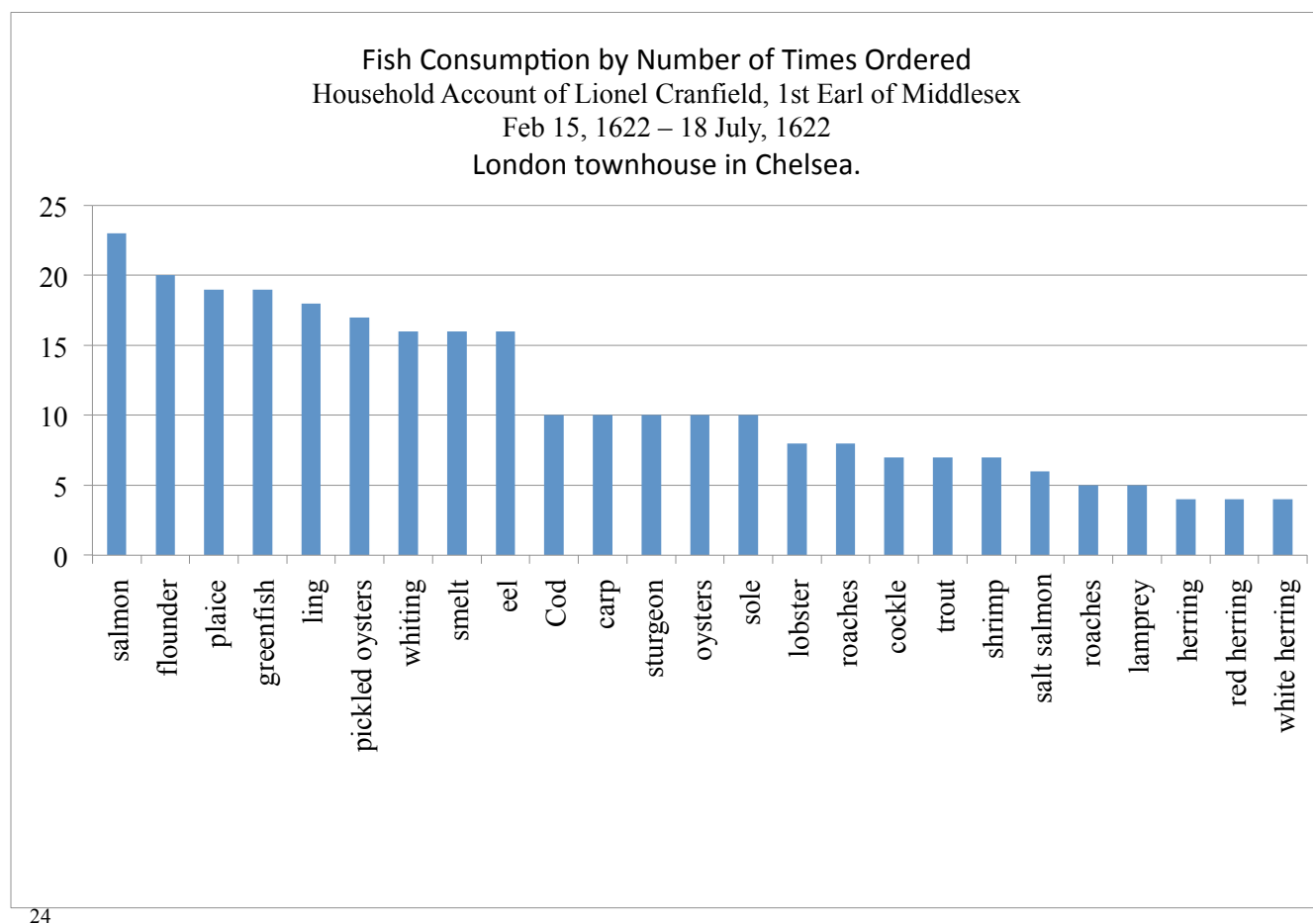
²² Hen 21, chicken 35, goose 3, swan 0, dove 0, capons 12, mallard 4, duck/teal 7, goose 3, turkey 13, pigeons 39, plover 6, neats' feet 19.

Quadruped:



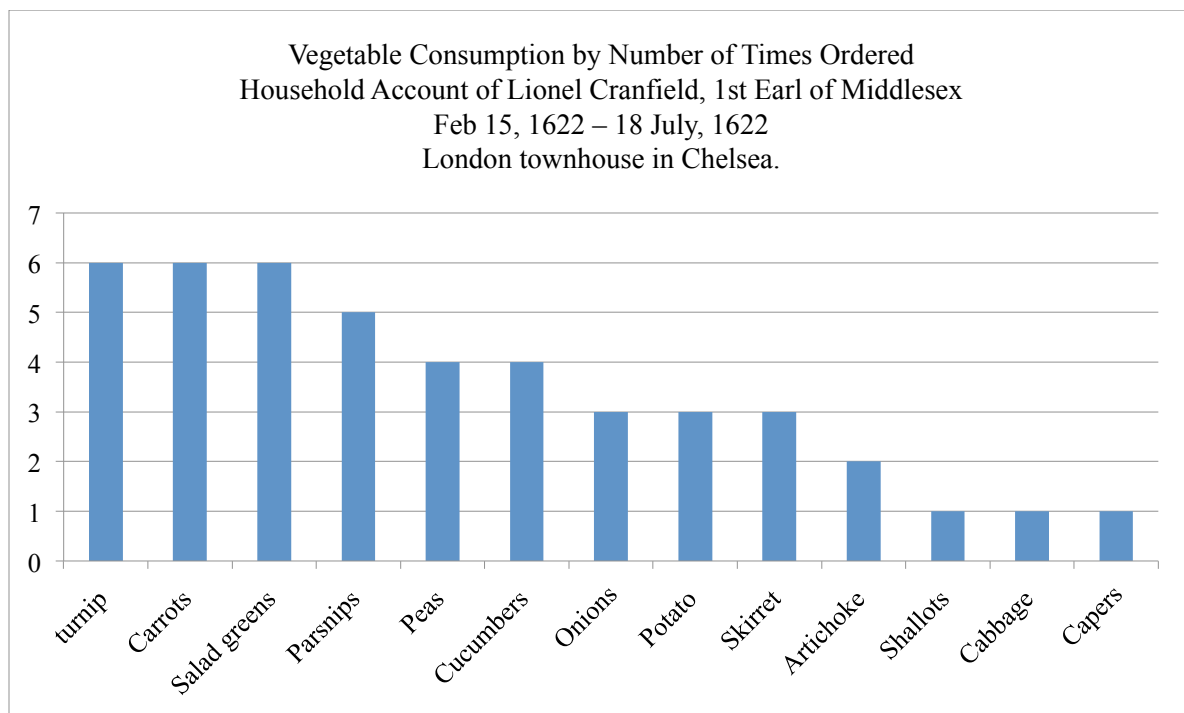
23

²³Beef meat 32, Mutton meat 41, Bacon 7, Pork meat 24, Pork Cheeks 2, Pork Head 10, Westph. Gammon 5, Sausages 10, Veal meat 35, tongue 21, Udders 8, Tripe 9, Lamb meat 36, Venison 2, Veal Head 19, Veal feet 19.

Fish:

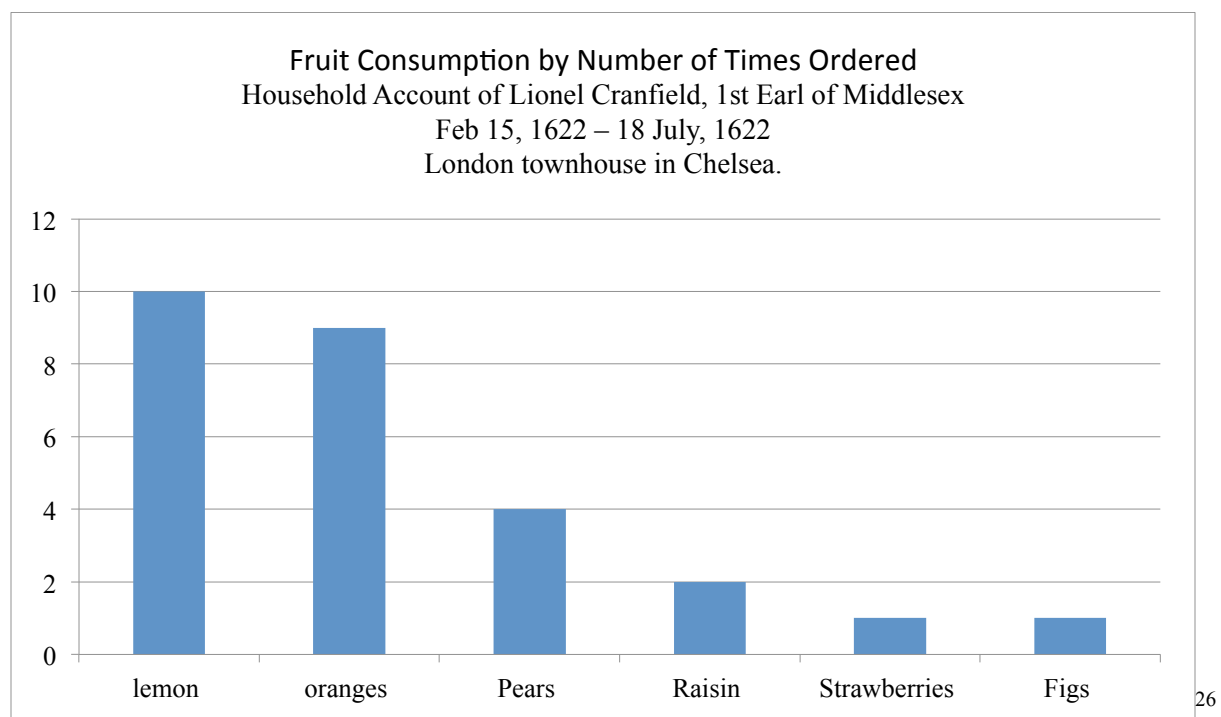
²⁴ Cod 10, carp 10, whiting 16, herring 4, red herring 4, white herring 4, roaches 5, cockle 7, trout 7, sturgeon 10, plaice 19, shrimp 7, lobster 8, oysters 10, pickled oysters 17, smelt 16, salt salmon 6, salmon 23, roaches 8, lamprey 5, eel 16, flounder 20, sole 10, ling 18, greenfish 19.

Vegetables:



²⁵ Onions 3, shallots 1, potato 3, turnip 6, carrots 6, skirret 3, peas 4, cabbage 1, salad greens 6, artichoke 2, parsnips 5, cucumbers 4, capers 1.

Fruit



²⁶ Strawberries 1, oranges 9, lemon 10, pears 4, figs 1, raisin 2.

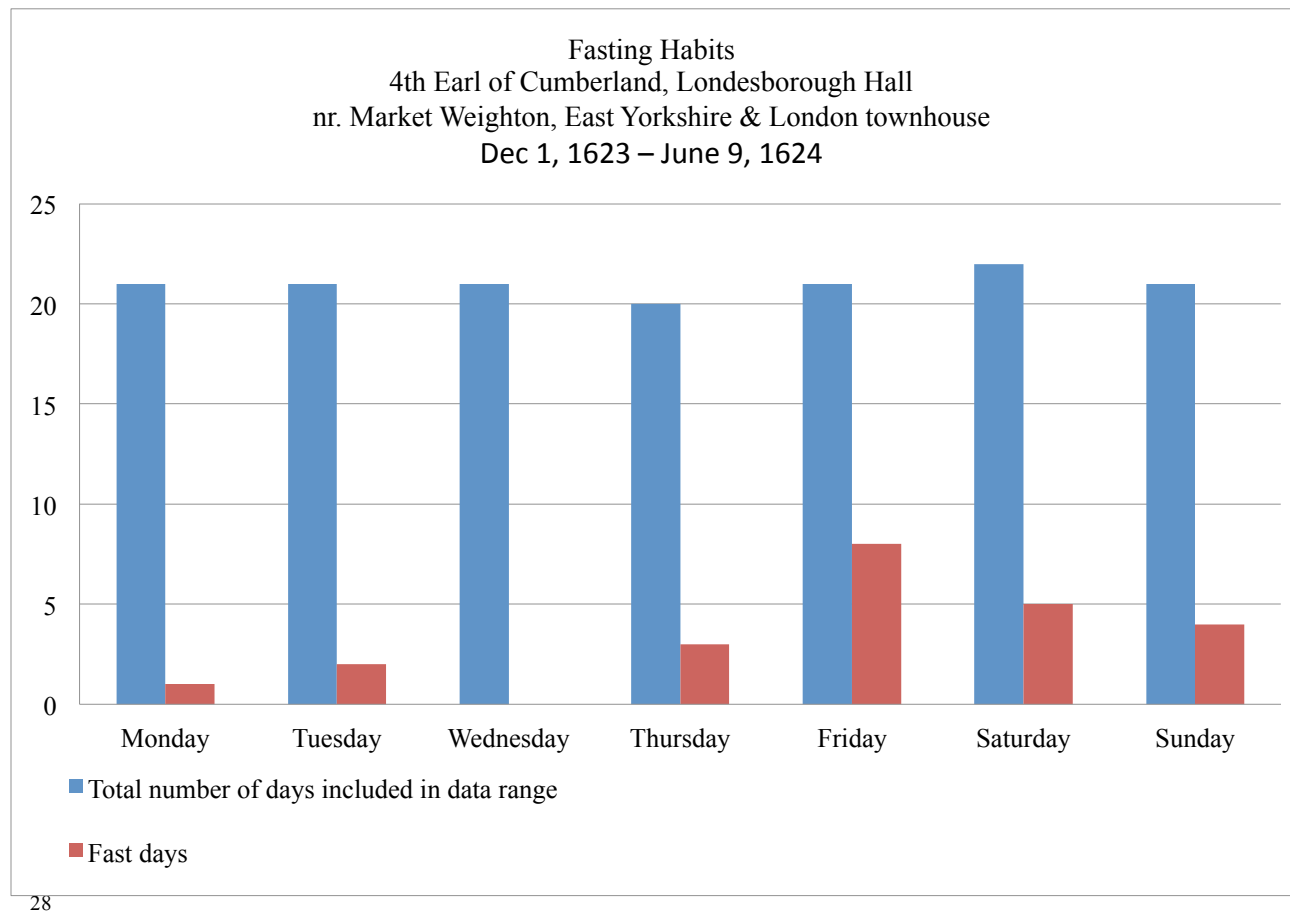
II.VI

Diet Account of Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland,
Londesborough Hall nr. Market Weighton, East Yorkshire, London townhouse.
Dec 1, 1623 – June 9, 1624²⁷

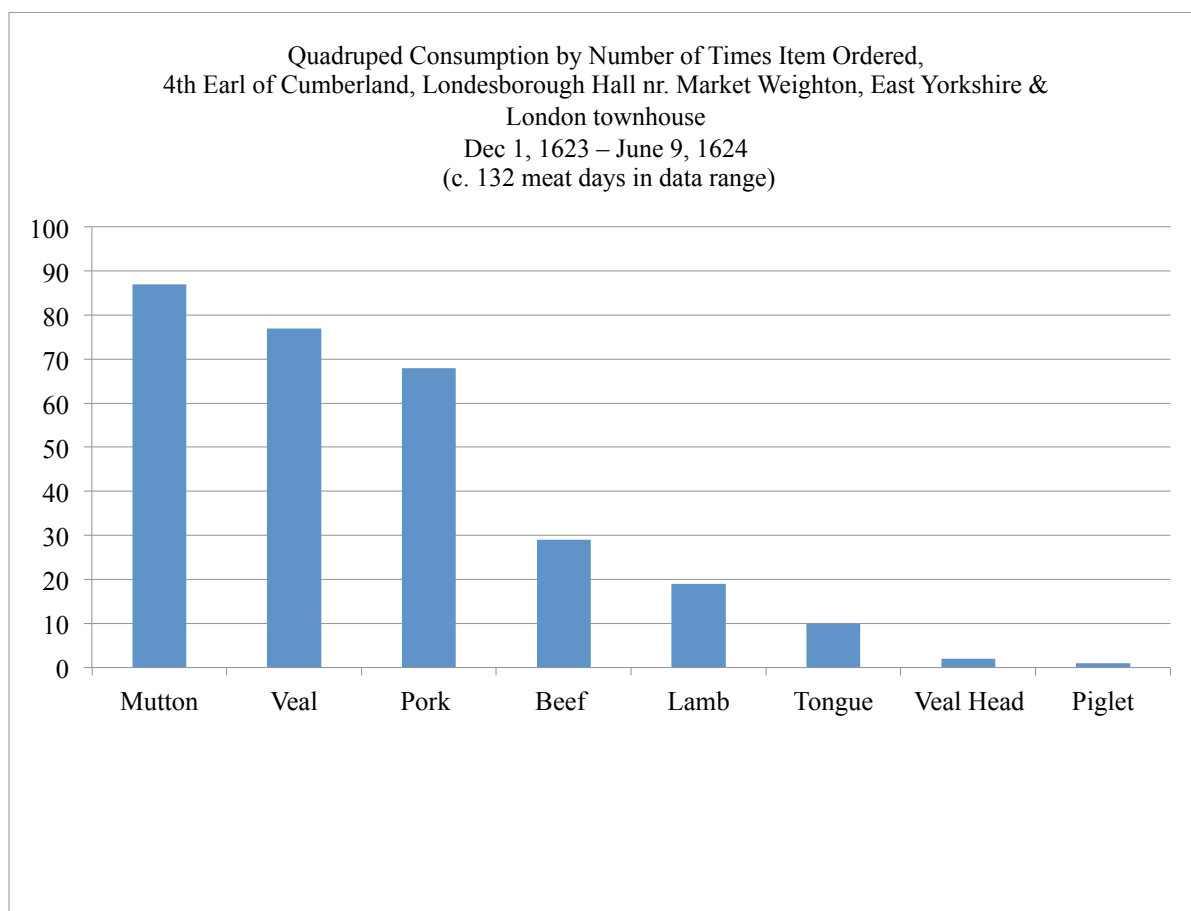
(22 fast days / 154 total = 132 meat days)

²⁷ Chatsworth House Archives, Derbyshire, MS SC 67, *Diet Account of Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland*, Skipton Castle, Dec 1, 1623 – June 9, 1624 (155 days).

Fasting Habits:

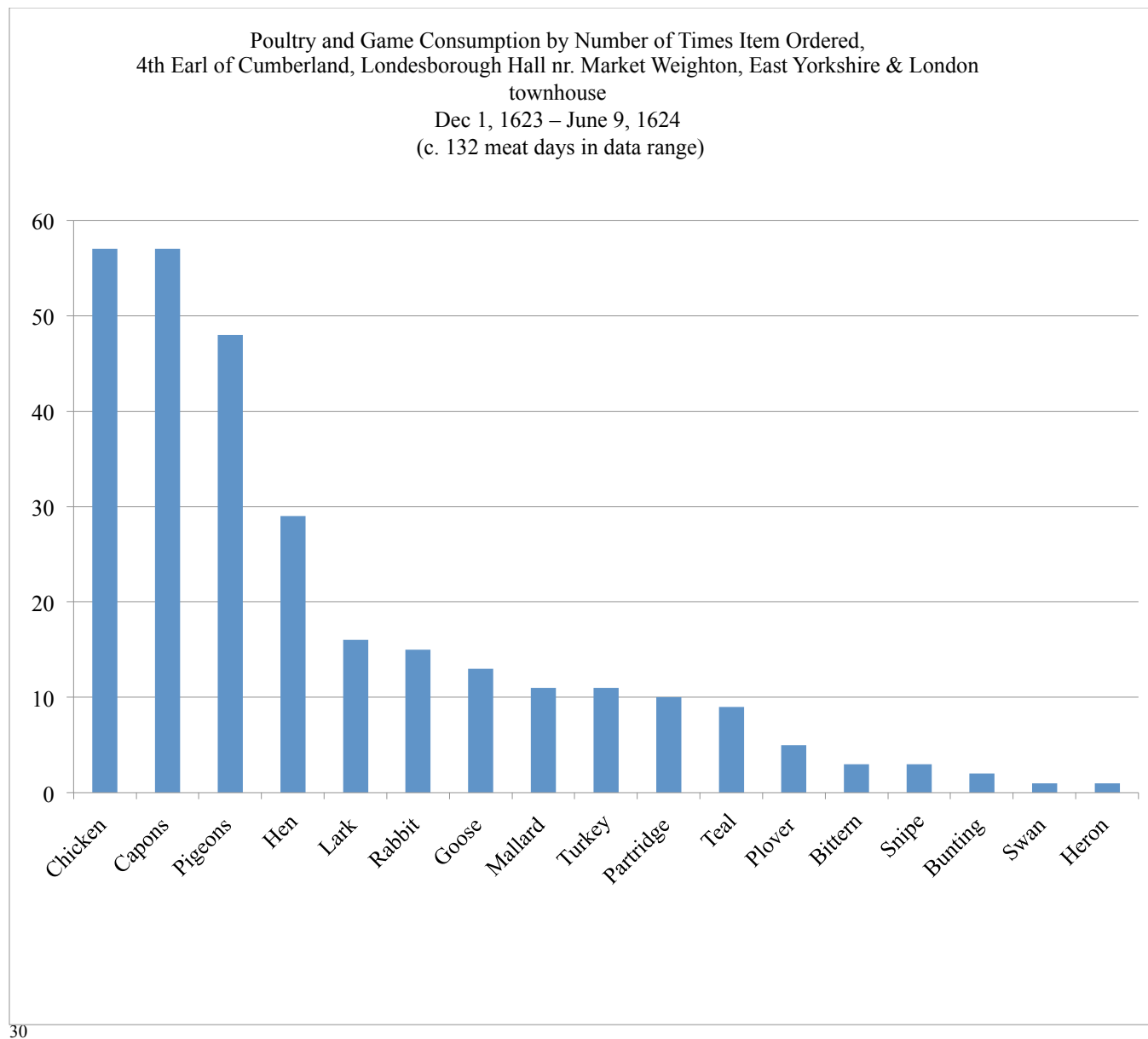


²⁸ Mon. 21/1, Tues. 21/2, Wed. 21/0, Thurs. 20/3, Fri. 21/8, Sat. 22/5, Sun. 21/4.

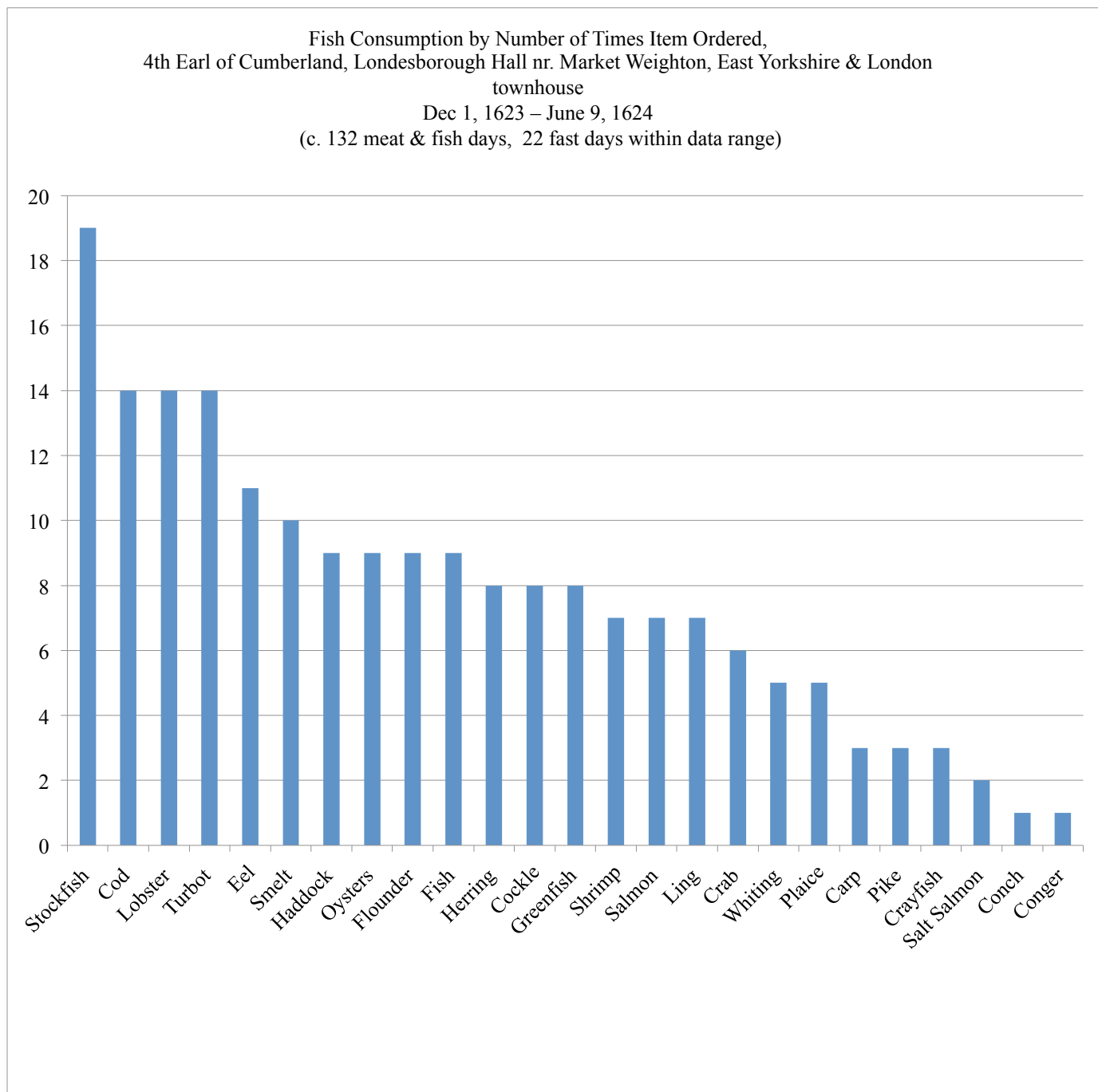
Quadruped:

²⁹ Beef meat 29, mutton meat 87, bacon 6, pork meat 68, veal meat 77, tongue 10, piglet 1, lamb meat 19, veal head 2.

Poultry:



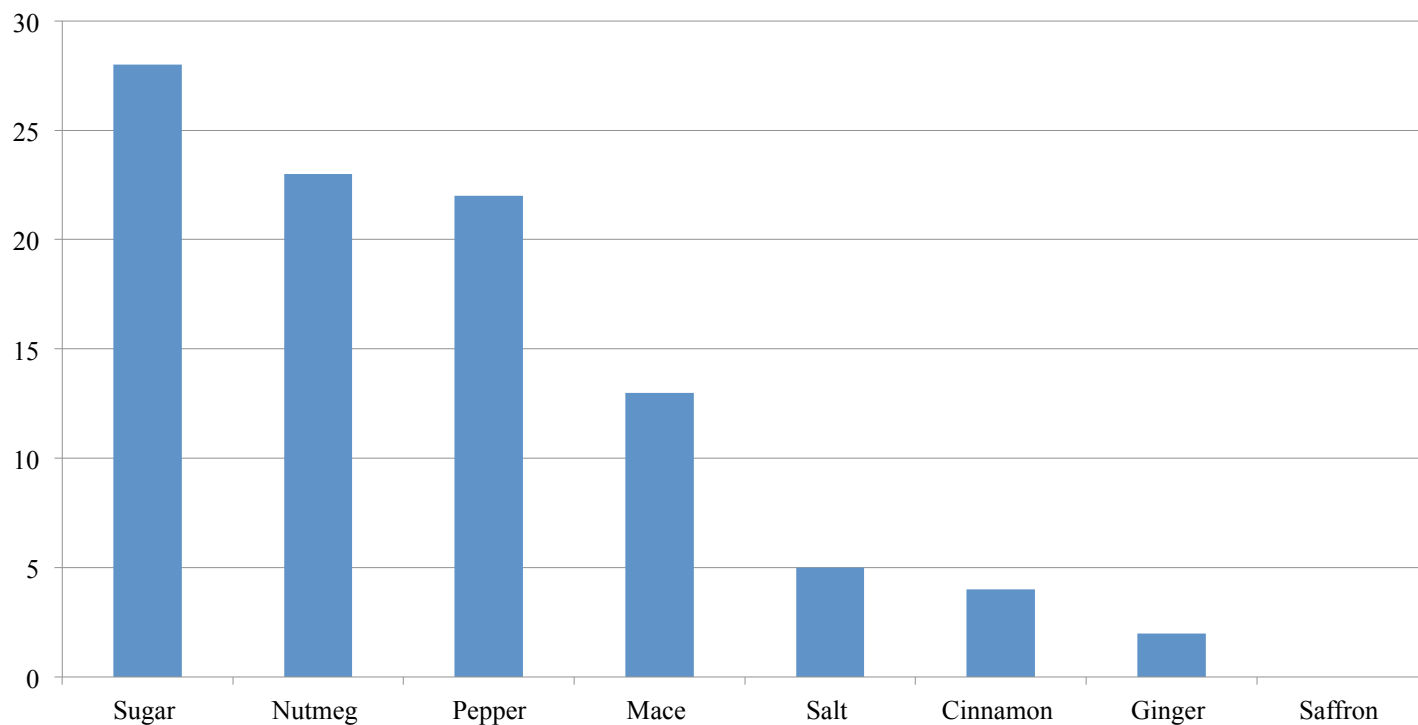
³⁰ Hen 29, chicken 57, capons 57, mallard 11, duck/teal 9, goose 13, turkey 11, swan 1, heron 1, partridge 10, lark 16, pigeons 48, bunting 2, bittern 3, plover 5, snipe 3, woodcock 15, rabbit 39.

Fish:

³¹ Cod 14, Carp 3, Stockfish 19, Haddock 9, Whiting 5, Herring 8, Cockle 8, Conch 1, Pike 3, Plaice 5, Crayfish 3, Shrimp 7, Crab 6, Lobster 14, Oysters 9, Turbot 14, Smelt 10, Salt Salmon 2, Salmon 7, Conger 1, Eel 11, Flounder 9, Ling 7, Greenfish 8, "Fish" 9.

Spice & Aromatics:

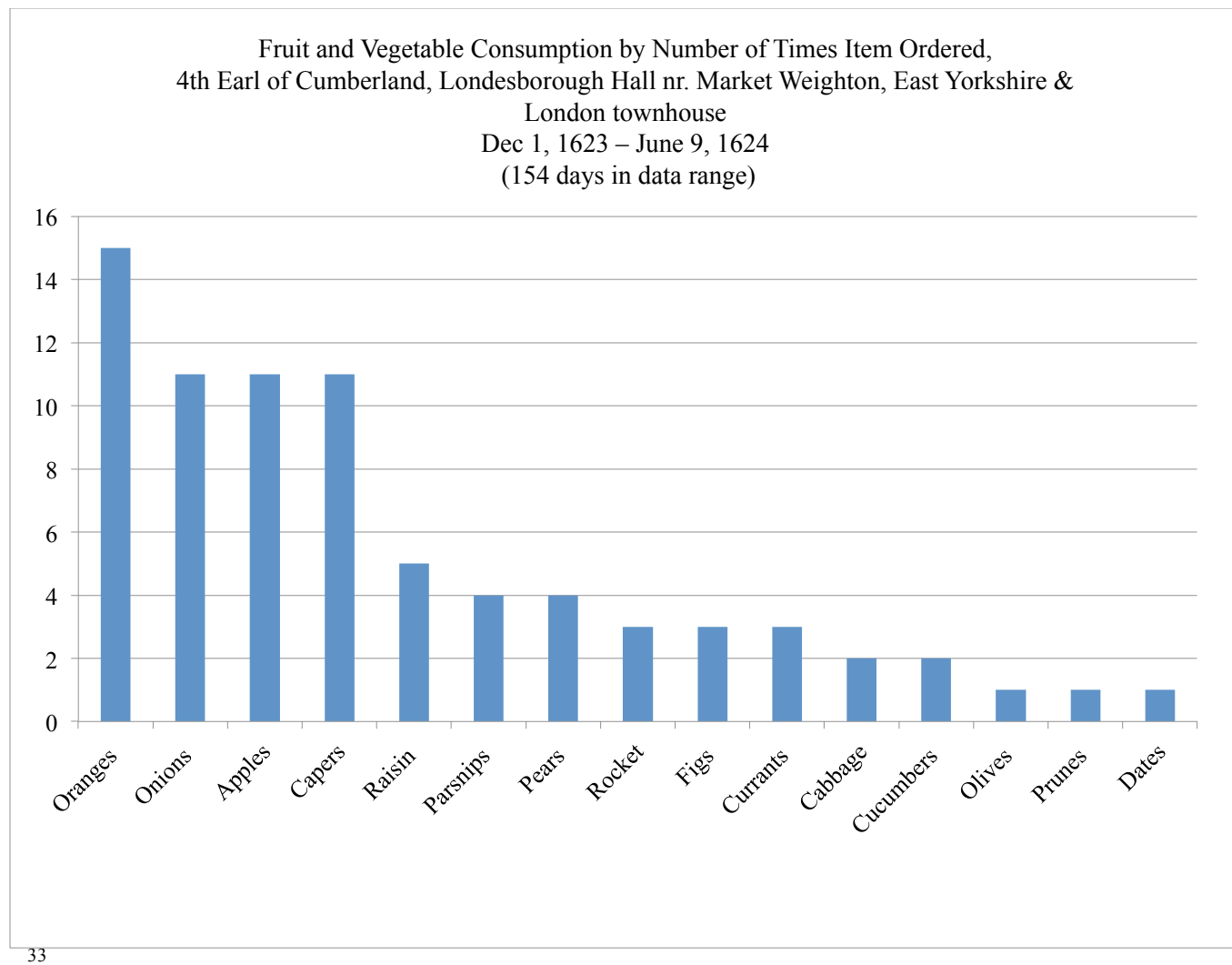
Spice Consumption by Number of Times Item Ordered,
4th Earl of Cumberland, Londesborough Hall nr. Market Weighton, East Yorkshire & London townhouse
Dec 1, 1623 – June 9, 1624
(154 days in data range)



32

³² Salt 5, Sugar 28, Ginger 2, Mace 13, Saffron 0, Cinnamon 4, Nutmeg 23, Pepper 22.

Fruits & Vegetables:



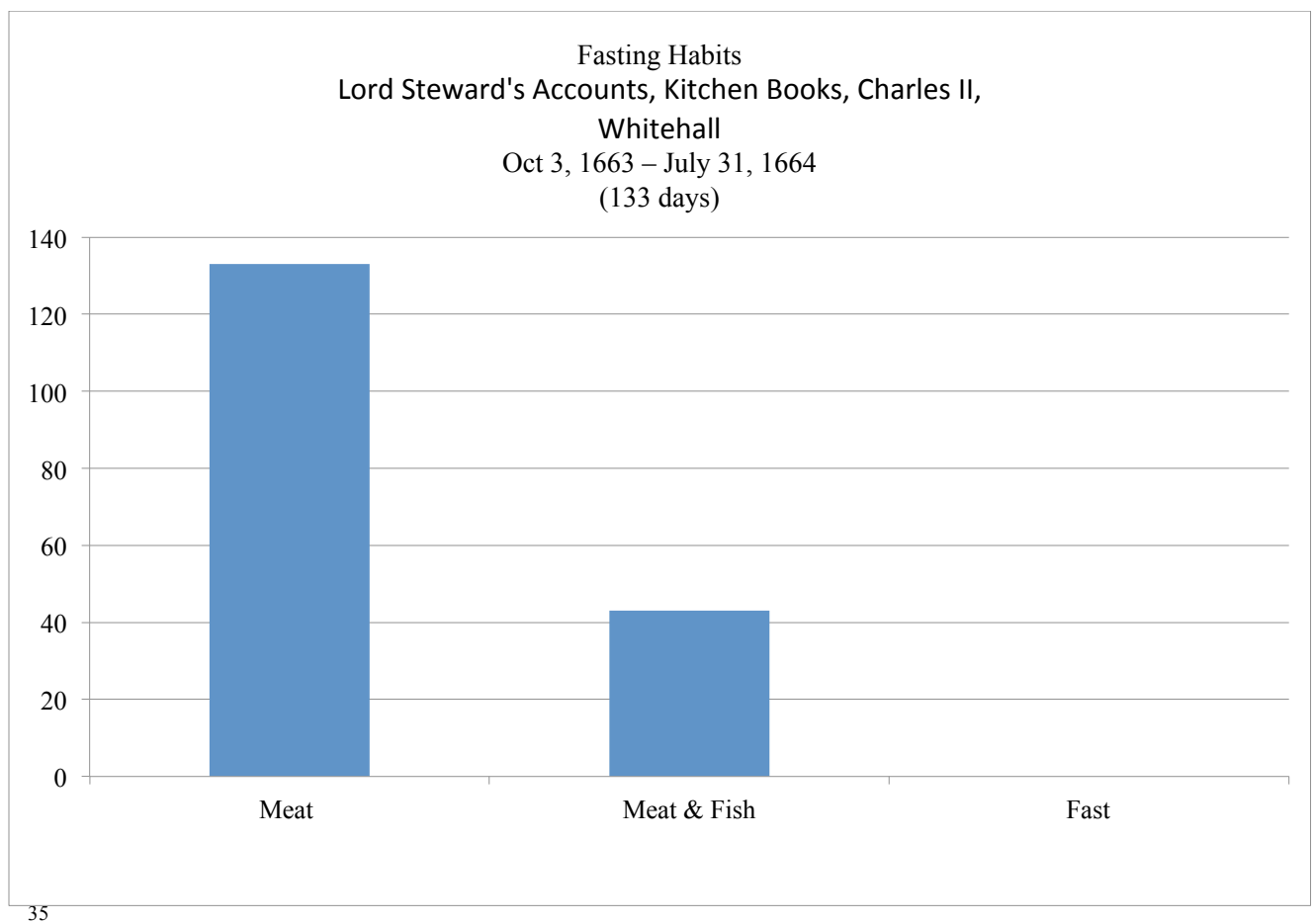
³³ Onions 11, Cabbage 2, Rocket 3, Parsnips 4, Cucumbers 2, Apples 11, Oranges 15, capers 11, Olives 1, Pears 4, Prunes 1, Figs 3, Raisin 5, Currants 3, Dates 1.

II.VII

**National Archives, Richmond
LS 9/1, Lord Steward's Accounts, Kitchen Books, Charles II,³⁴
Oct 3, 1663 – July 31, 1664 (133 days).**

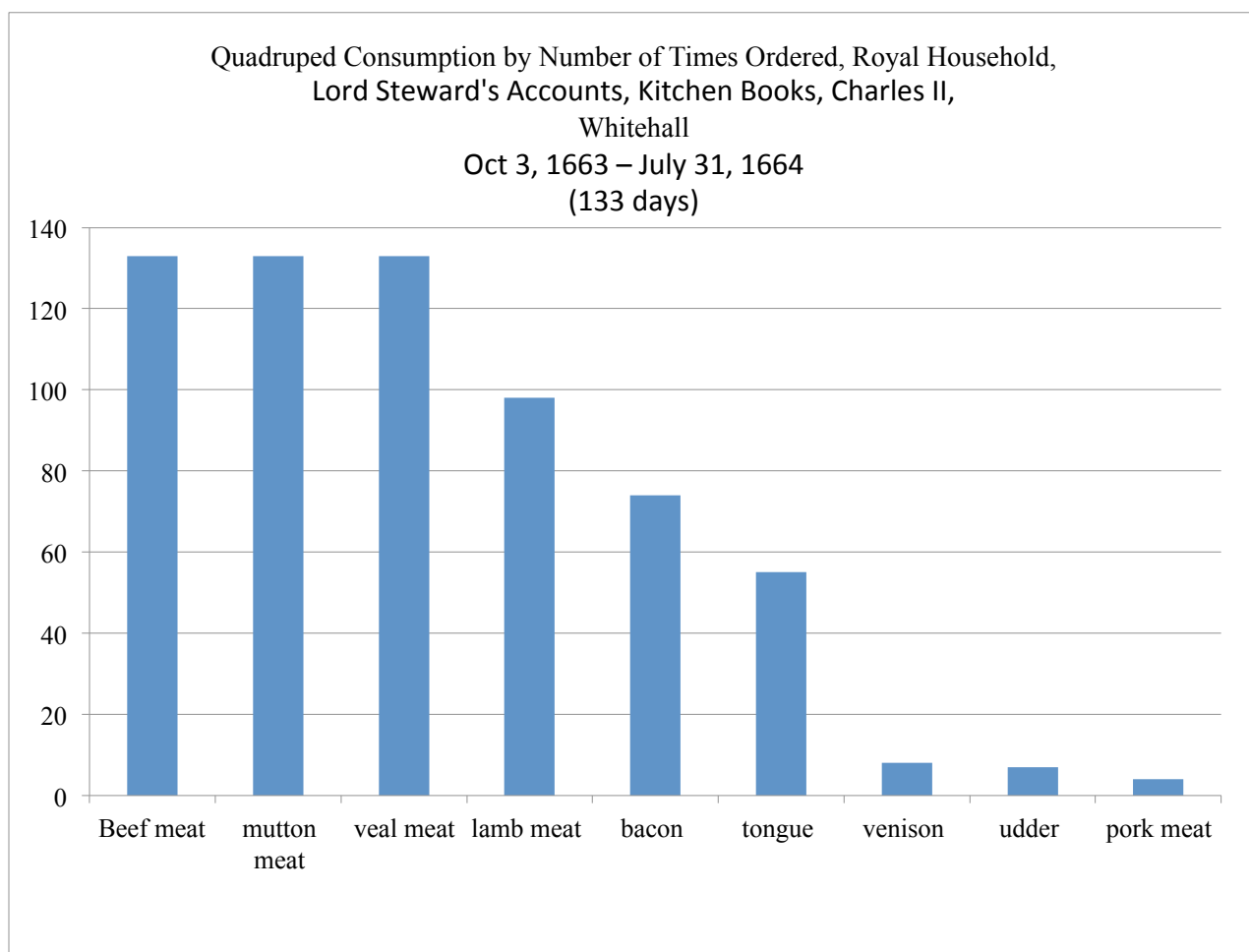
³⁴ National Archives, Richmond, LS 9/1, *Lord Steward's Accounts, Kitchen Books*, Charles II, Oct 3, 1663 – July 31, 1664

Fasting Habits



³⁵ Meat days 133; Meat & Fish 43; fast days 0.

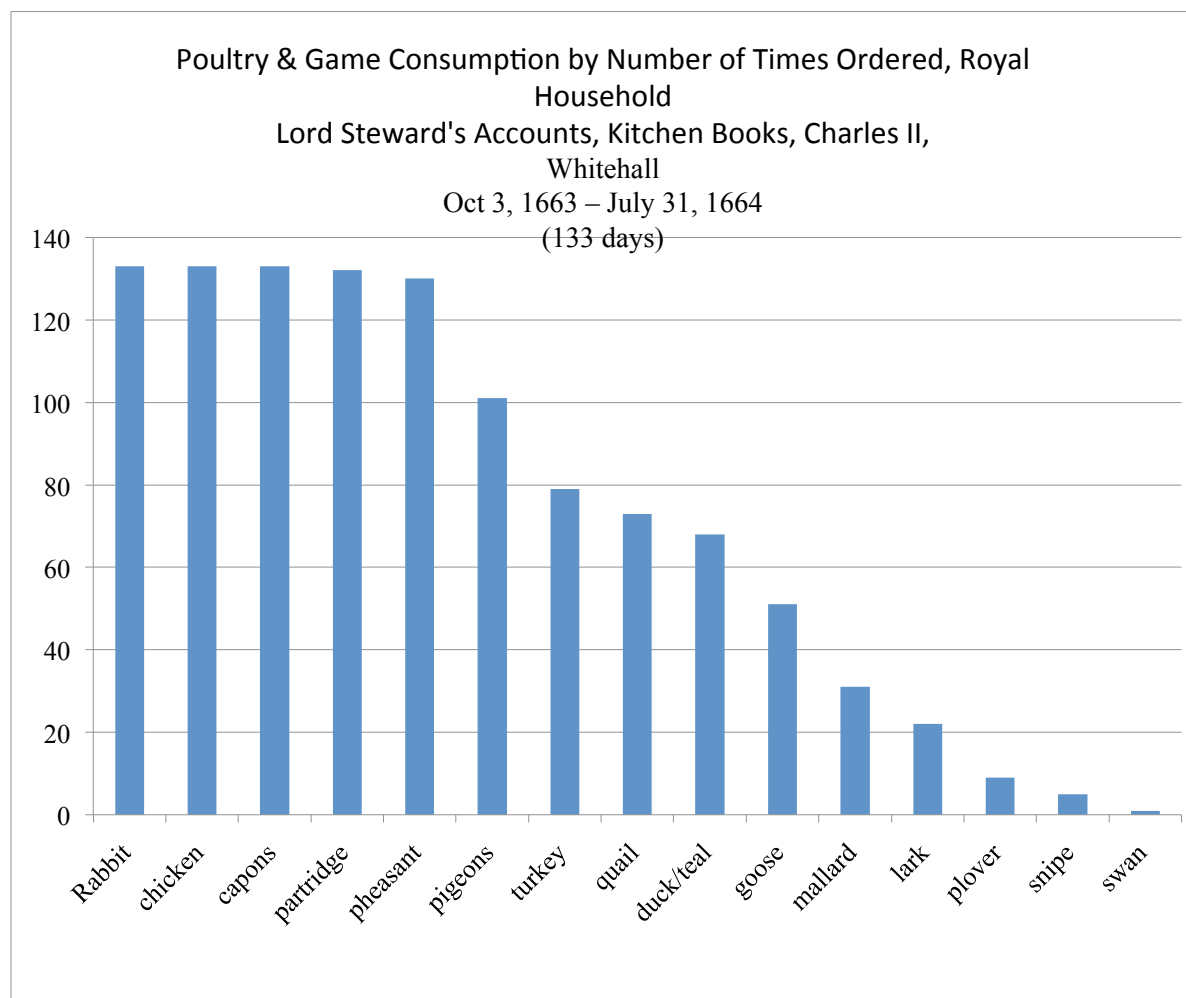
Quadruped



³⁶

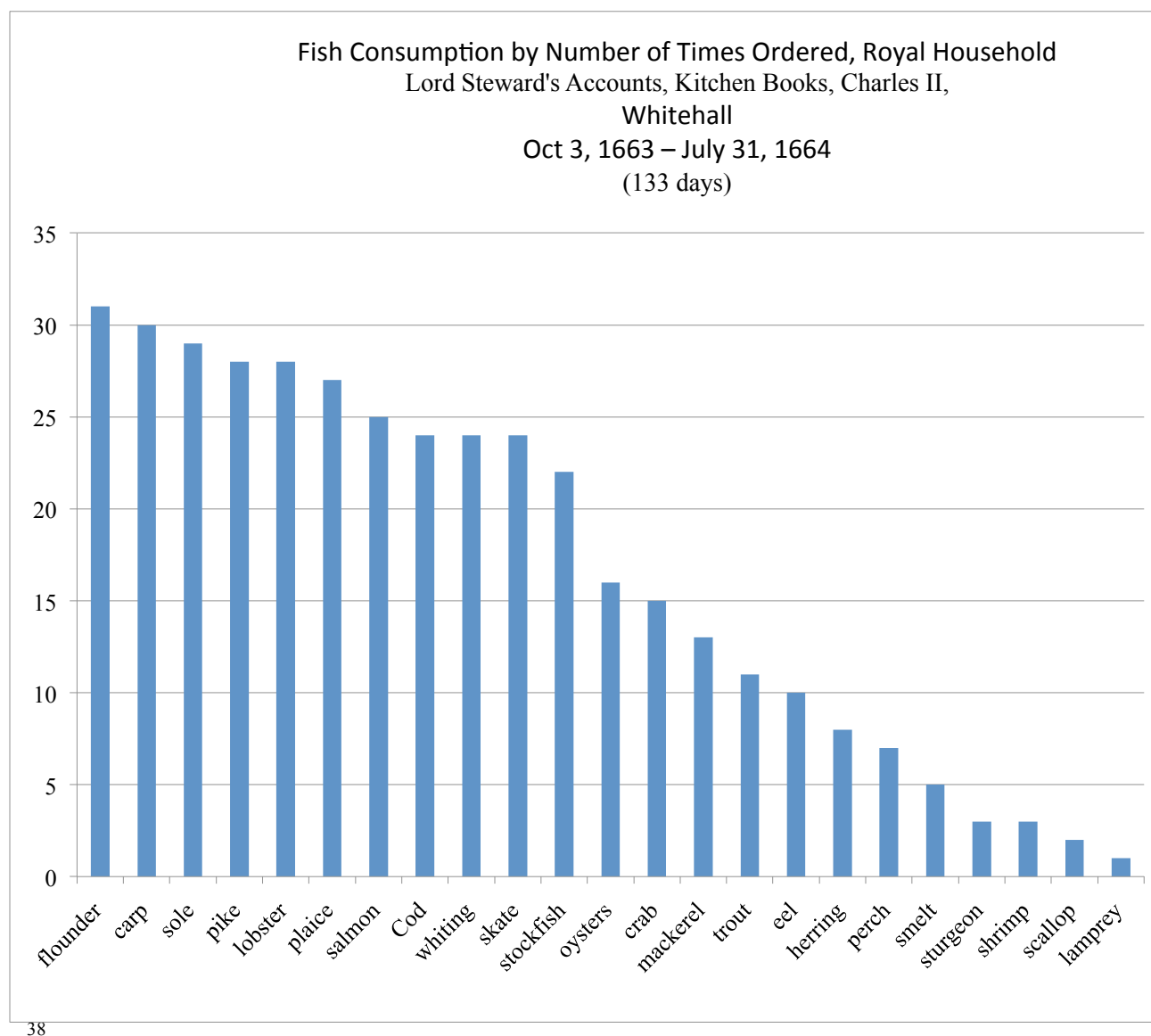
³⁶ Beef meat 133, mutton meat 133, bacon 74, pork meat 4, veal meat 133, tongue 55, udder 7, lamb meat 98, venison 8.

Poultry & Game



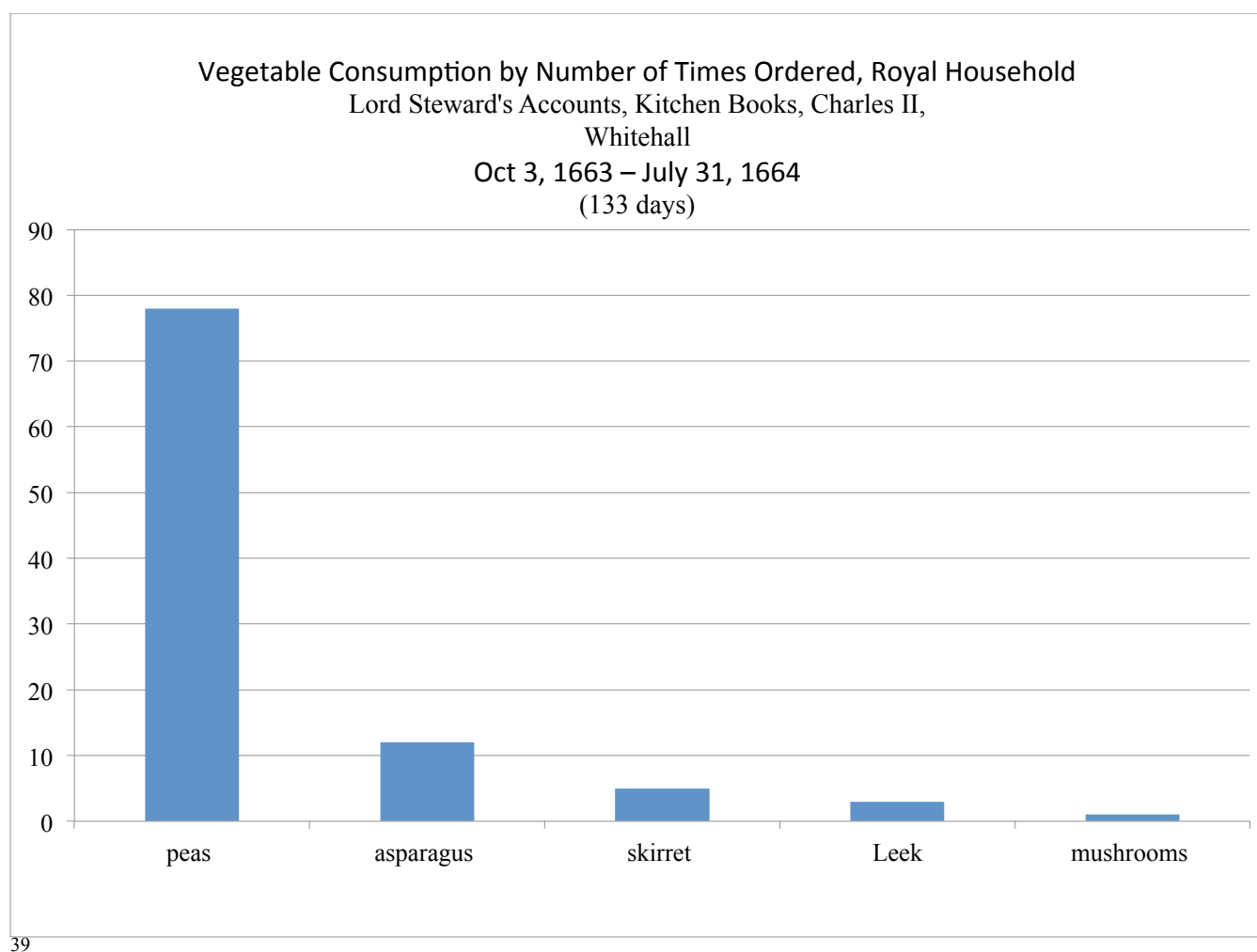
³⁷ Rabbit 133, chicken 133, capons 133, mallard 31, duck/teal 68, goose 51, turkey 79, swan 1, pheasant 130, partridge 132, lark 22, quail 73, pigeons 101, plover 09, snipe 05.

Fish



³⁸ Cod 24, carp 30, stockfish 22, whiting 24, herring 8, mackerel 13, pike 28, trout 11, sturgeon 03, plaice 27, perch 7, shrimp 3, crab 15, lobster 28, oysters 16, scallop 2, smelt 5, salmon 25, lamprey 1, eel 10, flounder 31, skate 24, sole 29.

Vegetables



³⁹

³⁹ Leek 3, asparagus 12, skirret 5, peas 78, mushrooms 1.

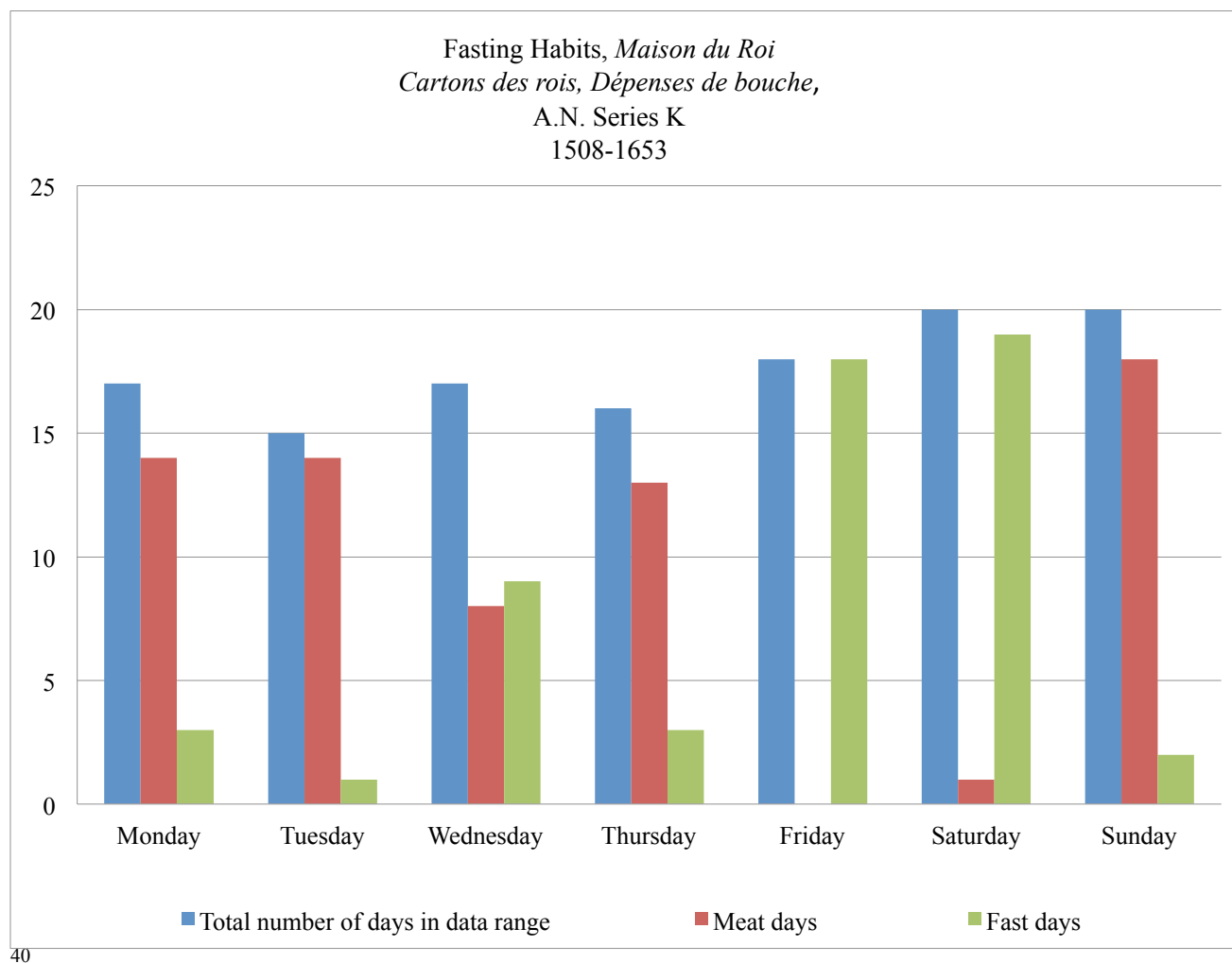
II.VIII

Archives Nationales, Paris

- K 118/64, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Louis XIV*, Oct 6 & 28, 1653 (2 days).
- K 105/A, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henri IV*, Nov/July/Oct, 1592 (11 days).
- K 100/47/1&2, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henri III*, April 1-20, 1579 (20 days).
- K 98/52/1&2, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Charles IX*, June 5-24, 1572 (19 days).
- K 92/36/1&2, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Francis II*, Oct 1-30, 1559 (30 days).
- K 92/31, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Francis II*, July 29-Sept 21, 1559 (13 days).
- K 92/4, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henry II*, Aug 1, 1557 – Nov 28, 1557 (13 days).
- K 504/5, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon*, Sept 1-30, 1508 (30 days).

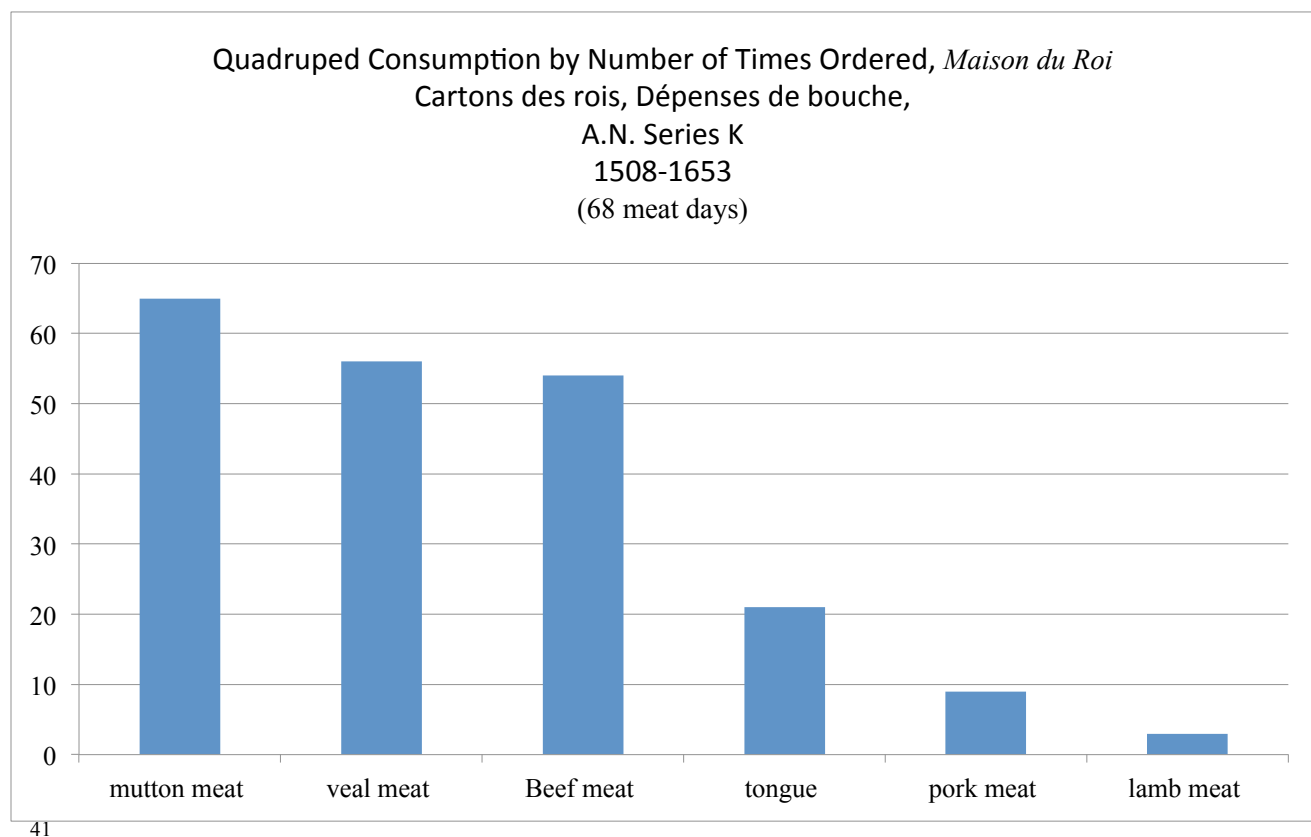
-French Royal Household Data as a Sum Total, 1508-1653-

Fasting Habits



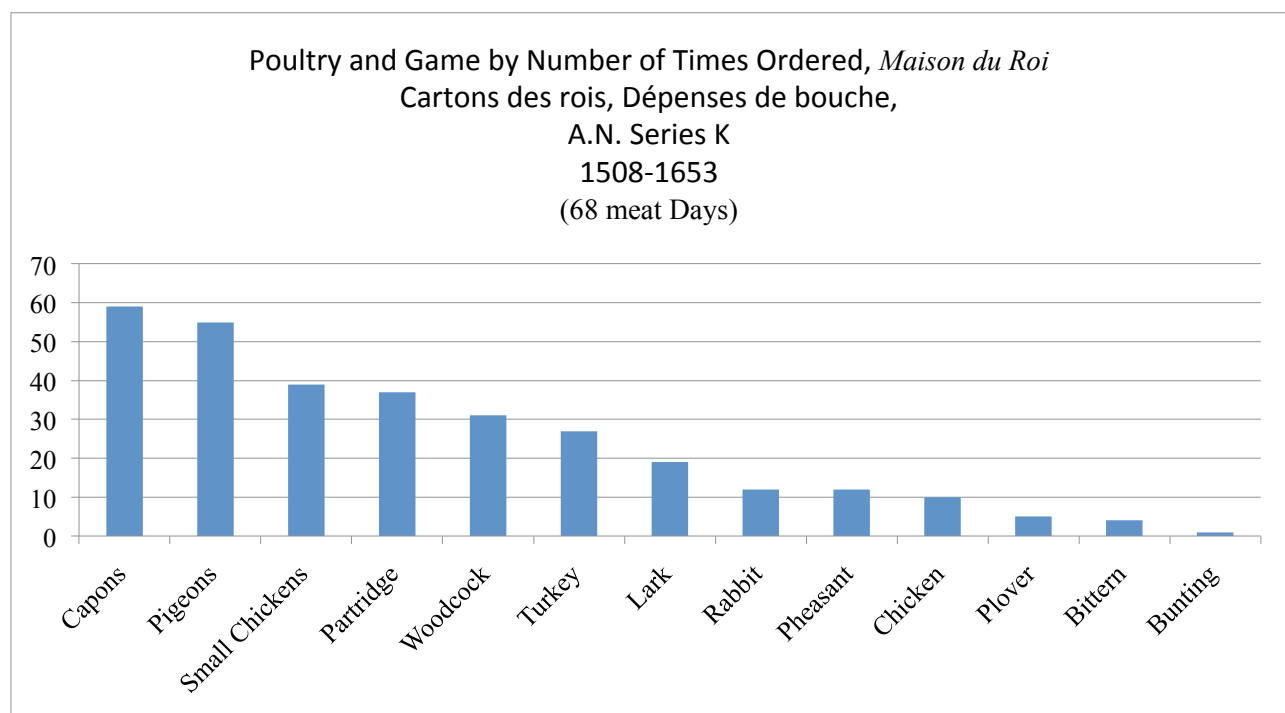
⁴⁰ Monday 17/meat14/fast 3; Tuesday 15 total/14 meat/1 fast (lent); Wednesday 17 total/8 meat/9 fast; Thursday 16 total/ meat 13/fast 3; Friday 18 total/meat 0/fast 18; Saturday 20 total/1 meat/19 fast; Sunday 20 total/18 meat/2 fast (Lent).

Quadruped



⁴¹ Beef meat 54, mutton meat 65, pork meat 9, veal meat 56, tongue 21, lamb meat 3.

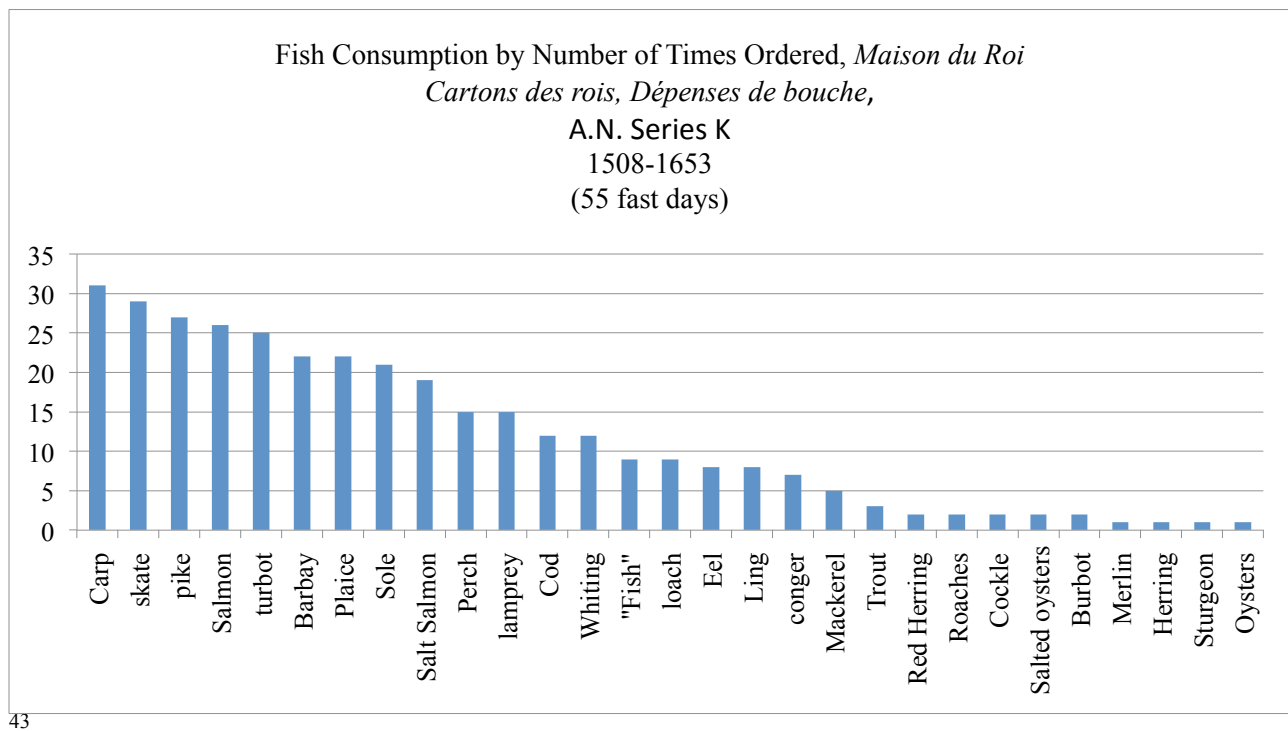
Poultry and Game



42

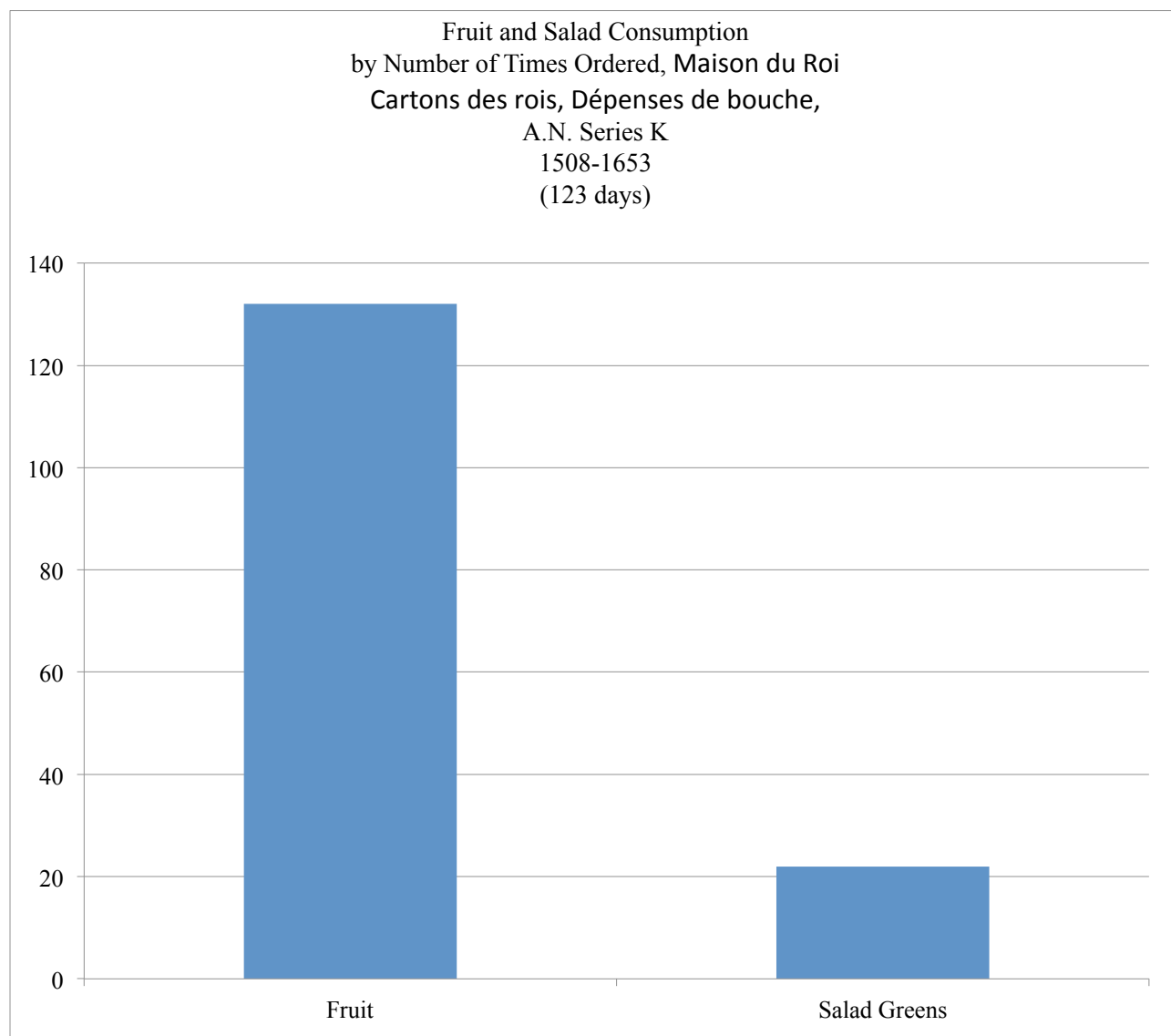
⁴² Rabbit 12, chicken 10, small chickens 39, capons 59, turkey 27, pheasant 12, partridge 37, lark 19, pigeons 55, bunting 1, bittern 4, plover 5, woodcock 31.

Fish



43

⁴³ "Fish" 9, Cod 12, Carp 31, Merlin 1, Barbay 22, Whiting 12, Herring 1, Red Herring 2, Mackerel 5, Roaches 2, Cockle 2, Pike 27, Trout 3, Sturgeon 1, Plaice 22, Perch 15, Oysters 1, Salted Oysters 2, Turbot 25, Burbot 2, Salt Salmon 19, Loach 9, Salmon 26, Lamprey 15, Conger 7, Eel 8, Skate 29, Sole 21, Ling 8.

Misc: Fruit and Veg

44

⁴⁴ Salad Greens 22, Fruit 132.

II.IX

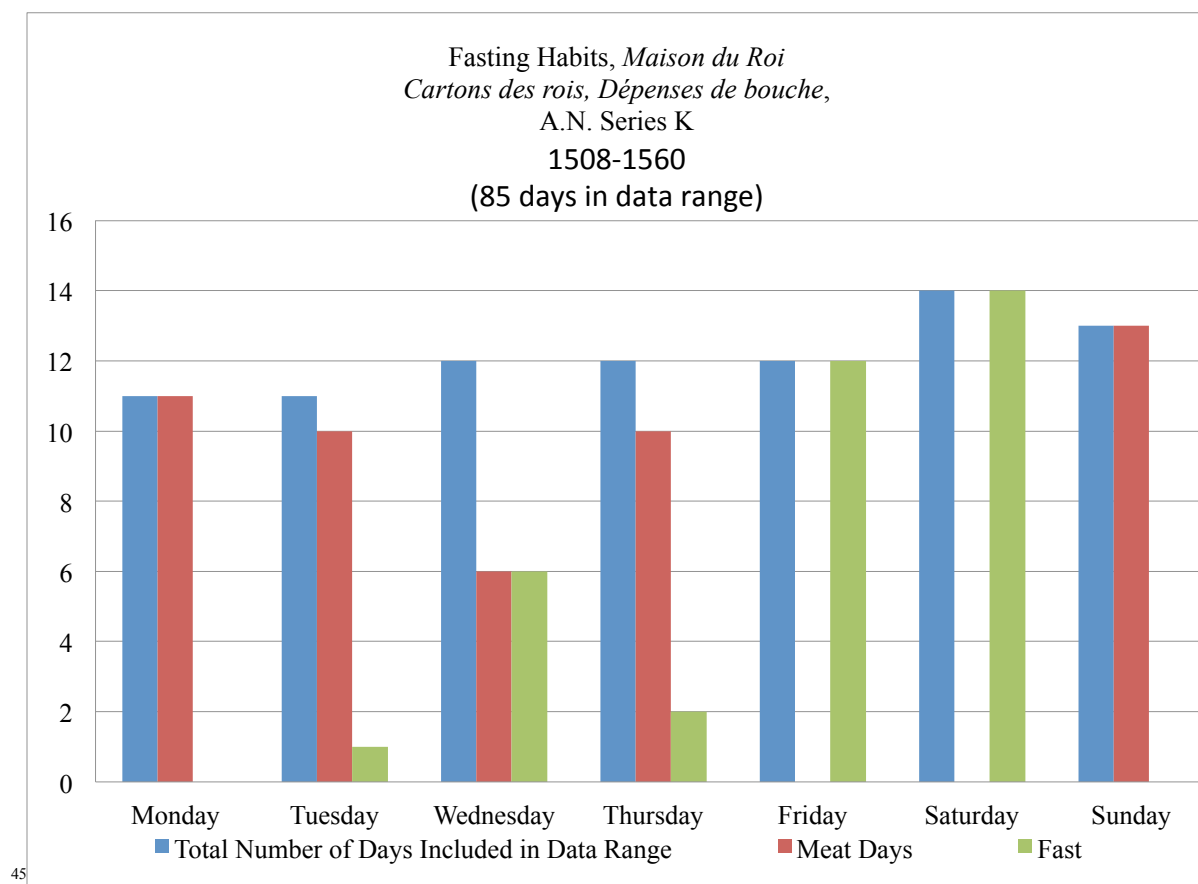
Archives Nationales, Paris

- K 92/36/1&2, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Francis II, Oct 1-30, 1559 (30 days).*
- K 92/31, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Francis II, July 29-Sept 21, 1559 (13 days).*
- K 92/4, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henry II, Aug 1, 1557 – Nov 28, 1557 (13 days).*
- K 504/5, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon, Sept 1-30, 1508 (30 days).*

85 Days Total

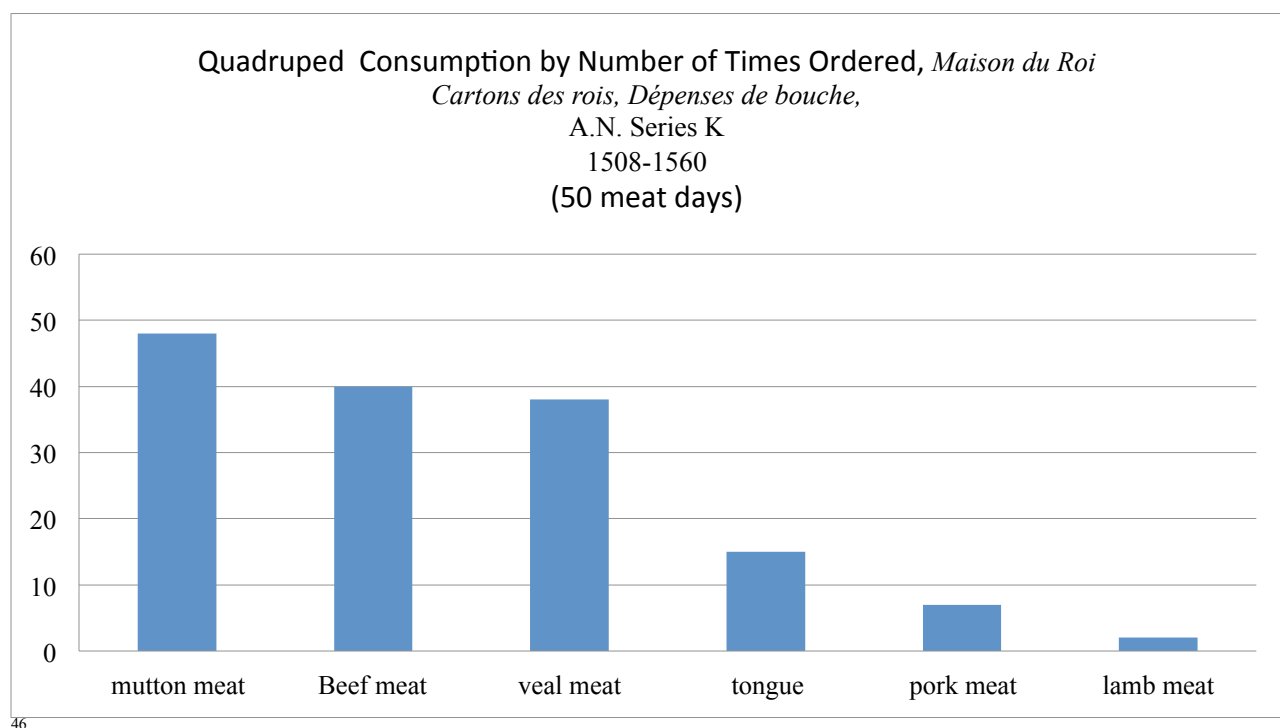
-French Royal Household Data, 1508-1560-

Fasting Habits



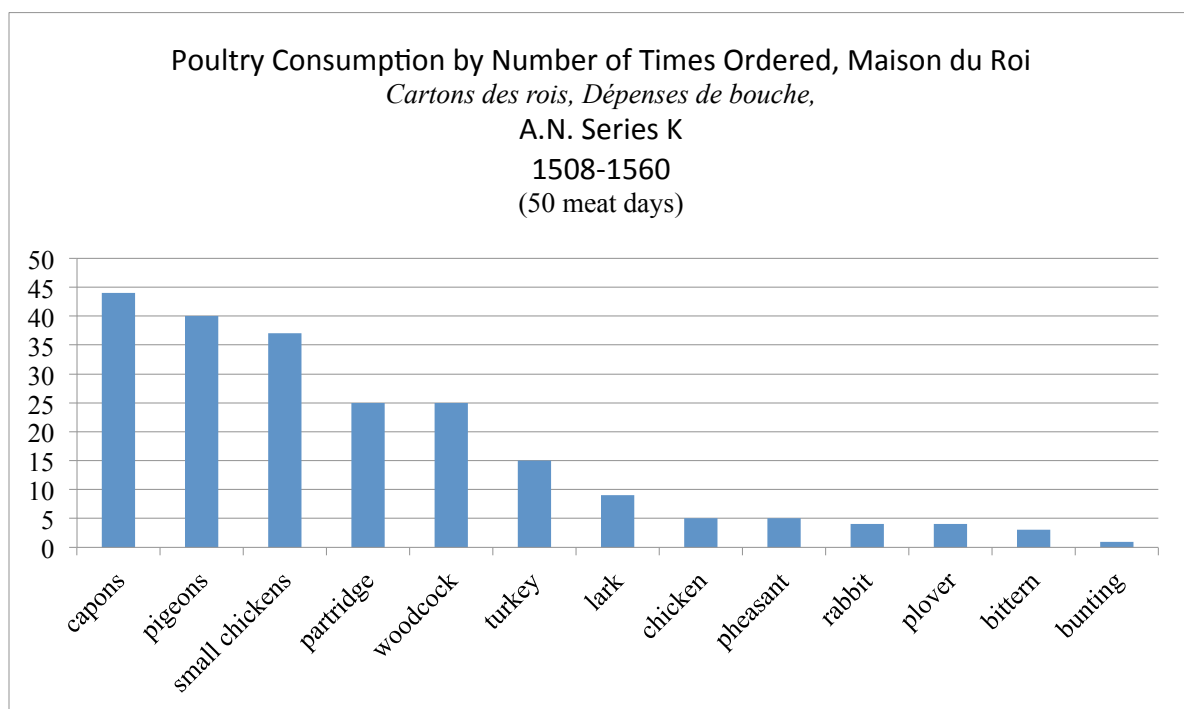
⁴⁵ Monday 11/meat11/fast 0; Tuesday 11 total/10 meat/1 fast; Wednesday 12 total/6 meat/6 fast; Thursday 12 total/meat 10/fast 2; Friday 12 total/meat 0/fast 12; Saturday 14 total/0 meat/14 fast; Sunday 13 total/13 meat/0 fast.

Quadruped



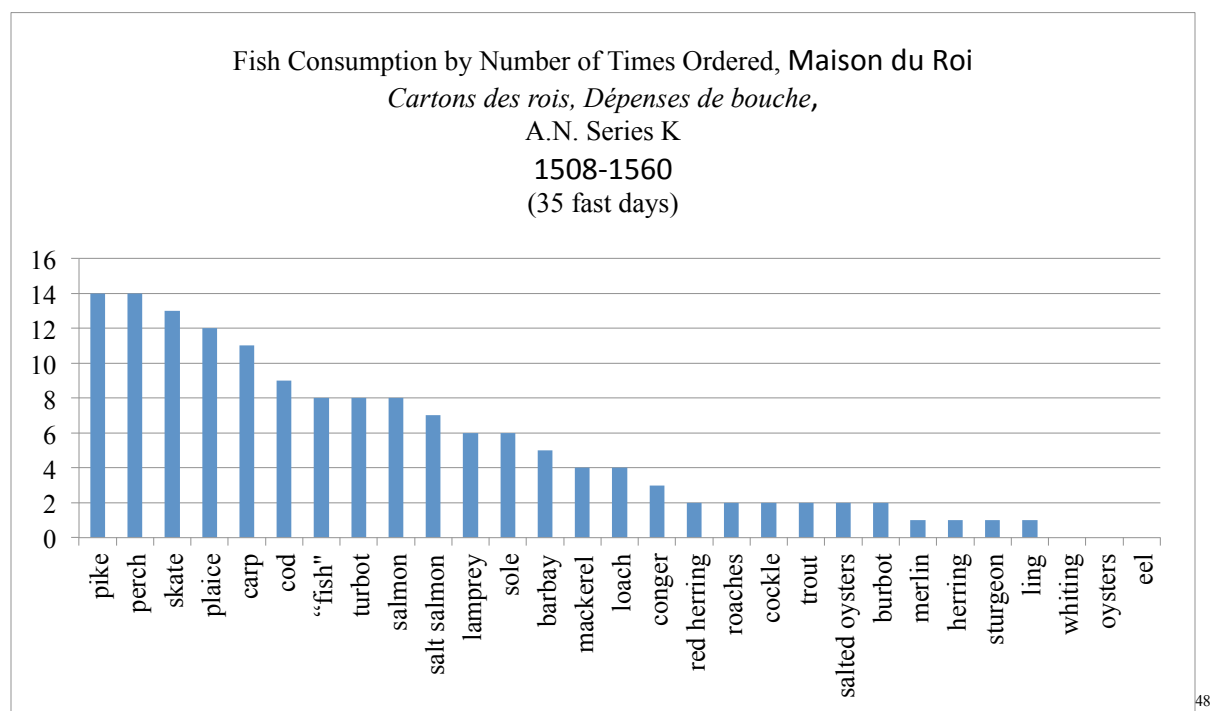
⁴⁶ Beef meat 40, mutton meat 48, pork meat 7, veal meat 38, tongue 15, lamb meat 2.

Poultry and Game



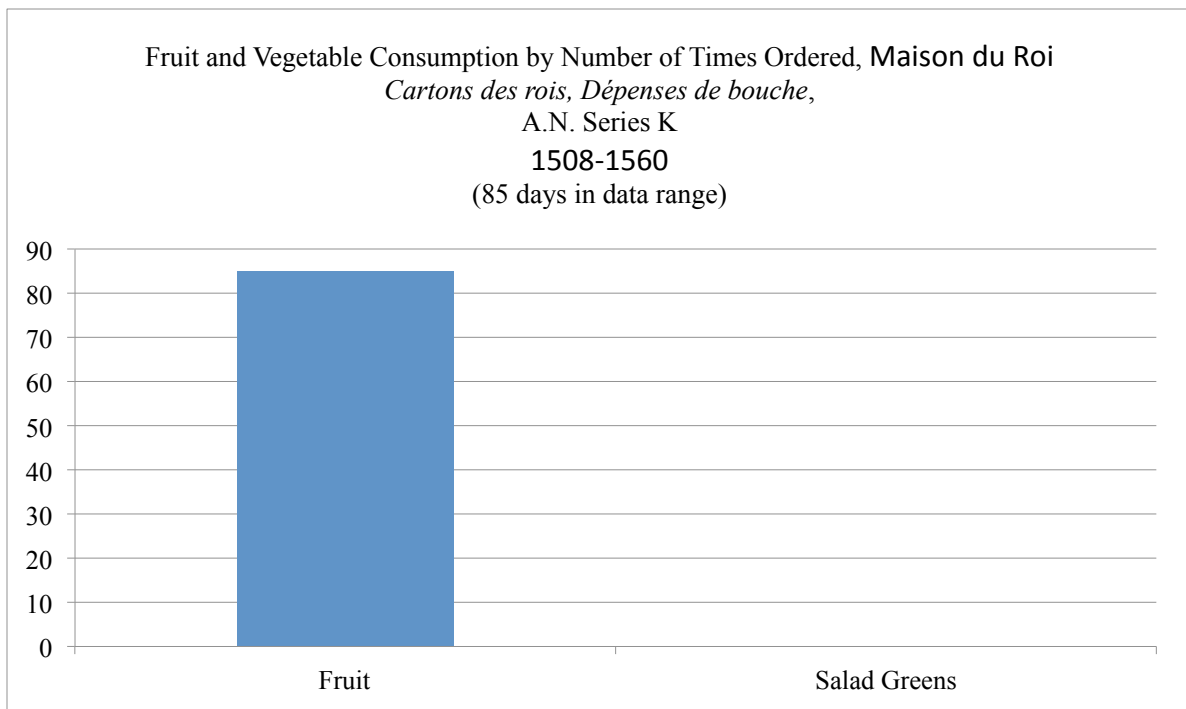
⁴⁷ Rabbit 4, chicken 5, small chickens 37, capons 44, turkey 15, pheasant 5, partridge 25, lark 9, pigeons 40, bunting 1, bittern 3, plover 4, woodcock 25.

Fish



⁴⁸ "Fish" 8, cod 9, carp 11, merlin 1, barbay 5, whiting 0, herring 1, red herring 2, mackerel 4, roaches 2, cockle 2, pike 14, trout 2, sturgeon 1, plaice 12, perch 14, oysters , salted oysters 2, turbot 8, burbot 2, salt salmon 7, loach 4, salmon 8, lamprey 6, conger 3, eel 0, skate 13, sole 6, ling 1.

Fruit and Vegetable



⁴⁹ Fruit 85, Salad greens 0.

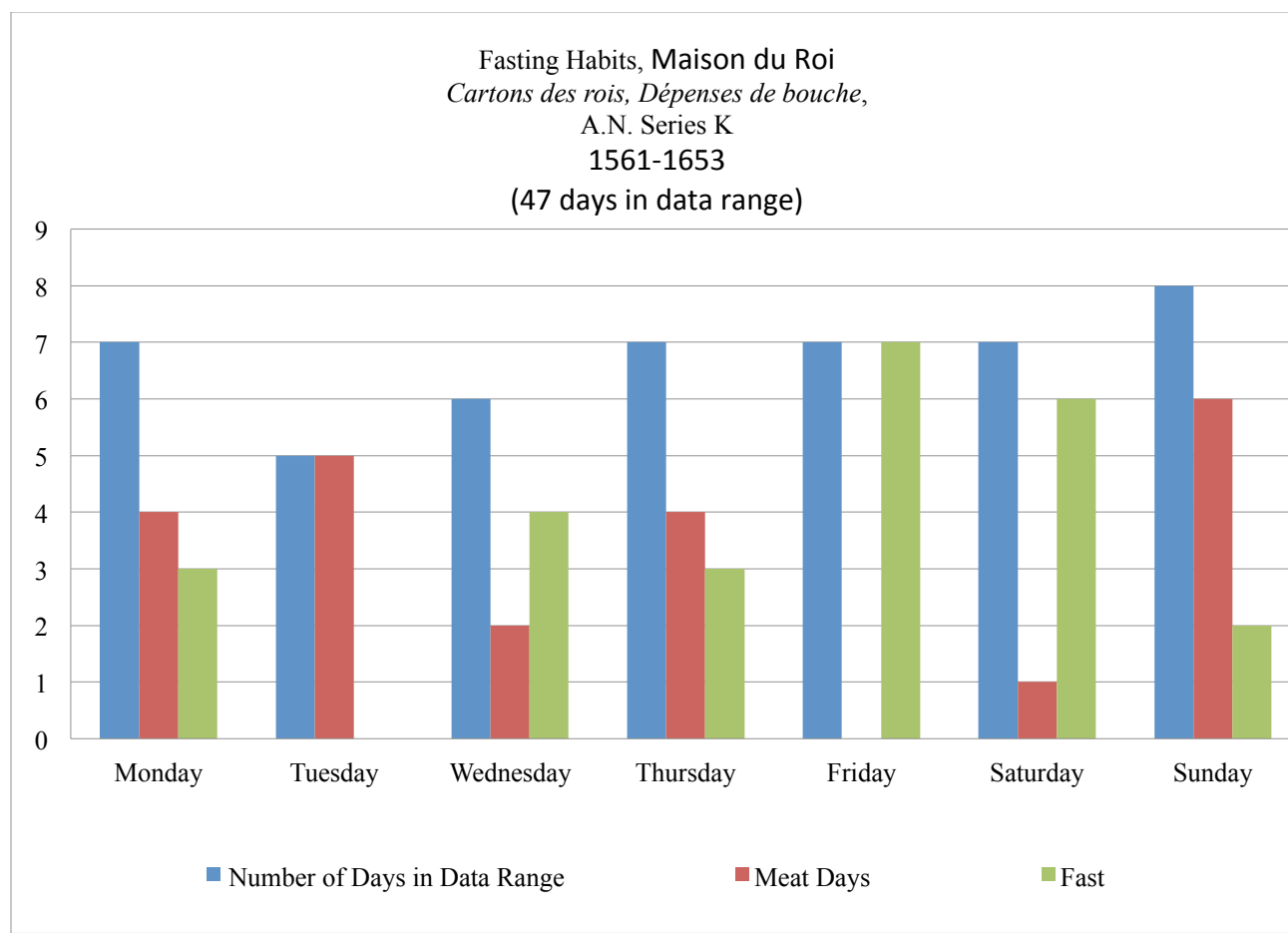
II.X

Archives Nationales, Paris

- K 118/64, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Louis XIV*, Oct 16 & 28, 1653 (2 days).
- K 105/A, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henri IV*, Nov/July/Oct, 1592 (11 days).
- K 100/47/1&2, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henri III*, April 1-20, 1579 (20 days).
- K 98/52/1&2, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Charles IX*, June 5-24, 1572 (19 days).

-French Royal Household Data, 1561-1653-

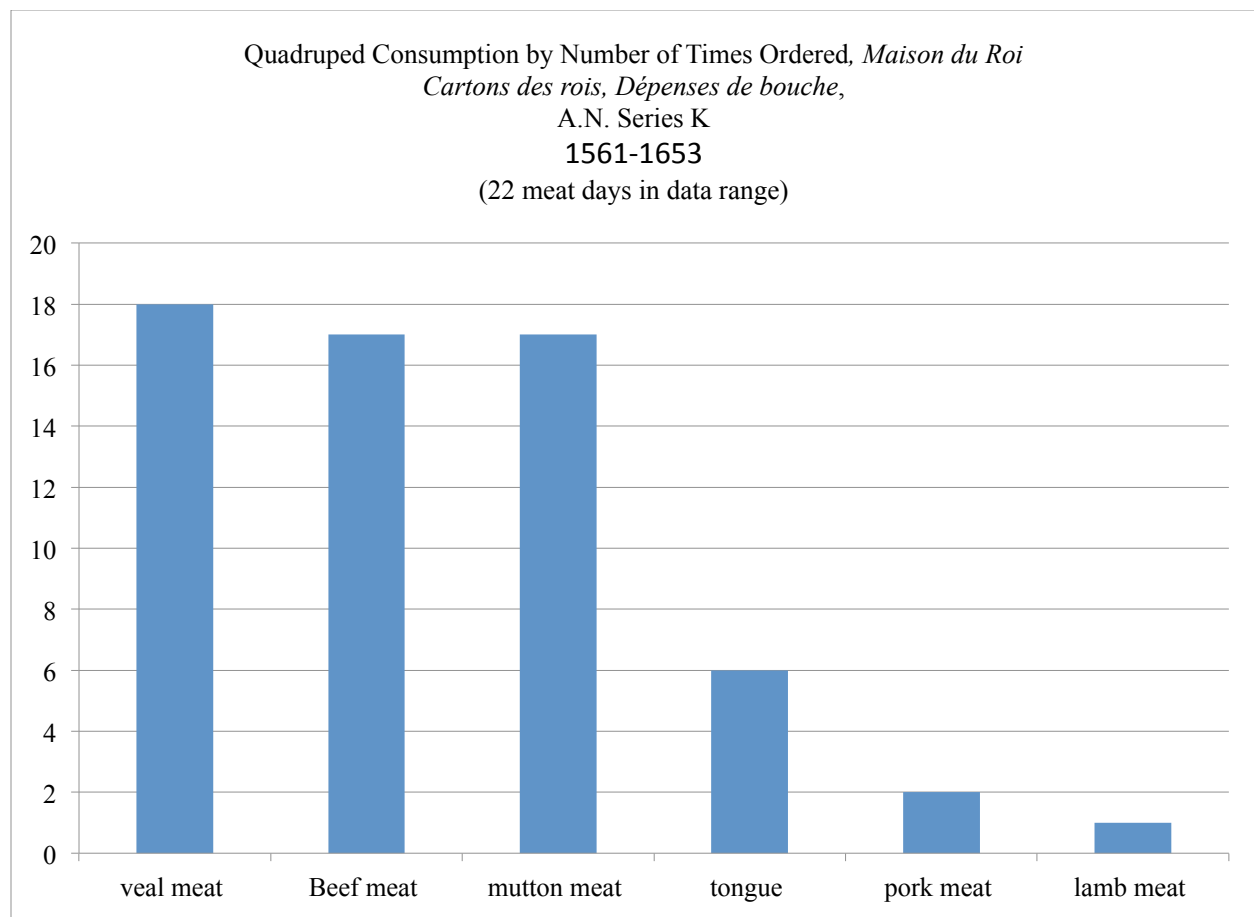
Fasting Habits



50

⁵⁰ Monday 7/meat 4/fast 3; Tuesday 5 total/5 meat/0 fast; Wednesday 6 total/2 meat/4 fast; Thursday 7 total/ meat 4/ fast 3; Friday 7 total/meat 0/fast 7; Saturday 7 total/1 meat/6 fast; Sunday 8 total/6 meat/2 fast.

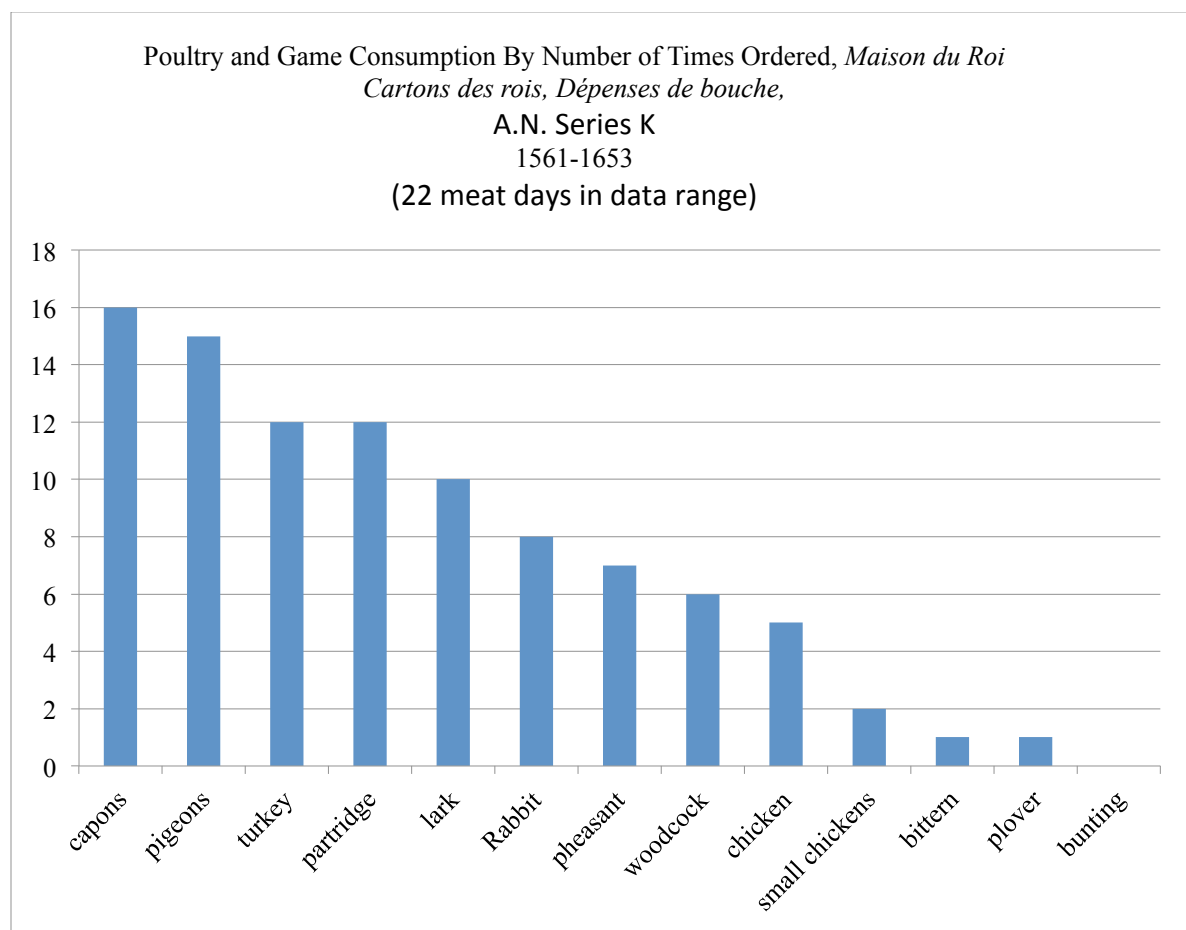
Quadruped



51

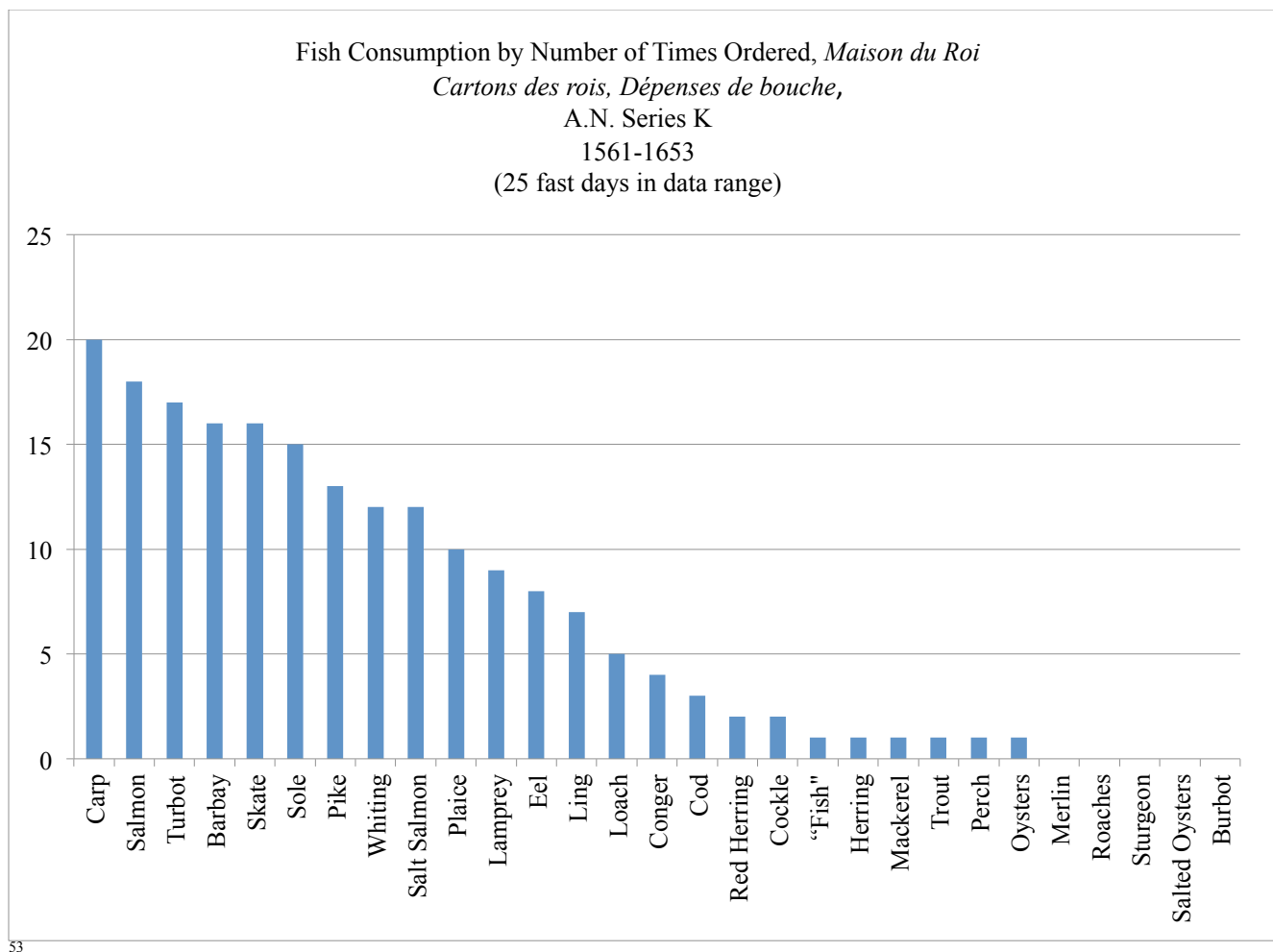
⁵¹ Beef meat 17, mutton meat 17, pork meat 2, veal meat 18, tongue 6, lamb meat 1.

Poultry and Game



⁵² Rabbit 8, chicken 5, small chickens 2, capons 16, turkey 12, pheasant 7, partridge 12, lark 10, pigeons 15, bunting 0, bittern 1, plover 1, woodcock 6.

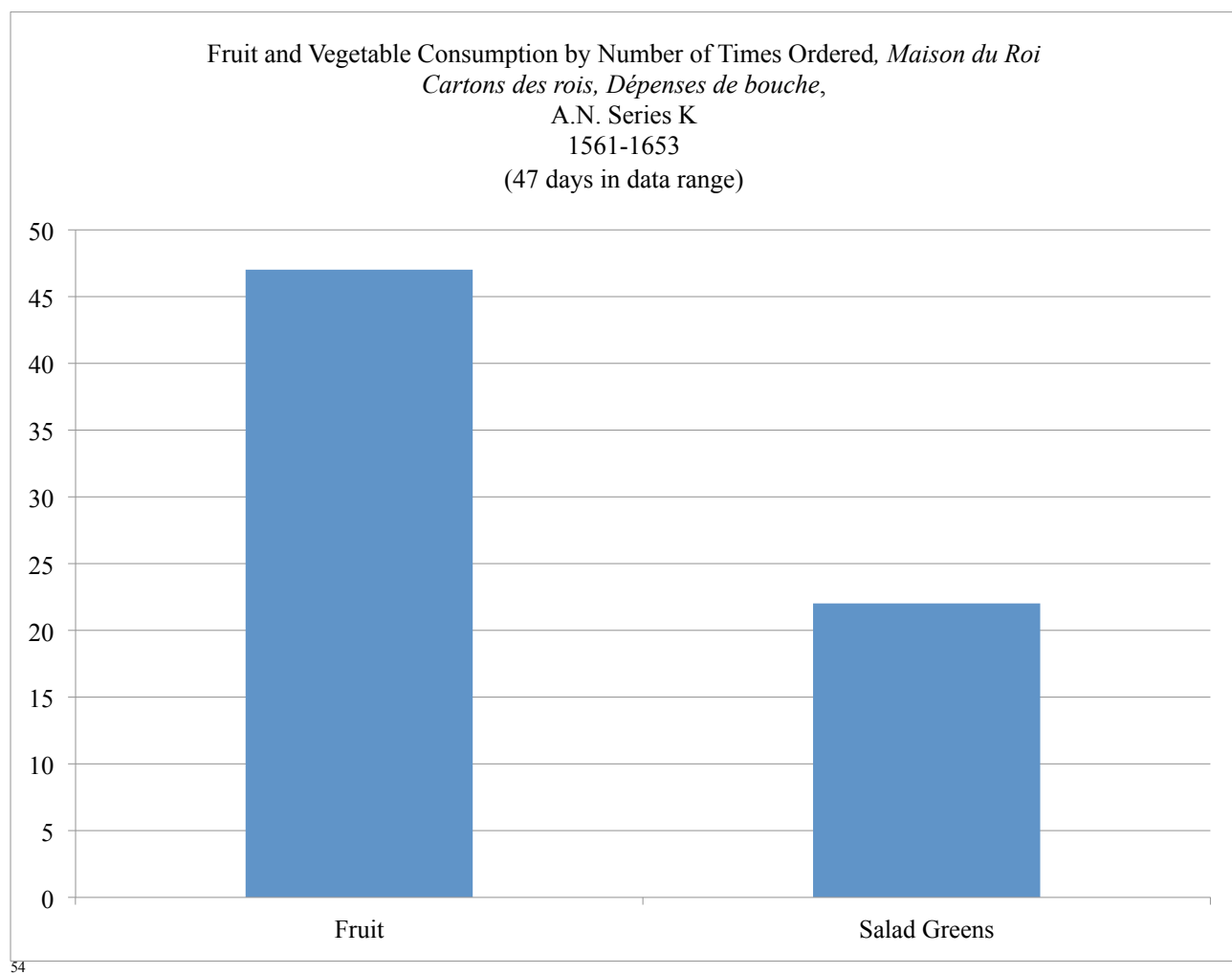
Fish



53

⁵³ "Fish" 1, cod 3, carp 20, merlin 0, barbay 16, whiting 12, herring 1, red herring 2, mackerel 1, roaches 0, cockle 2, pike 13, trout 1, sturgeon 0, plaice 10, perch 1, oysters 1, salted oysters 0, turbot 17, burbot 0, salt salmon 12, loach 5, salmon 18, lamprey 9, conger 4, eel 8, skate 16, sole 15, ling 7.

Fruit and Vegetable



54

⁵⁴ Fruit 47, Salad greens 22.

Appendix III

Physical Descriptions of Manuscripts

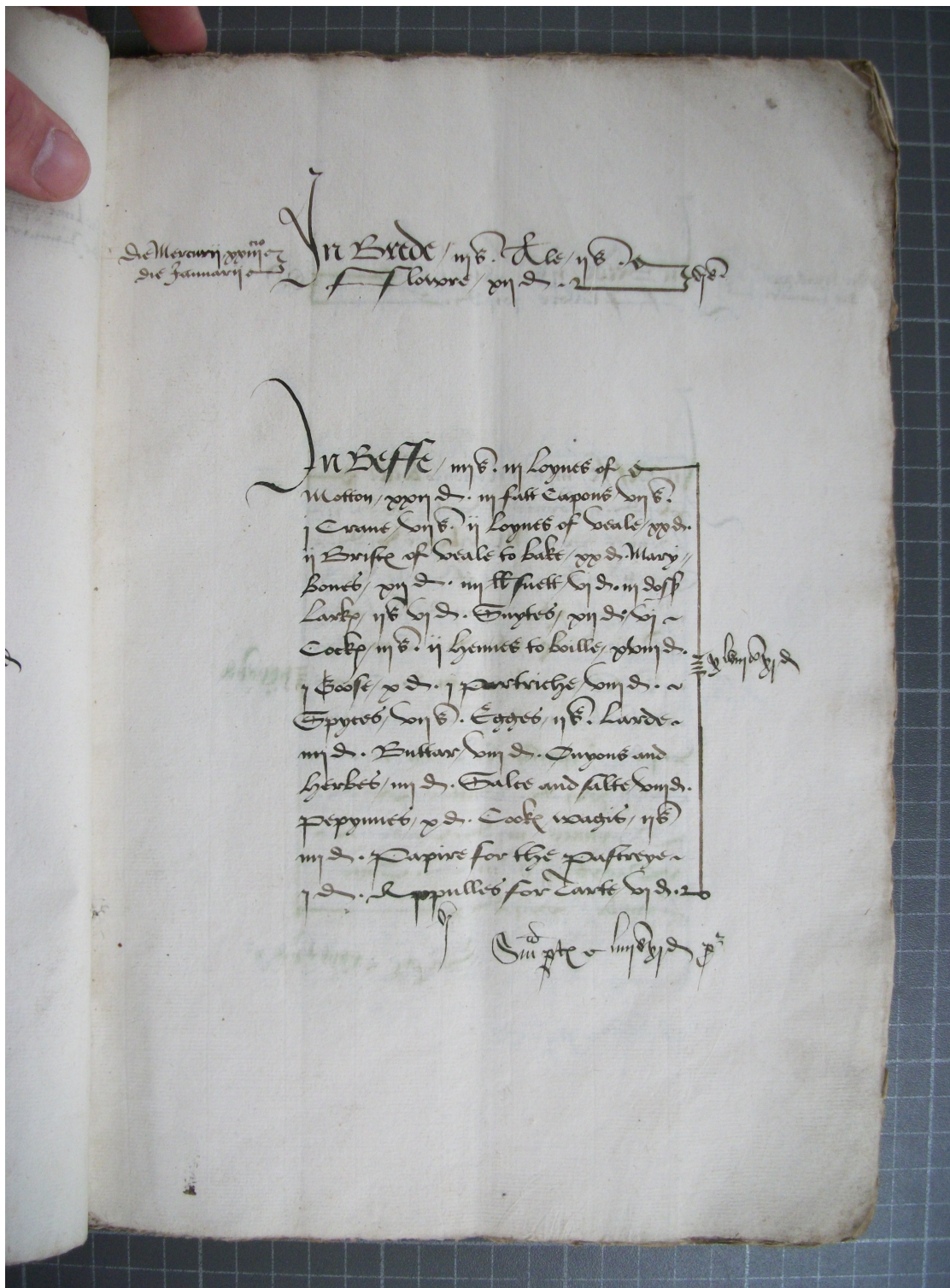
National Archives, Richmond

Record: **E 101/96/31** Exchequer, *Account Book of the Diet of the Council, Henry VIII*

Foliation: 64 paper folios measuring approximately 21cm x 36cm bound into quires. Latin and English.

Context: NA E 101/96/31 was created by clerks in the Pell Office, Office of Exchequer of Receipt, Exchequer. The Pell Office was responsible for creating all receipts for money coming into and out of the Lower Exchequer which received, held, paid and recorded real cash distributed by the royal household. Explanatory information created for the series by the National Archives notes that the council normally met in the Star Chamber of the Palace of Westminster. Since the council met intermittently throughout the year, entries were only made on meeting days. Holidays and feasts were never used as meeting days causing the contents of entries to reflect normal elements of daily dietary consumption for high Tudor nobility, as opposed to feast and banquet ingredients.

Note: The National Archives have assigned the years 1545-1546 to this MS. However, the days and dates in the MS match either 1541-1542 or 1547-1548. Henry's death in 1547 eliminates the latter option so I assigned the years 1541-1542 to the MS in this research.

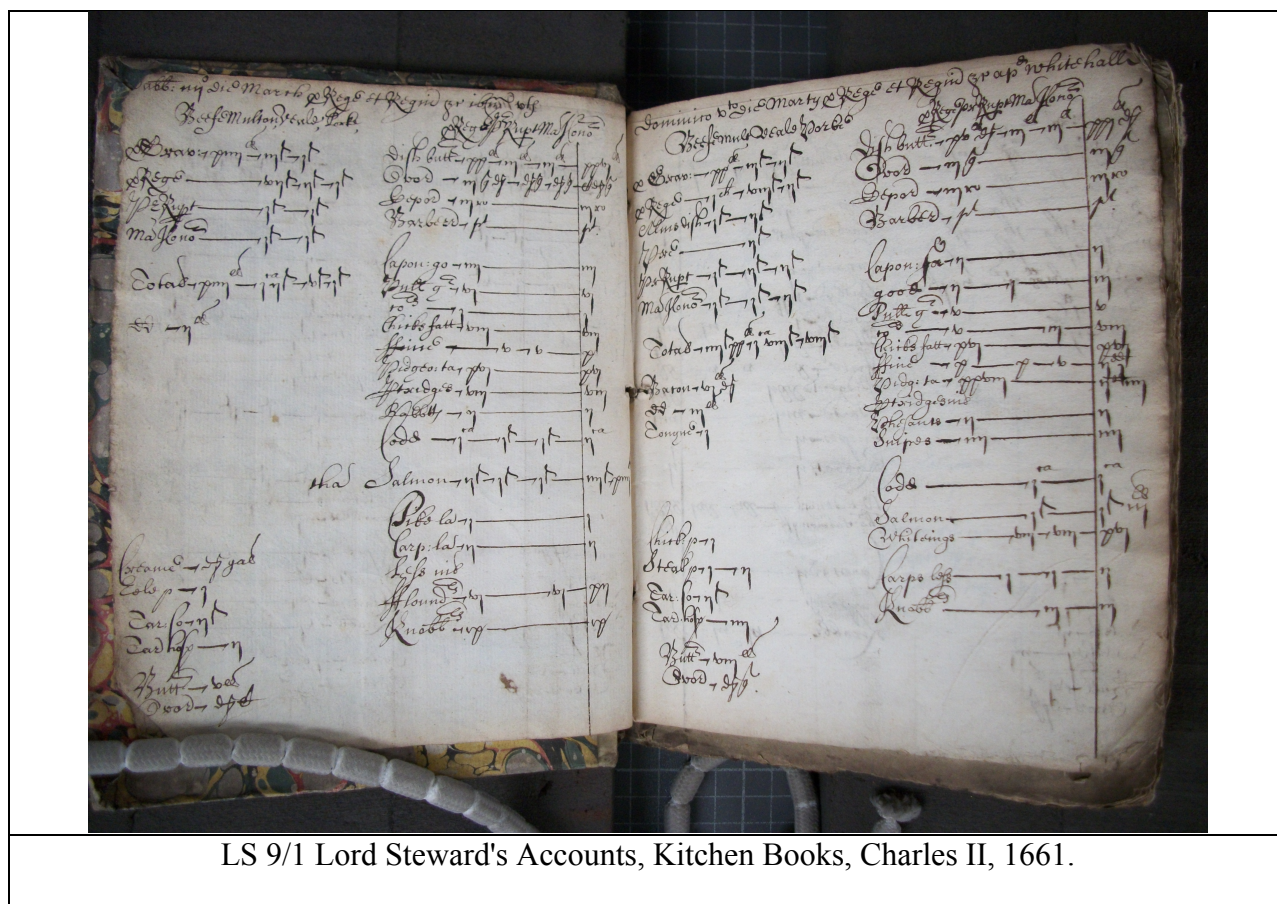


E 101/96/31 Exchequer, Account Book of the Diet of the Council, Henry VIII, 1541.

Record: LS 9/1 Lord Steward's Accounts, *Kitchen Books, Charles II*

Foliation: 488 paper folios measuring approximately 14 cm x 21 cm bound into quires. Latin and English.

Context: LS 9/1 was created by a clerk in the Lord Steward's department. Unlike the financial nature of the Council Diet Accounts, LS 9/1 was created to track distribution of ingredients to various royal household kitchens by piece; associated cost and sources of ingredients and chattels listed in LS 9/1 are not included. Each day comprises two folios and lists entries for the king's kitchen (*pro rege*), for the "privy kitchen", and for the "hall kitchen".



LS 9/1 Lord Steward's Accounts, Kitchen Books, Charles II, 1661.

Lambeth Palace Archives, London

Record: **LP MS 1228**, *Household Book of Anne Cranfield, Countess of Middlesex, at Chelsea.*

Foliation: 94 folios on fine parchment measuring approximately 35 cm x 55 cm bound into quires. The quires are mounted in a fine leather cover emblazoned with the Middlesex arms, gilded. English.

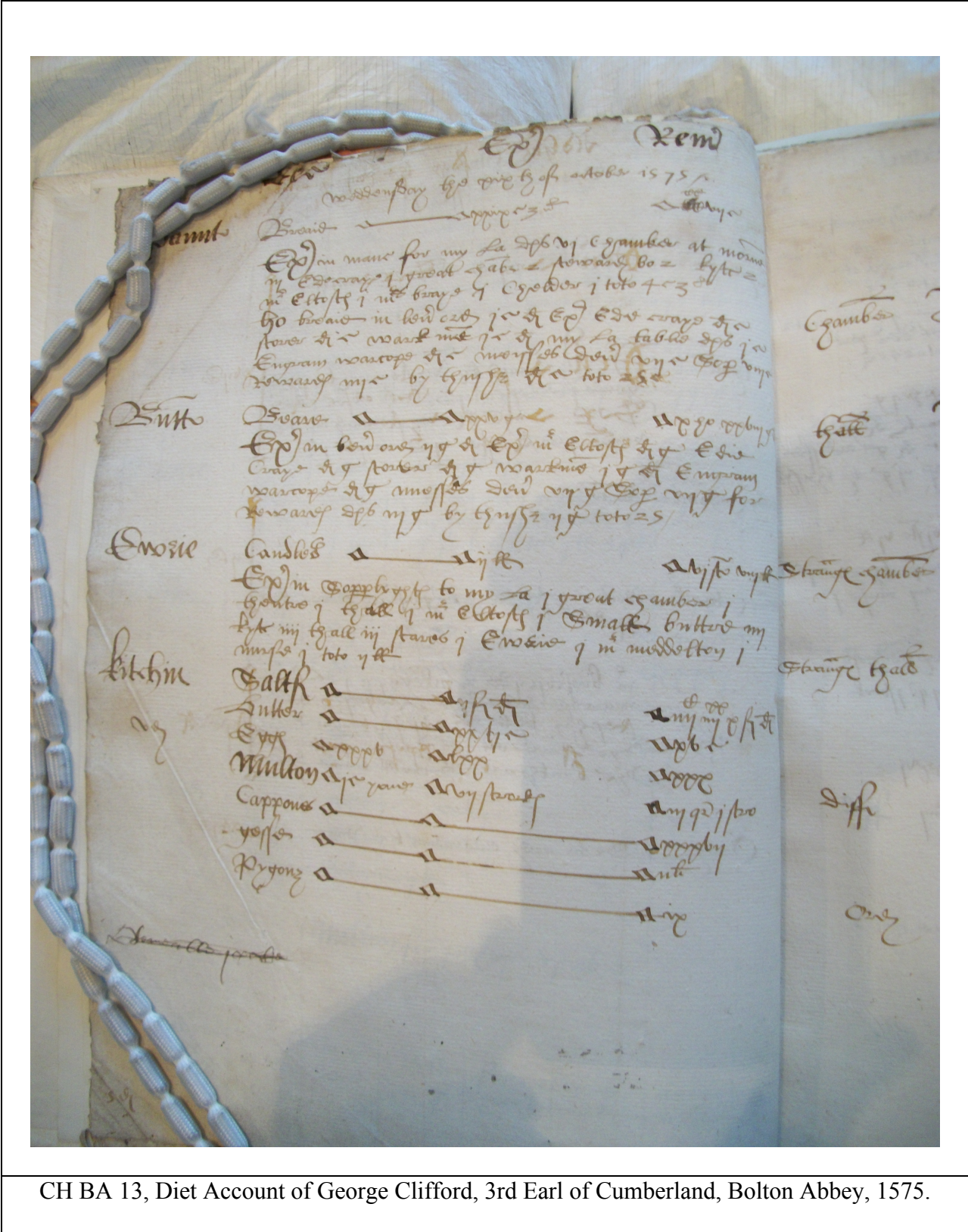
Context: According to the record information provided by Lambeth Palace Archives, LP MS 1228 was created by Morgan Colman, 'a poore cast-downe gentleman', being completed by him on 31 October 1622. The record information also notes that Colman was a pensioner of the London Charterhouse. Coleman wrote the MS in a very fine chancery hand. He may have been a former clerk in the royal household or another great household since his penmanship was exquisite and the London Charterhouse was founded, in part, for impoverished male pensioners of the royal household.

Chatsworth House Archives, Derbyshire

Record: **CH BA 13**, *Diet Account of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, Bolton Abbey*

Foliation: 420 paper folios measuring approximately 19 cm x 40 cm bound into quires. Latin and English.

Context: CH BA 13 is associated with Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire. Originally given to the Barons Clifford at the Dissolution, during the mid-sixteenth century the barony was held by the Earls of Cumberland. In 1576-1577, George Clifford (1558-1605) was the 3rd Earl of Cumberland and owner of Bolton Abbey. He was single at the time of this account though he would marry Margate Russell two months after its completion, in June of 1577. Bolton Abbey is today a property of the Dukes of Devonshire since the 1748 marriage of the heir of the 3rd Earl of Burlington, the Lady Charlotte Cavendish (1731-1754), *suo jure* Baroness Clifford, to William Cavendish (1720-1764), 4th Duke of Devonshire. The MS includes long runs of days that encompass both normal diets as well as all feasts held over Christmas.

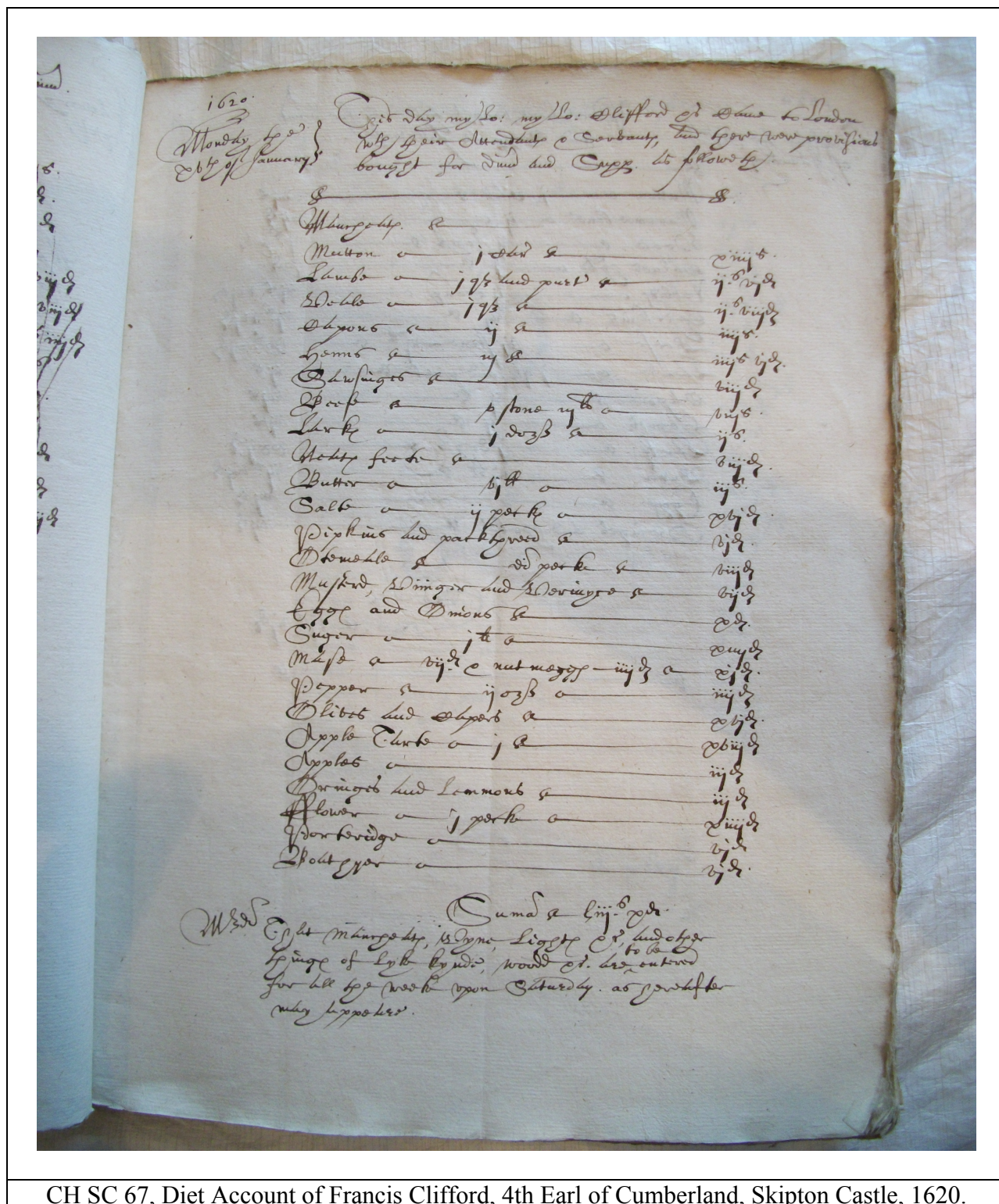


CH BA 13, Diet Account of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, Bolton Abbey, 1575.

Record: **CH SC 67**, *Diet Account of Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland, Skipton Castle*

Foliation: 66 paper folios measuring approximately 14 cm x 20 cm bound into quires. English.

Context: Also held in the Chatsworth House Archives as part of the accounts relating to the Barony of Clifford, CH SC 67 includes both normal dietary supplies as well as Christmas and Easter supplies. Locations of the household range between Londesborough Hall, Yorkshire, and a house in London. The account is classified under Skipton Castle since it was the family seat of the Barony of Clifford, though they do not seem to have visited Skipton over the period covered by the account. Londesborough Hall was built by the 4th Earl of Cumberland around 1589. Francis Clifford (1559-1641), 4th Earl of Cumberland, married Grisold Hughes (d.1613) in the spring of 1589, though she was not alive at the time of this account.



1620.
 Monday 16th of January }
 This day my Ho: my Ho: Clifford of Cumberland & London
 my Ho: my Ho: Clifford of Cumberland & London
 bought for Dinner and Supper the following

Mutton	1 cwt	10 s.
Lamb	17 s. and part	17 s.
Beef	17 s.	17 s.
Chop	17 s.	17 s.
Ham	17 s.	17 s.
Cherries	17 s.	17 s.
Beef	17 s.	17 s.
Lark	17 s.	17 s.
Beef	17 s.	17 s.
Butter	17 s.	17 s.
Salt	17 s.	17 s.
Wine	17 s.	17 s.
Mustard	17 s.	17 s.
Eggs	17 s.	17 s.
Sugar	17 s.	17 s.
Mace	17 s.	17 s.
Pepper	17 s.	17 s.
Olive	17 s.	17 s.
Apple	17 s.	17 s.
Oranges	17 s.	17 s.
Flower	17 s.	17 s.
Shoe	17 s.	17 s.

Suma 17 s. 10 d.
 Eight Muttons, 17 s. 10 d. and other
 things of like kind, would be accounted
 for all the week upon Saturday. as per
 my papers.

CH SC 67, Diet Account of Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland, Skipton Castle, 1620.

Archives Nationales, Paris

Record(s):

K 118/64, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Louis XIV*, Oct 16 & 28, 1653 (2 days).

K 105/A, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henri IV*, Nov/July/Oct, 1592 (11 days).

K 100/47/1&2, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henri III*, April 1-20, 1579 (20 days).

K 98/52/1&2, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Charles IX*, June 5-24, 1572 (19 days).

K 92/36/1&2, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Francis II*, Oct 1-30, 1559 (30 days).

K 92/31, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Francis II*, July 29-Sept 21, 1559 (13 days).

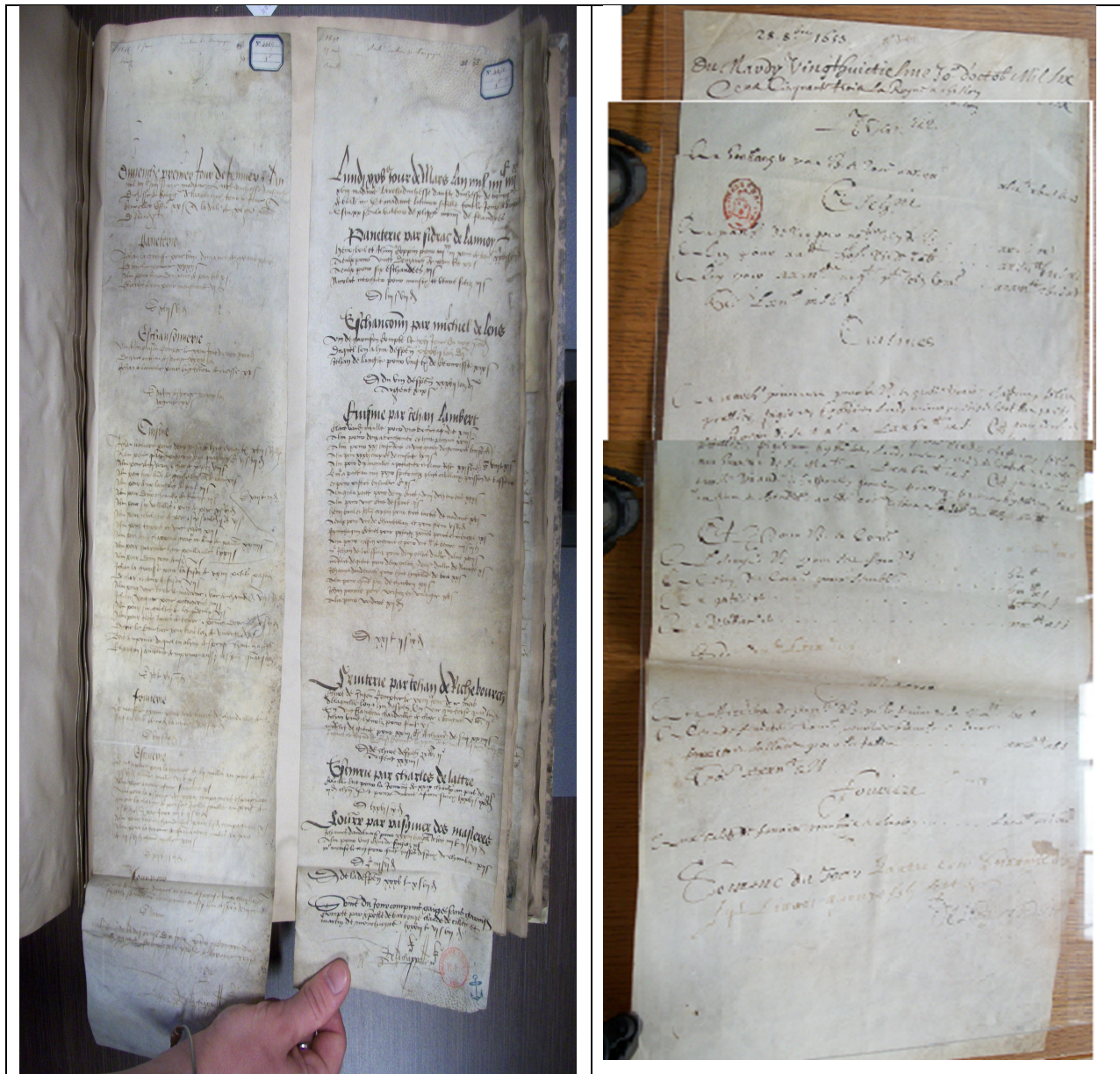
K 92/4, *Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henry II*, Aug 1, 1557 – Nov 28, 1557 (13 days).

Foliation: The 108 records listed above represent the majority of the holdings for diet accounts of the French royal household held in the Archives Nationales, Paris.¹ Each daily entry was made on a separate, rectangular parchment membrane, none of which were bound together in any way, nor did any contain original text on the verso. Since the 108 parchment membranes range in size, the larger ones range between 20 cm x 65 cm to 17 cm x 60 cm, while earlier accounts typically fall into the smaller dimensional category, ranging between 7cm x 24 cm and 6.5 cm x 20 cm. Middle French, early Modern French. Every daily account, including those at the BnF, divided the text into the same sub-categories, all following the same order: *paneterie* (bread supply), *échansonnerie* (drink supply), *cuisine* (always listed separately for the king, *bouche*, and the household, *commun*), *fruiterie* (fruits and vegetables, candles, torches), *fourrière* (stockyard).

¹ The BnF also holds a number of *comptes de bouche*, both royal and noble, at the Richelieu-Louvois Library: Français 6760 (1520-1637, 311 total pieces, not all *comptes de bouche*); NAF 20031 (1601-1669, 12 pieces); NAF 2839 (1304-1442, 21 pcs.). My photographic rights were limited to 4 digital images in total by the *président de la salle* due to the age of the manuscripts. Unfortunately I was unable to include them in any meaningful way in this quantitative analysis due to reproduction restrictions.

Context: Diet accounts held in series K92-118 pertain specifically to the royal household itself. The Archives Nationales have not supplied any contextual information relating to the series and, in fact, the notes supplied in the *instruments de recherche* describe that Series K and KK were established between 1852-1858 from a *hétérogène* of manuscripts. K and KK can broadly be described as repositories of financial and inventorial registers produced by the royal household and households of the princes and princess of the blood. In addition, K and KK hold registers relating to various aspects of the operation of the royal domains.

Diet accounts stored in the series were likely created by clerks working within the *bouche du roi* or the *chambre aux deniers* of the royal household. The *instruments de recherche* do not outline who created the manuscripts, though the high degree of uniformity between each membrane speaks to a highly regulated alimentary economic bureaucracy operating within the royal household.



Bnf MS NAF 2839/5/3&4, Duke of Burgundy, c. 1420's (left) and A.N. K 118/64 Louis XIV, October 28, 1653 (right). *Comptes de bouche* associated with the French Royal Household generally took the same basic form: parchment strips that listed incoming ingredients and household goods for a single day. Considering all diet accounts that I was able to access, including those I was not able to photograph, the form and layout of French accounts changed little between 1400-1660. By contrast, the form and content of British diet accounts was highly irregular between manuscripts. British accounts examined here were always in the form of quires or rolls.

Record: **K 504/5**, *Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon*, Sept 1-30, 1508 (30 days).

Foliation: 34 paper folios measuring approximately 12 cm x 32 cm bound into quires. Paper cover. French.

Context: The *compte de bouche* of Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon (1465 – 1511) is anomalous among the French manuscripts examined here. It is the only French account that was written on paper and bound into quires. K504/5 records the dietary expenses of Joan's household for the month of September 1508. It seems that may originally have been created as part of a series of monthly accounts, with the possible intention of later grouping monthly quires together into bound groups of yearly accounts. Little is known about the location of Joan's household in 1508. A household list inside the front cover of the manuscript notes that the total number of persons comprising the household was sixty-two.

Joan was famous in her day. A daughter of Jean VIII, Count of Vendôme (1426-1477) and Isabelle de Beauvau. Her childhood home was likely her father's family seat: the magnificent, ruined Château de Lavardin, Loir-et-Cher. Her first husband was John II, Duke of Bourbon (1426-1488) who died a year after their 1487 marriage. Her second husband was John III of Auvergne (1467-1501) whom she married in 1495.

Appendix IV

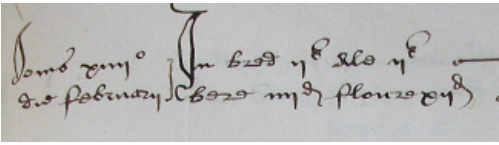
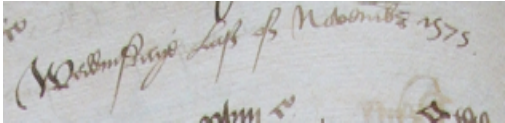
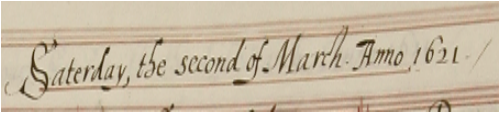
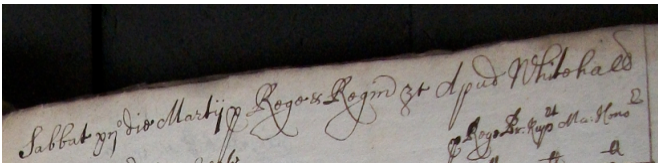
Scripts

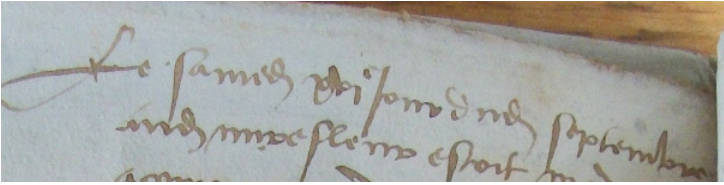
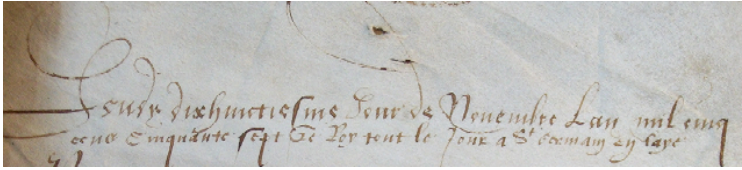
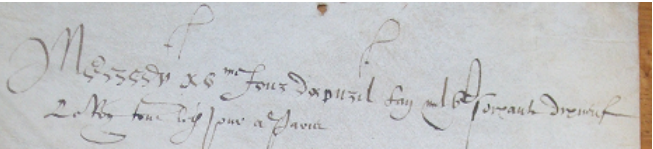
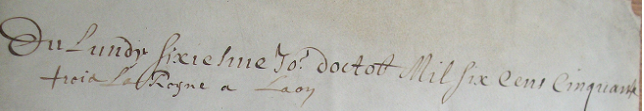
Scripts

The scripts used in accounts listed above represent a plurality of paleographic habits used by French and English royal and noble chancery staff. Created for the purposes of internal domestic recordkeeping, individual scribes followed their own combination of formal and bastardized scripts when forming individual letters, though households usually maintained standardized formats for daily entries; in the case of British households these formats could vary widely while in French examples there was little variation in entry format. The scripts can generally be described as falling into the Gothic cursive family of secretary hands.

English accounts used an informal cursive secretary hand characterized by thick, linear ascenders and descenders with closely-packed minima. French *comptes de bouche* used an informal cursive secretary hand characterized by thick, circular ascenders and descenders with closely-packed minima.

(See over for table)

British Hands			
<p>NA E 101/96/3, <i>Council Diet Expenses</i>, fol. 9r, 1541-1542.</p>		<p>“Jovis xiii die february In bred ii s ale ii s bere iiii d floure xii d.”</p> <p>Thursday the thirteenth day of February: in bread 2 shillings, ale 2 shillings, beer 4 pence, flour 12 pence.</p>	<p>Hybridized Gothic cursive: tall, linear ascenders with closely-packed, vertical minima.</p>
<p>CH BA 13, <i>Diet Account of 3rd Earl of Cumberland</i>, fol. 45v, 1575-1577.</p>		<p>“Wednesdaye last of Novembr 1575.”</p> <p>Wednesday 30th of November, 1575”</p>	<p>Hybridized Gothic cursive: tall ascenders rising horizontally with closely-packed minima also rising horizontally.</p>
<p>LP MS 1228, <i>Diet Account of 1st Earl of Middlesex</i>, f. 27r, 1622.</p>		<p>“Saterdag, the second of March. Anno 1621.”</p> <p>Saturday the second of March, 1621.</p>	<p>Simplified semi-cursive court hand: prominent capitals with well-spaced, cursive lowercase.</p>
<p>NA LS 9/1, Lord Steward's Diet Account, Royal Household, Charles II, f. 6r. 1663.</p>		<p>“Sabbat xii die Martii p. Rege & Regin Apud Whitehall”</p> <p>Saturday the 12 day of March. For the King and Queen. At Whitehall.</p>	<p>Hybridized Gothic court hand: linear ascenders rising horizontally with cursive, loosely-packed lowercase.</p>

French Hands			
<p>AN K 504/5, <i>Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon, f. 22 v, 1508.</i></p>		<p>“Le samedi xvi jour d m septembre” Saturday the 16th day of the month of September.</p>	<p>Gothic cursive: closely-packed, vertically-rising ascenders and minima.</p>
<p>AN K 92/4/3, <i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henry II, 1557.</i></p>		<p>“Jeudy dixhuitiesime jour de Novembre Lan mil cinq an e cinquante sept de Roy tout le jour a St. Germain en Laye” Thursday the 18th of November in the year 1557. For the King, all day, at the château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye.</p>	<p>Hybridized Gothic cursive: Circular flourishes with circular ascenders and closely-packed minima rising slightly horizontally.</p>
<p>AN K 100/47/2/4, <i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henri III, 1579.</i></p>		<p>“Meresdy xv^{me} Jour d aprill lan mil v° soixant dix neuf Le Roy tou jour a Paris” Wednesday 15th of April, 1579. For the King, all day, at Paris.</p>	<p>Hybridized Gothic cursive: Circular flourishes with linear ascenders rising vertically and loosely-packed circular minima.</p>
<p>AN K 118/64/1, <i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Louis XIV</i></p>		<p>“Du Lundy Sixieme Jo^r doctob Mil six cent cinquante trois La Reyne a Laon” Monday the 16th of October, 1653. For the Queen, at Laon.</p>	<p>Hybridized Gothic cursive: Circular flourishes with linear ascenders rising slightly horizontally with loosely-packed lowercase.</p>

Appendix V

Images of Houses

English Great Households Associated with this Thesis



Ruins of Mettingham Castle, Norfolk. Constructed by Katherine de Norwich's son, John, First Baron Norwich of Mettingham, c.1342.



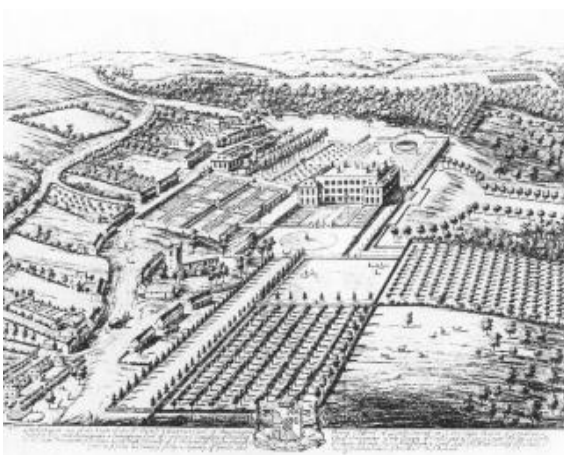
Bolton Abbey Manor (remnants), North Yorkshire, Barons Clifford, c.1530's. Later inherited by the Dukes of Devonshire.



Skipton Castle, North Yorkshire: keep 1350's (left), with 1530's addition (centre, right). Seat of the Barons de Clifford, Earls of Cumberland, later inherited by the Dukes of Devonshire.



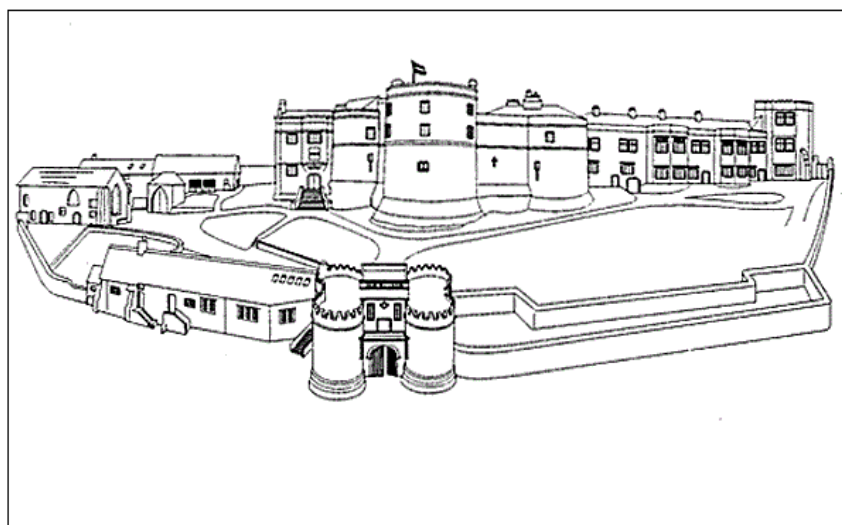
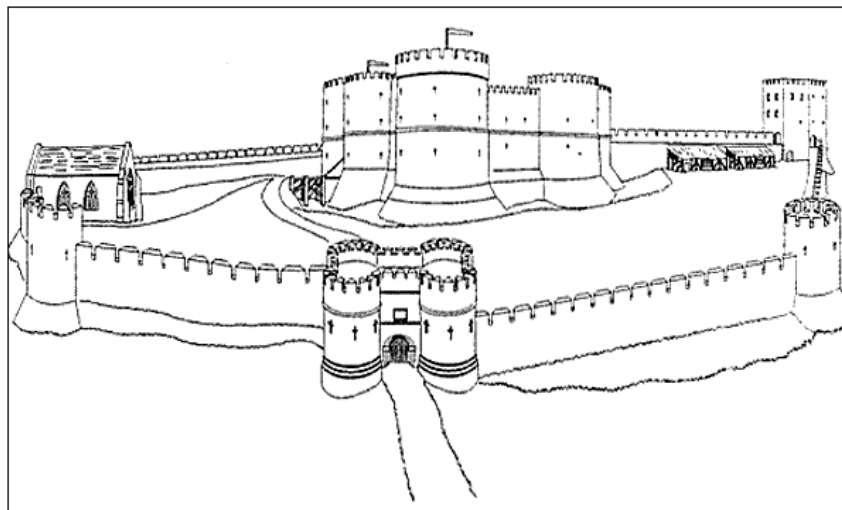
Chatsworth, Derbyshire, Earls of Devonshire 1560's.



Londesborough Hall, East Yorkshire, Earls of Cumberland, 1589.

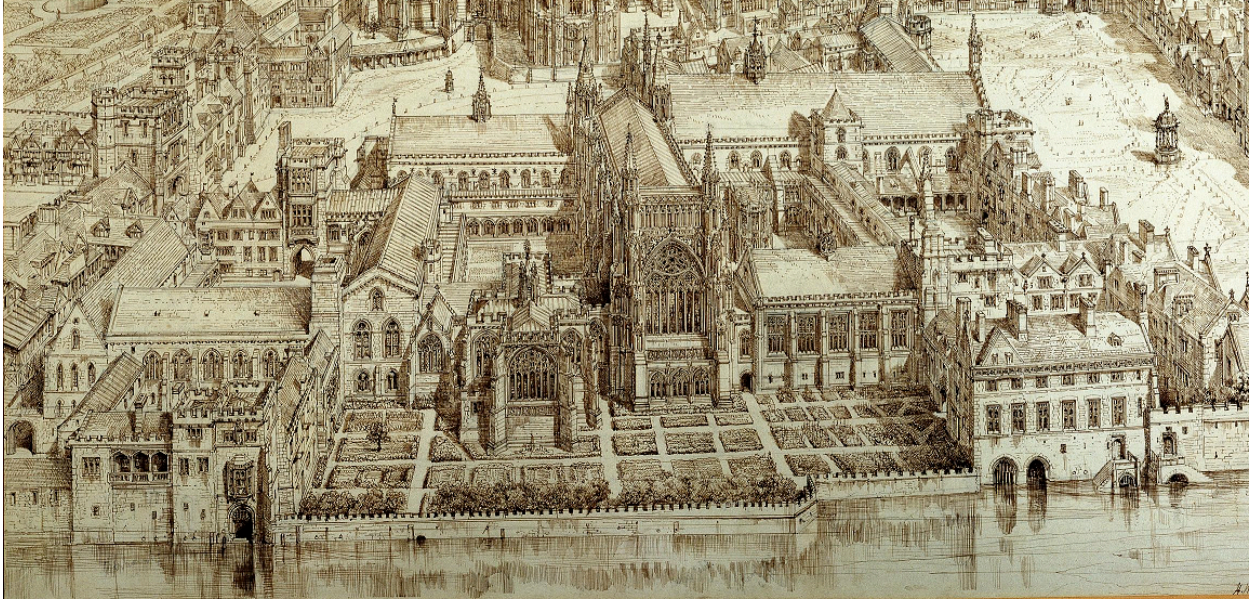


Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 1597. Bess of Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury.



Skipton Castle, Skipton, North Yorkshire, England. The top image depicts Skipton during the 1350's, after the extension of the Norman keep, carried out by Robert de Clifford (1274-1314), 1st Baron de Clifford. In the lower picture we can see the northern Tudor addition extending along the curtain wall. The Tudor extension was built during the 1530's by Henry Clifford, 2nd Earl of Cumberland, 12th Baron de Clifford. It had to be restored after the English Civil War, in 1657-8, by Lady Anne Clifford, 14th Baroness de Clifford in her own right. Lady Anne restored the castle along its Tudor footprint. Image credit: Skipton Castle Estate Office.

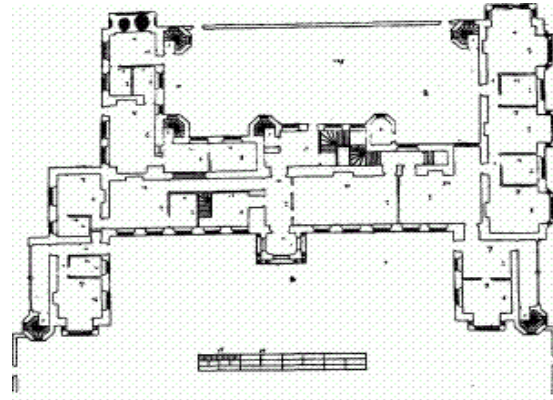
London City Residences



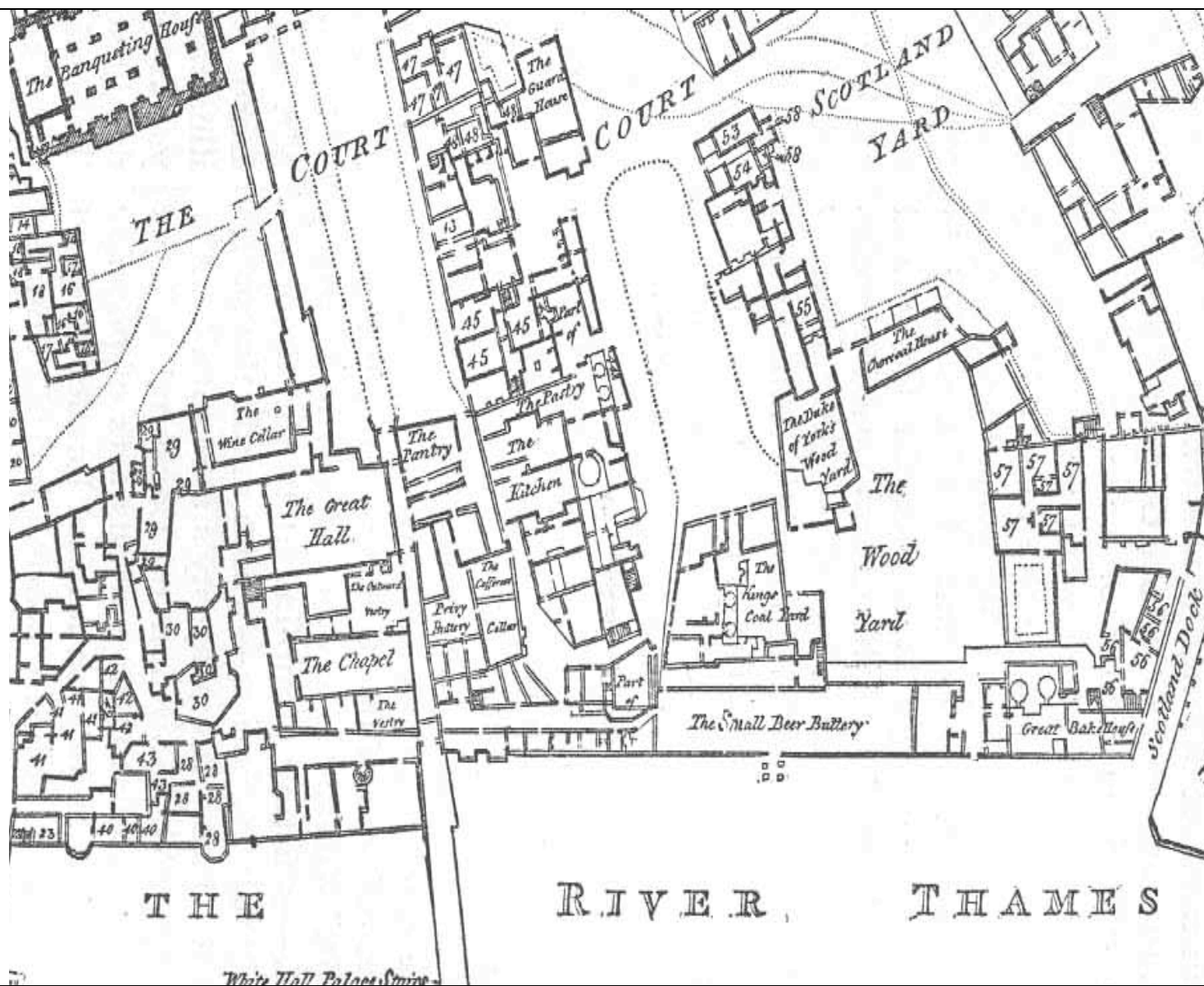
The Palace of Westminster, London, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The accounts related to Henry's Council specify that the meetings were held "... at west^m in the counsall chambo^r". Meals for the Council and its retainers were likely served in the great hall in the centre of the image (Image credit: English Heritage).



Beaufort House in 1708, Chelsea, London. Between 1615-1627, Beaufort House served as the city residence of Lionel Canfield, 1st Earl of Middlesex, and his wife, Countess Anne.



Ground floor of Beaufort House, c.1620, prepared for then owner, Lord Burghley, by noted Elizabethan "architect" William Spicer. Bake house and kitchen can be seen at the north-west end of the house.



Detail of the kitchen and related offices at the Palace of Whitehall in 1680. This is a nineteenth-century print of John Fisher's larger 1680 engraving. NA LS/9, the diet accounts related to the royal household under Charles II, was exclusively created at Whitehall. Here we can see the kitchen court entered around the wood yard. Directly south of the wood yard is the beer buttery for storing beer, to the east is the great bake house, to the west is the king's privy bake house and privy buttery. North-east of the privy offices are the main kitchen and pastry, to the west of which sits a pantry and the great hall. The Banqueting House, one of the only surviving portions of the palace, can just be seen in the top left corner of the image.

French Great Households Associated with this Thesis



Ducal Château de Ripaille, Haute-Savoie, 1300's with sixteenth-century modifications. Chiquart's former workplace.



North wall of the château de Beauvoir-en-Royans, Rhône-Alpes, constructed by Humbert II.

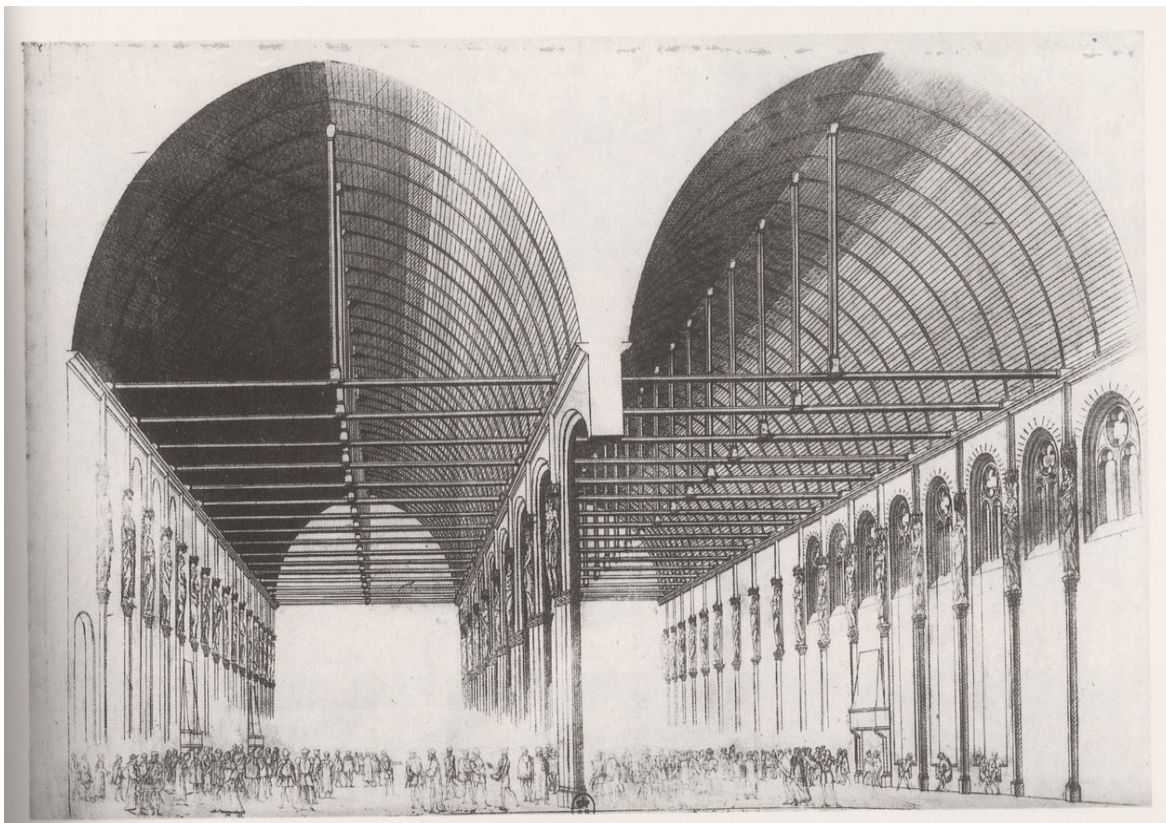


Surviving wall of the chapel, château de Beauvoir-en-Royans, Rhône-Alpes.

Paris City Residences



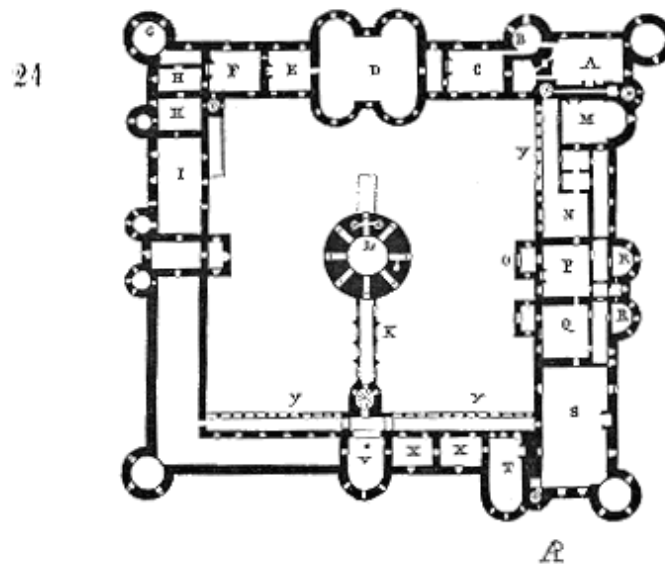
Le palais de la Cité, or the Conciergerie, Paris, seat of the French kings between the 11th and 14th centuries. The twin-peaked roof of the great hall can be seen just left of centre. The Sainte-Chapelle dominates the right of the illustration. A walled garden occupies the outer bailey. From the *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry* [c.1410], ff.6v.



Cross section of the interior of the great hall, Le palais de la Cité, Paris, c. 1580. Drawing by the architect Jacques I Androuet du Cerceau.



Château du Louvre, Paris, intermittent seat of the French kings after the 1380's. From the *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry* [c.1410], ff.10v.



Floor plan of the Louvre, Paris. "S" marks the great hall. The kitchens were located directly below the great hall. Image from Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*.

Appendix VI

Cooks' Guild Charters

Appendix

- 1258 Ordinances of the *Rôtisseurs* of Paris
- c. 1266 Ordinances of Cooks of Henry III of England
- 1475 *Ordinaciones Cocorum*, London
- 1475 Ordinances of the *Charcutiers* of Paris
- 1495 *Ordinacio dez Pastelers*, London
- 1599 Ordinances of the *Cuisiniers* of Paris

[1258] <i>Statutes des Oyers, Paris</i> ² Translated by: Ryan Whibbs	
<p><i>PREMIEREMENT, Que tous ceulx qui voudront tenir Estal ou Fenestre à vendre Cuisine, sçachent appareiller toutes manières de Viandes communes & prouffitables au Peuple que à eulx appartient à vendre.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que nulz ne puisse prendre varlet ou dit mestier d'ores en avant s'il n'a este aprentiz ou dit mestier deux ans, ou s'il n'est filz de mestre, et aucune chose sache ou dit mestier; et se le filz du mestre ne sait riens du mestier par quoi il puisse la marchandise exercer, que il [tiegne] à ses despens un des ouvriers du mestier qui en soit expert, jusques à tant que ycelui filz de maistre le sache convenablement exercer, aus diz des maistres du dit mestier. Et se il avient que aucuns des ouvriers du dit mestier face le contraire, il paiera x s. d'amende, c'est à savoir vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus maistres du dit mestier pour leur peine.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que pour chascun aprentiz qui sera mis ou dit mestier, li mestre chiès qui il sera miz, paiera x s., c'est assavoir vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus dit maistres du mestier.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que nulz ne puisse avoir que un aprentiz suz peine de x s. d'amende, vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus diz maistres.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que se li aprentilz se rachate, que le</i></p>	<p>First, concerning all those who seek to hold a stall or window from which to sell cooked food, that all manner of dressed meat should be common and profitable to the people to which it is sold.</p> <p>Item, That none seek to take a valet of the said mystery, now or ever, if he is not apprenticed of the said mystery for two years, or if he is not the son of a master and is not learned in the ways of the said mystery; and if he is the son of a master but knows nothing of the mystery of which he is seeking to exercise, he shall [hire?] at his own expense a worker of the said mystery who is expert in the craft, until he is approved by the masters of the said mystery. And if he is found to have none of the workers of the said mystery or to be in contravention, he will pay 10 s. in fine, of that, 6s. to the King and 4 s. to the masters of the mystery for their troubles</p> <p>Item, all who shall seek to take an apprentice of the said mystery, the master himself will pay 10s. of which 6 s. will go to the king, and 4 s. to the masters of the said mystery</p> <p>Item, that no other person may seek to take an apprentice with the fine of 10 s.</p>

² La Mare, [1258] *Statutes des Oyers* T. III, 212.

<p><i>mestre de qui il se rachatera ne puisse prendre autre aprentiz, jusques à tant que li termes soit cheuz, que l'aprentiz qui se racheta, estoit aloué, et que bonnes lettres se facent lors du marchié entre les maistres et les aprentiz ou leur amis, suz peine dix s. d'amende, c'est assavoir vj s. au Roy, iiij s. aus maistres.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que se un maistre a un valet aloué, que un autre maistre ne lui fortraye, reçoive ou aloue jusques à tant que il ait fait son terme, et ce n'est du gré à ycelui à qui il fu aloué, sur paine de x s. d'amende, c'est assavoir vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus maistres.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que nulz ne cuise ou rotisse ouès, ou vel, agniaux, chevraux ou couchons se il ne sont bons, loyaux et souffisans pour manger et pour vendre, et aient bonne mouelle, sur la peine de l'amende de diz solz, vj s. au Roy, et iiij s. aus maistres.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que nulz ne puisse garder viande cuite jusques au tiers jour pour vendre ne acheter, se elle n'est salée souffisamment, suz les peines dessus dites.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que nulz ne puisse faire saucisses de nulle char que de porc, et que la char de porc de quelle elles sont faites soit seine, sur peine de la dite amende; et se elles sont autres trouvées, elles seront arse.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que nulz ne cuise char de buef, de mouton ne de porc, se elle n'est bonne et loial et souffisante à bonne mouelle, sur la peine dessus dite.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que toutes chars qu'il vendront, soient cuites, salées et appareillées bien souffisamment; et se celui chiez qui aucune chose sera trouvée des viandes en ait aucun desus dites reprouches, que elles soient condempnées à ardoir, et lui tenuz à paier la dite amende au Roy et aus jurez toute foiz et quantes foiz que aucun y sera repris.</i></p>	<p>Item, that if an apprentice's contract is bought by another master, that the master who took the apprentice will not seek to take another apprentice until the end of the stated terms of the bought apprentice, such as is allowed, and when certificates of apprenticeship are presented during market times to the masters, the apprentice, and their family, on pain of 10s...</p> <p>Item, that when a master seeks to hire a valet, that the hiring master may not seek to keep or continue employment past the end of the stated term, unless the valet shall agree to be rehired, on pain of 10 s...</p> <p>Item, That no one seek to cook or roast geese, neither lamb, kids or piglets unless they are good, loyal, and sufficient for eating and sale, and unless the marrow is good on pain of 10 s. ...</p> <p>Item, That no one hold cooked meat more than three days, neither to sell nor to buy, if it is not sufficiently salted, upon the said fine.</p> <p>Item, that no one may seek to make sausages of anything but pork, and that the pork which is used is healthy, upon the said pain ...</p> <p>Item, that no one seek to roast beef, mutton, or pork unless it is good, hearty, and sufficient and with good marrow, on the said pain</p> <p>Item, that all meats that are sold are well cooked, salted, and dressed well and sufficiently; and if he is found to have such meats upon inspection and is without answer to the said reproaches, the food items will be condemned to being burned and he will be held</p>
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<p><i>Item, que nulz du dit mestier ne puisse vendre boudins de sanc, à peine de la dite amende, car c'est périlleuse viande.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que le tiers des amendes qui seront levées afférans à la portion des maistres du dit mestier, pour les causes dessus dites, soient pour soustenir les povres vieilles gens du dit mestier qui seront deceuz par fait de marchandise ou de vielleuce .</i></p> <p><i>Item, que se aucune personne est devant estai ou fenestre de cuisinier pour marchander ou acheter des dits cuisiniers, que si aucuns des autres cuisiniers l'appelé devant que l'on sait partiz de son gré de Testai ou fenestre, si soit en la peine de v s., iij s. au Roy et ij aus diz maistres.</i></p> <p><i>Item, que nulz ne blasme la viande à l'autre, se elle est bonne, sur peine de v s. d'amende.</i></p>	<p>liable to pay the said fine to the king and jury...</p> <p>Item, That none of the said masters seek to sell blood sausages, on pain of forfeiture, for they are a dangerous dish.</p> <p>Item, that one-third of the portion of fines that are levied and paid to the masters of the said mystery, for the infractions stated above, shall be used to sustain the poor and elderly men of the said mystery who are retired or infirm.</p> <p>Item, that is a person is before the stall or window of a cook in order to buy food, that if another of the cooks calls out before the customer has departed the stall or window, the fine of 5 s. will be assessed, of which 3 s. will go to the king, and 2 s. to the said masters.</p> <p>Item, that no one seek to defame the meat of another, if it is good, upon the fine of 5 s.</p>
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[c. 1266] **Assize of Cooks, London (Henry III)**³

Translated by: Ryan Whibbs

Item de Cocis, si qui decoquat carnes vel pisces in pane, vel in aqua, vel [aliquo] modo, non sanas corpori hominis, vel postquam talia tenuerint, ita quod debitam naturam amiserint, & ea recalefaciant & vendant.

Item, On Cooks: those who cook meat or fish in pastry, by boiling, or any other preparation not wholesome to the human body, or if it is kept for such a time as it loses its natural wholesomeness, and if meat is reheated and sold.

From the *Judicium Pillorie*, therefore, offenders were sentenced to periods of time in the public pillory that varied upon the severity of the infraction.

³ [c.1266 as listed by Pickering] *Ordinance of the Cooks, The statutes at large*, ed. Danby Pickering (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham, 1726) 49.

[1475] ***Ordinaciones Cocorum, London***⁴

Petition of good men of the Mistery of Cooks that certain Ordinances might be approved to the following effect

That for asmoche as divers persones of the saide Craft with their handes embrowed and fowled be accustomed to drawe and pluk, other Folk as well gentilmen as other comon people by their slyves and clothes to bye of their vitailles whereby many debates and strives often tymes happen ayenst the p[l]eas

That no one of the Craft sell fish and flesh together on Wednesdays.

That no one of the Craft bake rost nor seeth Flessch nor Fisse ij tymes to sell, under penalty.

That no one sell any vitailles to any huxter that is to say Elys Tartes nor Flawnes nor any suche bake metes sauf onely to fre persones of the said Citee nor no mold ware be made by hande nor by mold to sell in their Shoppes nor to any huxter to retails nor to any other but if it be bespoken fore to the Feests, under penalty.

That no one of the Craft colour nor mayntene any foreyn persone nor sett him awerk as long as theer is any freman to set awerk that can werk.

That no one of the Craft sende any maner Roost vitaille to any place but it be paied fore in money to the value of the vitaille withoute plegge or it go oute of their dores or be cutte of their broches

Provided alwey that if any of the saide feolasshipe sell any vitaille Rawe or unseasonable that than he satisfye the Bier of his hurtes and make fyne of vjs. viijd.

The Ordinances to be shown to the whole of the Fellowship twice a year at a convenient place, under penalty.

The Ordinances approved.

[A.D. 1475] *Ordinaciones Cocorum*, 'Folios 94 - 110: Feb 1472-3', *Calendar of letter-books of the city of London: L: Edward IV-Henry VII* (London: City of London, 1912), fol. 110 b.

⁴ [1475] "Ordinaciones Cocorum", *Calendar of letter-books of the city of London: L*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London, City of London, 1912) fol. 110.

[1475] *Charcutiers*⁵
Translated by: Ryan Whibbs

PREMIÈREMENT. Que tous les Chaircuitiers & Saulcissiers dessus nommez, tant hommes que femmes vefves qui tiennent & exercent de présent ledit Mestier, & tiennent Ouvroirs en cette ville de Paris, cy-dessus nommez, demoureront, seront le serment & seront passez Maistres en iceluy Mestier: C'est assavoir iceux hommes Maistres, sans faire aucun Chef-d'œuvre, en payant au Roy douze sols parisis, & les femmes desquelles les maris auront exercé le dit Mestier, ... & au regard des autres qui se sont ingérez eulx entremetre dudit Mestier, qui ne sont cy-nommez, & qui n'auront point fait de serment, ne payé lesdits droits, deffence leur sera faite de non plus eulx entremetre doresnavant dudit Mestier, sur peine de soixante sols parisis d'amende, & de confiscation des Chars qu'ils seront trouvez vendans, & des Saulcisses qui seront trouvez faisans & vendans.

Item. Que chacun Maistre dudit Mestier ne pourra avoir que ung Aprenty, & à quatre ans de service, sur peine de vingt sols parisis d'amende, & payera chacun Aprenty pour son entrée deux sols parisis; c'est assavoir, douze deniers au Roy, & douze deniers à la Confraire dudit Mestier.

Item. Que doresnavant aucun homme ne pourra estre Maistre Saulcissier & Chaircuitier cuire Char, faire Saulcisses, ne tenir Ouvroirs ne Fenestres ouvertes à Paris, s'il n'a esté quatre ans Aprenty à Maistre dudit Mestier à Paris, & fait Chef-d'œuvre, ou s'il n'est expert oudit Mestier, & tel rapporté par les Jurez, & fait Chef-d'œuvre comme dessus;

First, that all *Charcutiers* and *Sauciers* named here, their sons, wives, and daughters that hold and exercise at present the said mystery and hold shops in this city of Paris, those masters aforementioned, shall, through an oath, be sworn masters of the said mystery: that is, these gentlemen masters shall, without making their masterpiece, and by baying 12 p.s. to the King, as well as the daughters and wives that shall exercise the said mystery ... and with regard to those that practice the said mystery who are not here named, and who do not take the oath, nor pay the tax, that they shall no longer practice the said mystery upon pain of 60 p.s. with confiscation of roasts and soups that are for sale.

Item, that each master of the said mystery do not seek to have more than one apprentice, and for four years of service, on fine of 20 p.s., and paying for the entry of each apprentice 2 p.s., that is 12d. to the King and 12 d. to the confraternity of the said mystery.

Item, that from now on no man seek to be a Master *Saucier* & *Charcuitier*, cooking roasts and making sauces, nor holding a shop or open window within Paris, unless he is apprenticed four years to a master of the said mystery who is registered within Paris, also requiring the creation of a masterpiece, if he is not expert in the said mystery as assessed by the jury. And

⁵ La Mare, [1475] *Statutes des Chaircuitiers*, T. III, pp. 118.

& que pour son entrée de Maistre il ayt payé vingt sols parisis; c'est assavoir, dix sols au Roy, cinq sols à la Confrairie dudit Mestier, & cinq sols aux Jurez: Excepté les fils de Maistres nez & procréés en loyal mariage, qui seront reccus à estre Maistre oudict Mestier, sans faire aulcun Chef d'œuvre, ne avoir esté Aprenty, en payant seulement vingt sols parisis, à appliquer comme dessus.

Item. Que toutes les femmes desdits Maistres Saulcusiers & Chaircuitiers, qui demeureront Vefves pourront joyr & user dudit Mestier, & iceluy exercer tout ainsy que se leurs maris vivoient; excepté que durant leurs vefvages, ils ne pourront prendre aulcuns Apprentis, ne est tenir aulcuns, s'il n'a esté abonné & prins audit Mestier auparavant le trespas de sondit mary, sur peine de vingt sols parisis d'amende, à appliquer comme dessus.

Item. Que nul dudit Mestier ne se ingère doresnavant vendre aulcuns fruits, choux, poirées, verdure, navets, beures, formages & aultres choses, excepté Saulcisses, Char cuite, sain doulx & aultres Chars & Denrées de Boucherie qu'ils ont accoustumé de vendre, sur peine de confiscation desdits fruits, choux, poirées, verdure, navets, beures, formages & aultres qui sont de la Marchandise de légumes, & de vingt sols parisis d'amende, à appliquer comme dessus.

Item. Que nul ne nulle dudit Mestier ne vende Harang & Marées, pource que ès jours que vend ladite Marée & Harang, c'est le jour que on faict lesdites Saulcisses, & que on haiche, & appareille la Char dont on faict icelles, par quoy lesdites Saulcisses pourroient sentir le goust de ladite Marée & Harang que auroient manié lesdites Saulcissiers, & ce sur peine de perdition desdites Marées & Harangs, & de vingt sols parisis d'amende à appliquer comme dessus.

Item. Que nul ne achete, ne vende ou mette en

for those who are accepted into the mastership, he shall pay the tax of 20 p.s., with 10 p.s. to the King, 5 p.s. to the confraternity of the said mystery, and 5 p.s. to the jury. Excepting the sons born to masters in wedlock, who seek to be masters of the said mystery, without having to make the masterpiece, nor having to be apprenticed, rather they will be accepted upon payment of 20 p.s.

Item, that all wives of master sauciers and charcutiers who seek to practice the craft throughout their marriage may do so with the exception that they may not seek to take any apprentices, not to have any, if they were not held during the lifetime of their husband, upon pain of 20 p.s. to be divided as above.

Item, that no master may seek to, from no on, sell any fruits, cabbages, chards, greens, butters, cheeses etc. except for sauces and cooked roasts, wholesome and seemly, and other roasts and side dishes that are accustomed to be sold, on pain of confiscation of the said fruits, cabbages ... and any other vegetables on pain of 20 p.s....

Item, that none of the said masters may refuse to sell herring and sea fish, because on those days when the said sea fish and herring are sold, those are also the days upon which soups are made and [fish] is the meat that is made and dressed. The soups shall have the taste of the said sea fish and herring, and this is on the pain of the confiscation of the fish and 20 p.s. to be divided as above.

Item, that no one will seek to buy nor sell nor

<p><i>Saulcisses chars de Porc sursemées, char de Porc noury en Maladerie, chez Barbiers, ne Huilliers, sur peine de confiscation des Chars & Saulcisses, & d'estre arsez devant les Hostels des Delinquans, & de soixante sols parisis d'amende, à appliquer moitié au Roy, le quart à la Confrairie, & l'autre quart aux Jurez dudit Mestier.</i></p>	<p>make into soups nor roasts suckling pigs, nor pork raised near the hospital, the houses of barbers nor oilers, on pain of confiscation of the meat and sauces, and to be taken into custody and jailed, and with the fine of 60 p.s. with the king receiving 40 p.s. and the jury of the guild 40 p.s.</p>
<p><i>Item. Que doresnavant aucun dudit Mestier ne vende ou fasse vendre char cuite, soit qu'elle soit en Saulcisses ou aultrement, qui soient puantes ou infectées, & non dignes de manger à corps humain, sur peine d'amende arbitraire & de confiscation, & d'estre aultrement plus grièvement pugnys selon l'exigence du cas.</i></p>	<p>Item, that from now on no master of the said mystery may seek to sell cooked meats, with or without sauce, that is thought to be infected & not worthy to be eaten by the human body, upon an arbitrary fine, confiscation, and further punishment depending on the severity of the case.</p>
<p><i>Item. Que nul ne achepte Chars pour cuire, ne mette en Saulcisses, sinon ès Boucheries jurées de cette ville de Paris, & qu'elles ayent loy & soient bonnes, fraîches, loyales & marchandes, sur peine de confiscation desdites Chars, d'estre arsez devant les Hostels des Delinquans, & vingt sols parisis d'amende à appliquer comme dessus.</i></p>	<p>Item, That no one may buy meat for cooking nor for sauce-making, unless it is bought from a butcher approved by the jury of the City of Paris, and only if it is fresh, good, and worthy to sell, upon pain of confiscation of the said meats, and upon arrest and confinement in jail, as well as 20 p.s. fine to be divided as above.</p>
<p>...</p>	
<p><i>Item. Que nul dudit Mestier ne rechauffe la Char depuis ce qu'elle aura esté cuite, sur peine de vingt sols parisis d'amende, à appliquer comme dessus, ou d'autre amende arbitraire.</i></p>	<p>Item, that none of the said masters may reheat meats after it has been cooked, upon pain of 20 p.s. fine, to be divided as above, or upon some other fine.</p>
<p><i>Item. Que chacun Charcuitier cuise les chars, qu'il cuira en vaisseaulx nets & bien escurez, & couvre les chars quand elles seront cuites de naples & singe blanc, qui n'ayt à rien servy depuis ce qu'il aura esté blanchy, sur peine de vingt sols parisis d'amende, à appliquer comme deslus.</i></p>	<p>Item, that each Charcuitier's cooked meats be kept in clean and good vessels covered by tying a white napkin around the meat, and that no dirty cloths are used, upon pain of 20 p.s. fines, to be divided as above.</p>
<p>...</p>	
<p><i>Item. Et pour la garde dudit Mestier y aura deux Jurez, qui se seront & esliront par les</i></p>	<p>Item, and for the maintenance of the guild there should be two jury members, who are elected by the commonality of the gentlemen of the</p>

<p><i>Preud'hommes du commun dudit Mestier, & chacun an, au jour de saint Remy, en seront changez ung ou deux, & en seront esleus d'autres par lesdits Preud'hommes; laquelle eilection se sera par ceux dudit Mestier oudict Chastelet, devant Nous, ou nostre Lieutenant, & jureront lesdits Jurez bien & loyalement garder lesdits Statuts & Ordonnances, & apporter les faultes qu'ils trouveront, en la Chambre dudit Procureur du Roy: Et oultre seront tenus lesdit Jurez par chacun an, de rendre compte oudict Mestier des amendes & aultres .choses qu'ils auront receus pour ledict Mestier.</i></p> <p>...</p>	<p>said mystery, and each year, on the day of Saint Remeguius, they shall replace one of the two, and in his place shall be elected another from among the said gentlemen, and having his election certified by the Chatelet, before ourselves, or our lieutenant, and he shall serve the jury of the said mystery well and loyally, maintaining the statutes and ordinnances, and rectifying any faults that are found in the chamber of the procurer of the king: and as well, he shall make an account of the fines of the guild and other things, and this shall be received by the lais master.</p> <p>...</p>
<p><i>Leuës & publiées en Jugement en l'Auditoire Civile ou Chastelet de Paris, en la présence des Advocats & Procureur du Roy nostre Sire oudit Chastelet, le Mercredy vingt-quatième de Janvier mil quatre cens soixante & quinze. Ainsi signé, G. DIGNET.</i></p>	

[1495] *Ordinacio dez Pastelers, London*⁶

[1495] “Ordinacio dez Pastelers”, *Calendar of letter-books of the city of London: L: Edward IV-Henry VII*, ed. Reginald Sharpe (London: City of London 1912), fol. 320.

15 Dec., 11 Henry VII., came the Wardens and other good men of the Art or Mistery of Pastelers of the City before the Mayor and Aldermen, and complained that whereas in time past they had been of power to have a company of theym self in one clothing and been able to bear the City's charges, they had now fallen into such poverty, owing to their being deprived of their living by vintners, brewers, innholders, and tipplers, that they could no longer appear in one clothing, nor were able to bear the City's charges, unless speedy remedy be applied. They prayed therefore that certain articles might be approved and enrolled, to the following effect :

That every brother of the Fellowship attend an appointed church on the Feast of Exaltation of Holy Cross [14 Sept.] to hear Mass, and make offering of one penny, a brother's attendance being excused for reasonable cause, but not the offering of a penny. That he also attend on the following morning to hear a Requiem for the souls of all deceased members.

That every brother, on due warning, attend funerals, obits, &c., of Brethren and Sintern of the Fellowship.

That disputes be submitted to the Wardens before action be taken at law.

That the Wardens have authority to search and oversee all manner of dressed victuals in open shops, to see if they be wholesome and also whether the penyworthes therof be reasonable for the comon wele of the Kynge's liege people or not.

That all persons that seethe, roast, or bake victuals for sale in the City pay henceforth such quarterage to the Wardens as freemen had been accustomed to pay in support of the Craft.

That no one thenceforth send any victuals ready dressed about the streets or lanes to be sold, under penalty of forfeiture of the same to the use of poor prisoners in Ludgate and Newgate and fine.

That no persone nor persones enfranchised in the said Crafte of Pastelers from hensforth shalle take uppon hym or theym to make any grete Festes as the Serjauntes Fest the Maires Fest the Shireffes Fest and the Taillours Fest without thadvice of the Wardeyns to thentent that the Festes of everiche of theym shalbe welle and worshipfully dressed for thonoure of this Citee and also for thonour and proffite of the persones that shalle bere the charges therof, under penalty prescribed.

⁶ [1495] “Ordinacio dez Pastelers”, *Letter-Book: L*, fol. 320.

That whate persone or persones of the same Crafte that hereafter shall serve the Maire for the tyme beyng or any of the Shireffes for the yere of Mairaltie or Shervalte as their householde Coke or Cokes shalle neither in his own propre persone nor by any his servaunt or servauntes by Colour Crafte or otherwise that yere dresse or do to be dressed any Festes brekfastes dyners or Sopers for any Weddynges obites Craftes or otherwise out of the Maire or Sherriffes houses without suche Fest brekfast dyner or Souper be made at the cost and charge of the said Maire and Sherreffes for the tyme beyng to thentent that every man of the same Feaulisshippe may have a competent livyng, under penalty prescribed.

That from hensforth there shalbe but one snoppe occupied on the Sunday of the said Crafte in Bredestrete and one in Briggestrete to hentent that your Suppliauntes the gode Folkes of the same Craft may serve Godde the better on the Sunday as trew Cristen men shuld do; and the ij shoppes to be opened by thadvise of the Wardeyns for the tyme beyng that is for to sey one shoppe to be occupied on the Sunday in the one strete and an other shoppe in the other strete and an other persone to occupie and open a shoppe on the next Sunday in the one strete and an other in the other strete and so alwey one to occupie after an other, under penalty prescribed.

That if any persone or persones enfraunchised in the said Crafte hereafter make any bill or billes of fare and proporcion for any Fest dyner or Souper by the desire of any persone or persones or elles make covenant with any to dresse such Fest dyner or Souper that then none other of the same Craft shall put any suche persone or persones from the making and dressyng of the said Fest dyner or Souper, under penalty of 20s.

That every one enfraunchised in the Craft that hereafter shalbe commaunded by the Wardeyns to bere the Corce of any brother or sister of the same Crafte to burying shall bere the same Corce or Corces to the Church and to burying without any resistance grudge or geyneseyng of any persone or persones so commaunded upon peyn of iijs. iiijd.

That if any foreyn or straunger take upon hym to make or dresse any Fest dyner or Souper within the same Citee or liberties therof that thanne it shalbe lefull to the Wardeyns for the tyme beyng with a Serjaunt of the Maires to theym assigned to attache take and arrest any such Foreyn or straunger so making any Fest dyner or Souper and to bryng the same Foreyn or straunger to prison and to bide the punysshement of the Maire and Aldermen for the tyme beyng and over that to forfeite at every tyme so doyng 10s. to be divided in maner and forme abovesaid.

That every brother of ability and power shall pay for his quarterage yearly for the priest and clerks and his dinner 4s.

That no freeman of the Craft slander or revile another, under penalty.

That any brother making unreasonable complaint to the Wardens shall forfeit 20 pence.

That no one of the Craft shall from henceforth make or do to be made upon one day more than ij dyners and one Souper, under penalty of 6s. 8d.

Petition granted.

[1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers de Paris*⁷

Translated by: Ryan WHibbs

HENRY par la grace de Dieu Roy de France & de Navarre: A tous presens & advenir, Salut. Par nostre Edit de rétablissement & Reglement general fait sur tous les arts, trafies, mestiers, & maistrises de ce Royaume d'Avril 1597. Nous aurions entre autres choses par le troisième article d'iceluy, ordonné que tous Marchands des Villes, Bourgs, & Bourgades, nous payeroient la finance à laquelle ils seroient pour ce taxez en nostre Conseil, eu égard a la qualité dudit mestier & art, pour estre leurdit mestier juré: A quoy nos bien amez les Maistres Queux, Cuisiniers & Porte-Chappes de nostre ville de Paris, desirant jôüir dudit benefice & privilege, nous auroient payé es mains du Commis à la recepte desdits deniers, la finance à laquelle ils auroient esté taxez en nostre Conseil, comme de ce appert des quittances dudit Commis cy-attachées avec ledit Edit, sous le contrescel de nostre Chancellerie, & nous auroient tres-humblement supplié & requis leur en octroyer nos Lettres pour ce necessaire. Sçavoir faisons: Que nous voulant leur subvenir en cet endroit, & faire dorénavant exercer ledit mestier avec bon ordre & police & obvier aux abus & malversations qui se sont commises par le passé; Avons ledit art & mestier de Maistre Queux, Cuisiniers & Porte-Chappes, en nostredite ville de Paris, fait, créé & érigé, & établi, faisons, creons, érigeons & établissons, jure, voulons & nous plaist, que lesdits Maistres Queux, Cuisiniers & Porte-Chappes de nostredite ville de Paris, jôüssent des Privileges, Statuts & Ordonnances qui ensuivent.

Article Premier.

Premierement, que les Paticiers, Rotisseurs, Charcutiers & autres personnes, de quelque mestier qu'ils soient, ne pourront entreprendre dudit mestier pour faire nopces, festins, ou banquets, tant en leurs maisons, qu'en autres lieux, si ce n'est chacun de leur mestier, à peine de l'amende.

Article II.

Item, Que ceux qui auront financé au Roy pour jôüir de la création dudit mestier en Jurande, & dont le memoire sera cy attaché, seront receus Maistres sans faire chef-d'œuvre, ainsi seulement presteront le serment pardevant nostre Procureur au Chastelet, duquel serment leur sera delivré acte, comme il est amplement contenu par l'Edit dela création desdits Maistres.

Article III.

Item, Que nul ne pourra estre receu à la maistrise dudit mestier des Maistres Queux, Cuisiniers & Porte-Chappe en ladite ville de Paris, que au préalable il n'ait fait chef-d'œuvre, en la presence de deux Maistres dudit mestier qui seront esleus Jurez.

First Article.

Firstly, that the Pâtissiers, Rôtisseurs, Charcutiers, & all others of such mysteries, do not seek to infringe on the said mystery through the making of dinners, feasts, or banquets, either in their houses or in other places, if it is not a right of their mystery, on pain of the fine.

Article II.

Item, tht those who have paid the King in order to finance the creation of the said mystery and jury, & for memory here attached [missing], are to be received as masters without making the masterpiece banquet, instead through making the oath before our procurer of the Chatelet, and from this oath as enacted here through the edict, they shall be created masters.

Article III.

Item, that no one seek to be received into the said mystery of master cooks, chefs & cooks in the said city of Paris, unless he has made the masterpiece, in the presence of two masters of the said mystery who have been elected to the jury.

Article IV.

⁷ La Mare, [1599] *Etablissement des Cuisiniers Traiteurs*, T. IV, 633.

Article IV.

Item, Que le chef-d'œuvre qui sera fait par celui qui voudra estre receu Maistre audit mestier, sera de chair & de poisson, le tout diversement & à ses dépens, selon les saisons de l'année, & sera fait en la maison de l'un desdits Jurez, auquel pourront assister douze Maistres dudit mestier.

Article V.

Item, Que ceux qui desireront parvenir audit chef-d'œuvre & maistrises, seront tenus de faire apparoir de leur obligé, & service fait aux Maistres dudit mestier, le temps & espace de trois ans entiers, lesquels trois ans, ils s'obligeront à l'un desdits Maistres pour parvenir au chef-d'œuvre-ordonné cy-dessus, après lequel accompli ils seront receus Maistres audit mestier, & toutesfois ne pourront achever leurdit apprentissage chez leur Maistre, à cause de son décès, où il viendrait à deceder; en ce cas ils pourront achever leurdit apprentissage chez un autre Maistre dudit mestier.

Article VI.

Item, Que pour le regard des fils de Maistres dudit mestier, ils seront receus maistres sans faire chef-d'œuvre, après toutefois avoir servi leur pere, ou l'un des Maistres, le temps & espace de deux ans seulement, & payé les droits de Confrairie & de boîte, dont ils seront seulement tenus de prêter le serment pardevant notredit Procureur au Châtelet.

Article VII

Item, Ne pourront lesdits Maistres dudit mestier prendre pour chacune fois plus d'un aprenty, pour faire avec eux leur apprentissage le temps ordonné cy-dessus.

Article VIII

Item, Que les Ecuers de Cuisine, Maistres Queux, Potagers, Hateurs, enfans de Cuisine du Roy, de la Reine, des Princes & Princesses, eux voulans retirer en ladite ville de Paris, & se presentans au corps dudit mestier, seront receus Maistres quand bon leur semblera, faisant apparoir seulement leurs Lettres de retenue & certificat, comme ils auront esté employez en l'Estat de la Maison de Sa Majesté & autres.

Article IX.

Item, that the masterpiece that is required to be completed in order to be received into the mastership of the said mystery, made out of diverse meats and fish, according to the seasons of the year, and to be made in the house of one of the said jury members and with the assistance of twelve masters of the said mystery.

Article V.

Item, That those who desire to present a masterpiece and obtain mastership, in order to make evident their skill, [he must make] service to the masters of the said mystery for the time and space of three entire years, and after the third year he is obliged to make the masterpiece of the said mystery, here laid-out, and afterward he shall be received by the masters of the said mystery, & and in the future will not seek to achieve their apprenticeship [or make the masterpiece] in the house of his master, and in case his master should die, he will be allowed to complete his apprenticeship in the house of another master.

Article VI.

Item, that in regard for the sons of masters of the said mystery, they are to be received as masters without making the masterpiece, instead serving their father, or one of the masters, for the time and space of two years only, and pay the fee and tax of the confraternity and by making the oath before our procurer of the Châtelet.

Article VII.

Item, that none of the masters of the said mystery shall take more than one apprentice for the time set-out here.

Article VIII

Item, that the kitchen overseers, master cooks, soup cooks, roasting cooks, and children of the kitchen of the king, of the queen, of princes and princesses that live in the said city of Paris, & who present themselves to the body of masters of the said mystery, shall be received into the mystery with their letters of retinue and certificates, that state that they are employed in the households of his majesty and others.

Article IX.

Item, that kitchen overseers, master cooks, cooks,

Item, Que les Ecuyers de Cuisine Maistres Queux Porte Chappes Hateurs enfans de cuisine des Seigneurs, Presidens, Conseillers eux voulans se retirer en ladite ville de Paris, & se presentans au corps dudit mestier, seront receus Maistres audit corps dudit mestier, faisant apparoir du fidel service qu'ils auront fait à leurs Maistres le temps & espace de trois ans & faisant aussi une simple experience dudit mestier de Cuisinier & payant les droits de Confrairie & de boëte; & dont ils seront aussi tenus faire serment pardevant nostredit Procureur.

Article X.

Item, Que les garçons de cuisine portant la hotte pourront, lorsque bon leur semblera, aller travailler pour les bourgeois en leurs maisons, seulement à leurs journées, & ne pourront autrement entreprendre dudit mestier de Cuisinier, soit en nopces ou festins, a peine de l'amende qui sera jugée en la maniere accoustumée.

Article XI.

Item, Pour obvier aux abus & malversations qui se pourront commettre audit mestier, & entretenir iceluy en bon ordre & police, comme est dit cy-dessus, sera esleu pardevant nostredit Procureur quatre Maistres dudit mestier Jurez, lesquels exerceront leur commission le temps & espace d'un an seulement, lequel finy en sera esleu deux autres, en la place de deux de quatre qui seront deposedez de leur dite commission, ledit temps d'un an fini & accompli, & les deux autres demeureront avec les deux derniers eslus encore un an, pour donner la connoissance des affaires dudit mestier aux deux autres derniers eslus; & toutesfois aucuns desdits Maistres ne pourront parvenir à ladite Jurande qu'il n'ayent esté Maistres de Confrairies, & Bastonnier, selon l'avis des Maistres anciens dudit mestier.

(restated in 1612, 1614, 1645.)

roasting cooks, and children of the kitchen of lords, presidents, counsellors who live in the said city of Paris, & who present themselves to the corps of the said mystery, seeking to be received by the masters of the said mystery, shall prove their faithful service that has been made to their masters for the time and space of three years, and also make a minor masterpiece in the said mystery of cookery and pay the fee and tax of the confraternity, and by making the oath before our procurer of the Châtelet.

Article X.

Item, that the gentlemen of the kitchen ... who work for the bourgeois in their households, may only receive their journeyship, and not seek other stations within the said mystery of cook, that is making feasts and dinners, on pain of the fine which shall be judged in the customary manner.

Article XI.

Item, In order to prevent abuse and corruption that might be committed by masters themselves, and to maintain the good order and governance discussed here, they shall elect before the procurer of the Châtelet four master jurors of the said mystery, who shall exercise their commission for the time and space of one year only, and upon finishing there shall be two more elected, in place of the two of the four who have been dispossessed of their said commission, upon the completion of the said year, and the two remaining with the two [that continue to hold the commission] shall elect again for one year, so that the understanding of affairs of the said mystery can be given with the two elected later. None of the said masters shall seek to obtain jurorship of the said mystery if they are not a master of the confraternity, and proficient in the craft according to the opinion of the old masters of the said mystery.

Appendix VII

**Major Sources Used in
Chapters 1 & 2**

	<u>Britain</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>Italy</u>
Pre-1350	[c.1300] Anon., <i>Libellus de arte coquinaria</i> (Northern)	[c.1300] Anon., <i>Enseignements</i> [c.1325] Anon., <i>Manuscrit de Sion</i>	[c.400 AD] "Apicius", <i>de re coquinaria</i>
1350-1450	[c.1390] Anon., <i>Forme of Cury</i> [c.1425] Anon., <i>Arundel MS 334</i>	[c.1380] Guillaume Tirel, <i>Le Viandier</i> [c.1393] Anon., <i>Le Ménagier de Paris</i> [c.1420] Chiquart, <i>Du Fait de Cuisine</i>	
1450-1550	[c.1450] Anon., <i>Harliean MS 279</i> [c.1450] Anon., <i>Harliean MS 4016</i> (Two Fifteenth...) [1468] Anon., <i>A Noble Booke off Cookry</i>	[1466] Anon., <i>Le Recueil de Riom</i>	[c.1450] Anon., <i>MS Bühler, 19</i> (Neapolitan) [1465] Platina, <i>De Honestea</i> [1465] Martino, <i>Libro de arte coquinaria</i>
1550-1650	[1557] Anon. <i>A proper newe booke of cokerye</i> [1567] Anon., <i>Book of Countess Katherine Hertford</i> [1591] A.W., <i>A Book of Cookrye</i> [1596] G.Steevens, <i>The Good Housewife's Jewell</i> [1608] <i>The Art of Preseruing</i> [1609] Hugh Platt, <i>Delightes for Ladies</i> [1615] Murrell, <i>A new booke of Cookerie</i>	[1604] Casteau, <i>Ouverture de Cuisine</i> [1651] La Varenne, <i>Le Cuisinier françois.</i> [1654] Bonnefons, <i>Le jardinier françois</i>	[1570] Scappi, <i>L'Opera</i> [1611] Castelvetro, <i>Fruit, Herbs, and Vegetables of Italy</i>

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 CH - Chatsworth House Archives, Edensor, U.K.
 LP - Lambeth Palace Archives, London, U.K.
 NA - National Archives, London, U.K.

Archival Documents

Household Ordinances

<u>National Archives, Richmond, U.K.</u>		
E 30/1652	<i>“Cest Lordonnace de lostel du roy”</i> (Charles VI, France).	1418
E 36/206	<i>Household Ordinance, Royal Household, Edward IV.</i>	1478
E 36/231	<i>Eltham Ordinance, Royal Household.</i>	1525–1526
<u>Archives Nationales, Paris, France</u>		
JJ 57 fol 1-10r	<i>Ordonnance de l’hôtel, Royal Household</i>	1286
JJ 57 fol 10 v-18r	<i>Ordonnance de l’hôtel, Royal Household</i>	1250
JJ 57 fol 20r-24v	<i>Ordonnance de l’hôtel, Royal Household</i>	1261
JJ 57 fol 25r-31r	<i>Ordonnance de l’hôtel, Royal Household</i>	1315
JJ 57 fol 38r-40v	<i>Ordonnance de l’hôtel, Royal Household</i>	1316
JJ 57 fol 67v-68r	<i>Ordonnance de l’hôtel, Royal Household</i>	1316
JJ 57 fol 73v- following	<i>Ordonnance de l’hôtel, Royal Household</i>	1316
JJ 57 fol 49r and following	<i>Ordonnance de l’hôtel, Royal Household</i>	1450
JJ 57 31r-32v	<i>Ordonnance de l’hôtel, Royal Household</i>	1530
KK 544	<i>Ordonnance de l’hôtel, Royal Household</i>	1600
<u>Lambeth Palace Archives, London, U.K.</u>		
MS 884, f. 1v-23r	<i>“Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer sometymes Lo: Archebissshop of Cant”.</i>	c.1540s–1560s (some posthumous additions)
MS 884, f. 28r-31v	<i>“Orders and ordinances for the government of my house and family at” (Archbishop George Abbot).</i>	1622
MS 3361	<i>“A Booke Wherein is declared sondry orders” (1st Earl of Middlesex).</i>	1622
MS 884, f. 36r-37v	<i>“Orders to be observed for ye Govern.t of ye House & ffamily” (Archbishop Thomas Secker).</i>	1662

Servant and Wage Lists

<u>National Archives, Richmond, U.K.</u>		
E 36/206	<i>Household Servants, Royal, Edward IV.</i>	1475
E 36/231	<i>Household Servants, Royal, Henry VIII.</i>	1509
SP 78/106	<i>Household Servants, English Embassy in France, Robert Sidney, 2nd Earl of Leicester, Ambassador to France.</i>	1638
SP 84/164	<i>Household Servants, Princess Royal in the Hague, Princess Mary, Queen Consort of William II, Prince of Orange.</i>	1642
<u>Archives Nationales, Paris, France</u>		
KK 50-52	<i>"Ce sont les noms," Royal Household.</i>	1458-1459
KK 99	<i>"Roolle de estat," Royal Household.</i>	1529
KK 159	<i>"Maison de Jeanne de Navarre"</i>	1574
KK 201-204 (1)	<i>Maison du roi</i>	1642
<u>Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, U.K.</u>		
MS G4	<i>Servant List, Londesborough House, George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland.</i>	1590
<u>Lambeth Palace Archives, London, U.K.</u>		
MS 694, fol. 63	<i>Cooks Hired for Queen Anne's Visit, Worksop Manor, Gilbert and Mary, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury.</i>	June, 1603

Equipment Inventories

<u>National Archives, Richmond, U.K.</u>			
NA E 154/2/5	Sir William Stanley		1496
NA E 154/2/7	Unknown	London Haberdasher	1499
NA E 154/2/10	Sir Reginald Bray		1504
NA E 154/2/8	Lord Darcy	Temple, Newsham	1521
NA E 154/2/41	Archbishop Cranmer		1535
NA E 154/2/30	Atherstone Priory		1535
NA E 154/6/33	Unknown (Royal)		1539
NA SP 5/2	St. Oswald's Priory	Kent	1539
NA E 154/2/23	Stephen Bodyngton	Grocer, London	1547
NA LR 2/115	Duke of Norfolk	Kenninghall/Castle Rising	1551
NA E 154/2/39	Duke of Norfolk		1553
NA E 154/2/39	Archbishop Cranmer		1553
NA E 154/2/39	Sir John Gates		1553
NA E 154/2/40	Marquess of Northampton		1553
NA E 154/7/4	Lord Pagett		1558
NA E 154/3/1	Edward Formes (?)		1586
WARD 259A/228/22	John Shewell		1588
NA LR 1/135	Earl of Arundel		1590
NA E 154/4/40	Robert Maude	York, Merchant	1591
NA LR 1/10	Earl of Essex	Itchell House	1601
NA LR 1/10	Earl of Southampton	Tichfields House	1601
NA E 154/4/5	Richard Fuller	London, Barber Surgeon	1618
NA KB 9/123	Thomasina Roberts		1618
NA E 154/2/10	Arthur Kettleby	London, Grocer	1621
NA SP 17/E/13	London Townhouse	London Gentleman	1639
<u>Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, U.K.</u>			
CH MS SC LOND G/7	Skipton Castle	Yorkshire	1644
CH MS SC LOND G/7	Appleby Castle	Cumbria	1644

Diet Accounts

<u>National Archives, Richmond</u>		
E 101/96/3	Exchequer, <i>Account book of the diet of the Council, Henry VIII</i>	Oct 5, 1541 – July 13, 1542 (50 days)
LS 9/1	Lord Steward's Accounts, <i>Kitchen Books, Charles II</i>	Oct 3, 1663 – July 31, 1664 (134 days)
<u>Lambeth Palace Archives, London</u>		
MS 1228	<i>Household Account of Lionel Cranfield, 1st Earl of Middlesex</i>	Feb 15, 1622 – 18 July, 1622 (43 days)
<u>Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, U.K.</u>		
MS BA 13	<i>Diet Account of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, Bolton Abbey</i>	Oct 18, 1575 – April 29, 1577 (185 days)
MS SC 67	<i>Diet Account of Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland, Skipton Castle</i>	Dec 1, 1623 – June 9, 1624 (155 days)
<u>Archives Nationales, Paris</u>		
K 118/64	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Louis XIV</i>	Oct 16 & 28, 1653 (2 days)
K 105/A	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henri IV</i>	Nov/July/Oct, 1592 (11 days)
K 100/47/1&2	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henri III</i>	April 1-20, 1579 (20 days)
K 98/52/1&2	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Charles IX</i>	June 5-24, 1572 (19 days)
K 92/36/1&2	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Francis II</i>	Oct 1-30, 1559 (30 days)
K 92/31	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Francis II</i>	July 29-Sept 21, 1559 (13 days)
K 92/4	<i>Cartons des rois, dépenses de bouche, Henry II</i>	Aug 1, 1557 – Nov 28, 1557 (13 days)
K 504/5	<i>Comptes de Bouche, Jeanne Duchess of Bourbon</i>	Sept 1-30, 1508 (30 days)

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