

**Early Modern Anglo-Iberian
Food and Recipes:
Transmission, Reception, Identity**

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Abstract

Rooted within a broader understanding of the movement of products and ingredients from the Mediterranean and beyond, the distinction between imagined interactions and kitchen practices, and the development, spread, and domestication of tastes, my PhD offers the first detailed and comprehensive study of culinary recipes acknowledged as Spanish and Portuguese within early modern English printed and manuscript recipe books from 1500 to 1680. By comparing and contrasting direct references to Spanish and Portuguese foodstuffs and practices with their Iberian ‘originals’, thus engaging with the pre-modern manuscripts and printed recipe collections still available from Iberia, my thesis proves the degrees of transmission and assimilation, but also divergence and innovation of English texts from Iberian ones.

This thesis, moreover, discloses the existence, within English archives, of a significant number of manuscript recipes copied and translated, possibly at the start of the seventeenth-century, directly from Iberian sources which are now, in turn, almost completely lost. In this way, this PhD recuperates exceptional material for studying Iberian recipe knowledge, including, as well as culinary recipes, recipes for perfumes, for the house and for gloves especially, as well as other cosmetic preparations: perfumes represent, in fact, the field most closely related to culinary interests in the Iberian pre-modern world of recipe collections.

Ultimately, my research contributes to the growing field of Anglo-Iberian studies, emphasising the importance of Iberia, and Spain in particular, to our understanding of early modern English culture. By paying close attention to the context of my sources, this thesis advances the claim that to collect Iberian recipes in post-Reformation England was an evidently, and possibly exclusively, Catholic practice. This work also impacts on recent debates surrounding the nature and transmission of practical knowledge in early modern Europe, shedding new light on the complex nature of, and relationship between, manuscript and print recipe collections, making sense of kitchen expertise as a hybrid, polyvocal (rather than collective) form of domestic and artisanal experience, which cannot be gendered straightforwardly as a female domain. This work, finally, represents an innovative contribution to the well-established field of food studies in a historical, Euro-centric perspective by comparing culinary and related traditions belonging to clearly distinct cultures and, in doing so, substantially enriching our studies of early modern Spanish, Portuguese and English food and kitchen practices.

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Preface

From October 2014 to September 2017 I have been one of the three doctoral students within the WROCAH (White Rose College of Arts and Humanities) Network *Cultures of Consumption in Early Modern Europe*, led by Professor Cathy Shrank from the University of Sheffield.

As stated within the relative call for application: “collectively the three studentships will explore the transmission, interpretation and transformation of texts, ideas, beliefs and practices about food, drink, and consumption between geographical locations, cultural contexts and historical moments, and by diverse social groups”.

Specifically, the third “studentship examines the importation of Iberian foodstuffs and recipes into England. Owing to religious and political tensions characterising English-Iberian relations throughout this period, scholars have largely neglected the trading, familial and diplomatic networks that brought together Spanish, Portuguese and English cultures; equally, little work has been undertaken into patterns of consumption within the Iberian Peninsula or the extent to which Iberian foodstuffs were recognised and marked as such in English contexts. The successful student will develop their own project in this area, drawing on a wide variety of sources – from recipe books to travellers' accounts and ambassadorial papers – that chart the translation of Iberian techniques and commodities into England”.

This thesis thus represents my attempt to produce an original and substantial contribution to the field of early modern studies aligned to the aims of the network and the expectations of the third studentship, in particular.

Acknowledgements

I feel privileged to be able to thank my supervisors, Professor Helen Smith and Doctor Iona McCleery, whose support, in all its forms, has been invaluable; Professor Stuart Carroll who gave me extremely useful advice during TAP meetings and much more; Jeff Kattenhorn from the British Library and Doctor Sean Cunningham from The National Archives for their help navigating manuscript sources. I would also like to thank Professor Simon Ditchfield for his friendship which does not end here.

This work was supported by the University of York through the White Rose College of the Arts & Humanities. This thesis would have never been written otherwise.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

1.

Introduction

Rooted within a broader understanding of the movement of products and ingredients from the Mediterranean and beyond, the distinction between imagined interactions and kitchen practices, and the development, spread, and domestication of tastes, my PhD offers the first detailed and comprehensive study of culinary recipes acknowledged as Spanish and Portuguese within early modern English printed and manuscript recipe books from 1500 to 1680. Working with both manuscript and print sources, I demonstrate both the routes of transmission of Iberian food and culinary knowledge into English, and also the ways in which English authors and compilers diverged from and adapted their sources. This work also reveals that some Iberian recipes now survive only in their English forms: it thus recuperates exceptional material for studying Iberian recipe knowledge, including, not only culinary recipes but also recipes for perfumes which were crucial to Iberian kitchen and domestic practices in this period.

My research contributes to the growing field of Anglo-Iberian studies, emphasising the importance of Iberia, and Spain in particular, to our understanding of early modern English culture. By paying close attention to the context of my sources, this thesis advances the claim that to collect Iberian recipes in post-Reformation England was an evidently, and possibly exclusively, Catholic practice. This work also impacts on recent debates surrounding the nature and transmission of practical knowledge in early modern Europe, shedding new light on the complex nature of manuscript and print recipe collections, making sense of kitchen expertise as a hybrid, polyvocal (rather than collective) form of domestic and artisanal experience, which cannot be gendered straightforwardly as a female domain. This work, finally, represents an innovative contribution to the well-established field of food studies in a historical, Euro-centric perspective by comparing culinary and related traditions belonging to clearly distinct cultures, and in doing so substantially enriching our studies of early modern Spanish, Portuguese and English food and kitchen practices.

The main sources of this PhD are recipe books: of these “bibliographer’s nightmare[s]”, as they have been perhaps harshly but nonetheless effectively described, I have consulted over fifty printed exemplars and sixty manuscripts in writing this work.¹ The

¹ Margaret J.M. Ezell, “Cooking the Books, Or, The Three Faces of Hannah Woolley,” in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550-1800*, ed. Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (Manchester University Press, 2013), 160. For printed sources, the essential reference work is: Henry Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks in Europe, 1470-1700: A Bibliography of Early Modern Culinary Literature* (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 2010).

meaningfulness of these important texts has been recently reassessed, with the editors of one recent historiographical collection focused on the early modern English experience claiming that they were “among the most popular non-fiction print genres of the period...and one of the most common forms of manuscript compilation.”²

In the early modern English tradition printed recipe books were heterogeneous endeavours which take three main forms. The first is that of “cookbooks”. These are collections devoted exclusively to edible preparations, which pay preponderant attention to main meals, and especially meat-based dishes. English examples contain an extremely limited number of recipes for confectionary, and no drinks. The oldest, known by the title *This is the Booke of Cookery*, was published in 1500, but this book, like others, relates clearly to a much older manuscript tradition, as was the case for other parts of Europe.³ Books of this nature were often authored by, and addressed to, professional, male cooks.⁴

The second form is usually referred to as “books of secrets” or “women’s recipe books”.⁵ Within these collections it has been claimed that “sugar and fruit went hand in hand”; yet this crucial observation has not been emphasised enough nor acknowledged by recent studies.⁶ These books have also been powerfully described by Elizabeth Spiller as “those often exuberant recipe books that...delighted in combining art and nature, food and physic, into elaborate sugar works and other conceits”; they also offer a number of recipes to make waters and distillates.⁷ Spiller also states that these texts “present themselves as ‘women’s recipe books’. They were attributed to and published under the names of women”; an observation which is broadly correct, but not complete.⁸ The most influential and popular collections of this kind included best-sellers like *The Secretes of Reuerende Maister Alexis of Piemount* (1558), originally composed by Girolamo Ruscelli three years before, Hugh Platt’s *Delighets for Ladies* (1602) and *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digby Knight Opened* (1669).⁹

² DiMeo and Pennell, ed., *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, 3.

³ Cfr. Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 56-57.

⁴ Cfr. Ken Albala, “Cookbooks as Historical Documents,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. Jeffrey M. Pilcher (Oxford University Press, 2012), 227-241. Cfr. also Elizabeth Spiller, “Recipes for Knowledge: Maker’s Knowledge Traditions, Paracelsian Recipes, and the Invention of the Cookbook,” in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare*, ed. Joan Fitzpatrick (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 55-72. Spiller does not connect the English case with other European traditions of cookbooks and neglects the importance of reprints.

⁵ The classic study of “books of secrets” is William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton University Press, 1994). For a more recent account see Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin, ed., *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science 1500-1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011).

⁶ Gilly Lehmann, “Reading Recipe Books and Culinary History: Opening a New Filed,” in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, ed. DiMeo and Pennell, 102.

⁷ Spiller, “Printed Recipe Books in Medical, Political, and Scientific Contexts,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution*, ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers (Oxford University Press, 2012), 516-517.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 518.

⁹ Cfr. Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 59, 70 and 106-107 respectively.

The third form is that of “‘how-to’ books” or “household management books” which were usually, but not always, addressed to women. They alternate prose descriptions or instructions and recipes for a huge variety of culinary and medical situations. Among these recipes, there is almost always a section which provides cookery instructions, telling readers how to create edible products which range in kind from meat-based dishes to banqueting stuff. Drinks, especially distilled waters, are also discussed. The most popular text of this kind was Gervase Markham’s *The English Husvife*, which went through eleven editions as such in between 1615 and 1695.¹⁰

As for early modern English manuscript recipe books, the vast majority of surviving ones were composed during the 17th century, from the middle of the century onwards in particular.¹¹ In contrast with the print tradition, collections of manuscript recipes always, or almost always, describe how to make medicines for a variety of conditions; how to prepare drinks and confectionary products, especially how to preserve fruits via sugar. Occasionally, a few meat-based dishes are also given. Very few exemplars include other sorts of household, or veterinary, preparations; perfumes are extremely rare.¹²

Throughout this thesis, I compare English recipes with their Iberian equivalents.¹³ Iberian printed cookbooks are similar to their English counterpart. The notable exception is *Los Cuatro Libros del Arte de la Confiteria* by Miguel de Baeza, published in 1592 in Madrid: this elaborate professional manual devoted to confectionary, despite its clear value, has never been at the centre of any scholarly investigation.¹⁴ Extant Iberian manuscript collections date from earlier than their English counterparts, and can be traced to the sixteenth century and earlier.¹⁵ These consist of collections of recipes with a strong emphasis on confectionary and preserving techniques. The earliest is the Catalan *Libre de Totes Maneres de Confits*, from the mid-fifteenth-century.¹⁶ Most distinctively, the vast majority of Iberian manuscripts also gather

¹⁰ Cfr. Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 71-73.

¹¹ Cfr. Leong, “*Medical Recipe Collections*” in *Seventeenth-Century England: Knowledge, Text and Gender*, unpublished Ph.D thesis (University of Oxford, 2006).

¹² Cfr. DiMeo and Pennell ed., *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, 6.

¹³ The best introduction to pre-modern Spanish recipe books is given in Carolyn Nadeau, *Food Matters: Alonso Quijano's Diet and the Discourse of Food in Early Modern Spain* (University of Toronto Press, 2016), 3-44. See also: María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper, ed., *La alimentación en la España del Siglo de Oro. Domingo Hernández de Maceras “Libro del Arte de Cocina”* (Huesca: La Val de Osonera, 1998), 17-49; Jodi Campbell, *At the First Table: Food and Social Identity in Early Modern Spain* (University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 62-66.

¹⁴ A brief summary is given in Nadeau, *Food Matters*, 43. Cfr. also Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 353.

¹⁵ Cfr. Pérez Samper, “*Recetarios Manuscritos de la España Moderna*,” in *Cincinnati Romance Review* 33 (2012), 27-58 and “*Los Recetarios de Cocina (siglos XV-XVIII)*,” in *I Codici del Gusto*, ed. Maria Grazia Profeti (Milano: Francoangeli, 1992), 152-184.

¹⁶ Please note that Nadeau, *Food Matters*, 235, translates “*Libre de Totes Maners de Confits*” as “*The book of all kinds of candied fruits*”; I disagree with this translation. The Catalan recipe collection does not simply give recipes “*to candy*”, thus to preserve food via sugar, but also “*to confit*” thus to preserve food via other products like animal fats, and techniques, like salting first.

medical/personal hygiene-focused recipes, for the teeth and hair especially, offering a significant number of recipes to create perfumes for the self, the house and gloves as well.¹⁷ Very few are the recipes for more substantial dishes. Again, the exception is here represented by MS.I.E.33, now in Naples, the only surviving Portuguese manuscript, from the middle of the sixteenth-century, which is almost equally devoted to confectionary artefacts and main meals.

Any rigorous reading of recipe books as sources needs not only to engage with their content but also to acknowledge the complexity of these sources, especially when the research concerns the knotty epistemological issues of *authorship*, *donorship* and *ownership* but also *collectorship*, as well as the very notion or status of the *recipe* (a description of practice or an aspirational fiction; invented by the author or passed down the generations; speculative or tried-and-tested).¹⁸ Rather than ‘ownership’, I argue that the notion of ‘collectorship’ is the most historically accurate paradigm for considering what would be otherwise described as the authorship of early recipe texts. The notion of *printship*, moreover, further complicates the panorama for printed collections, raising further questions of authorship, ownership and attribution.

During the early modern period, culinary knowledge was rooted in practice, and was normally orally transmitted rather than originally and individually forged. It was a collective endeavour, as was its representation in script and print. In making this argument, I am embracing not only the lessons of recent work on circuits of book production and collaborative enterprises but also retaining crucial perspectives belonging to food history.¹⁹ Nonetheless, this PhD proves that the “voice”, the personal approach to food and dishes adopted by some few chefs and collectors – at times and after much practise – can be discerned.

This also means that recipe books are non-gendered forms of writing. A decade has passed now from the seminal works on early modern English recipe collections which invariably defined them as “women’s books”.²⁰ Some of the recent, and exciting,

¹⁷ See Montserrat Cabré, “Keeping Beauty Secrets in Early Modern Iberia,” in *Secrets and Knowledge*, ed. Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin, 167-190. The chapter, nonetheless, mostly engages with the Spanish translation of the Italian *The Secretes of Reuerende Maister Alexis of Piemount* by Girolamo Ruscelli.

¹⁸ Cfr. DiMeo and Pennell, *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, 6.

¹⁹ Robert Darnton, “What Is the History of Books?” in *Daedalus* 111, No. 3 (1982), 65-82. See also D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of the Texts* (Cambridge University Press, 1999). Cfr. also Albala, “Cookbooks as Historical Documents.”

²⁰ Spiller, ed., *Seventeenth-Century English Recipe Books: Cooking, Physic and Chirurgery in the Works of W. M. and Queen Henrietta Maria and Mary Tillinghast* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). From the same author *Seventeenth-Century English Recipe Books: Cooking, Physic and Chirurgery in the Works of Elizabeth Grey and Aletheia Talbot* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). Both these publications form part of the *Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women: Series III, Part Three*; they are volume 3 and 4 respectively. See also Catherine Field, “‘Many Hands Hands’: Writing the Self in Early Modern Women’s Recipe Books,” in *Genre and Women’s Life Writing in Early Modern England*, ed. Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 49-63; Sara Pennell, “Perfecting Practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes and

flurry of research into recipe collections and cookbooks still frequently emphasises women's participation in recipe culture, often assuming that kitchens were essentially feminine spaces.²¹ This PhD interrogates this paradigm according to which recipe books, and manuscripts in particular, were first and foremost female books. By providing clear and unquestionable examples in contrast to the lack of solid case studies which has characterised the scholarly debate so far, this work contributes to the more recent, nuanced appreciation of the non-gendered nature of recipe books – as expressed most notably by Elaine Leong.²² My PhD ultimately aligns with Helen Smith's claim that "the early modern book and its text can be reconceptualised not as male- or female-authored but as the interface at which numerous agents coincide", and argues that early modern recipe books, manuscripts as well, are possibly the best examples of such an interface.²³

The following pages lay out some key contexts for this thesis. While the first section offers a preliminary survey of Anglo-Iberian studies (and their main insights) beyond food consumption, the second section turns to early modern understandings of "food as medicine" and its effects on those who consumed it.

Early Modern Anglo-Iberian Studies and Relationships

Possibly the only historically appropriate use of the expression "Anglo-Iberian" is in regard to the period 1580-1640 when Portugal was integrated into the Spanish monarchy, leading to the creation of the Iberian Union.²⁴ Thus, although this adjective has the

Knowledge in Early Modern England," in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*, ed. Victoria E. Burke & Jonathan Gibson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 230-248.

²¹ Amanda Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (Yale University Press, 2014), esp. 78-116 "Cooperative Labor: Making Alliances through Women's Recipes and Domestic Production"; Kristine Kowalchuk, *Preserving on Paper: Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Receipt Books* (University of Toronto Press, 2017).

²² Elaine Leong, "Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household," *Centaurus* 55, no. 2 (2013), 81-103, esp. 84. DiMeo and Pennell, ed., *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, 13, claim that "Acknowledging male interest and participation in domestic recipe collection and preparation, as Withey's chapter does, enables us to move on from seeing 'domestic papers' as a long overlooked but now recuperated form of women's writing, towards reinserting men into domestic environments...". Unfortunately, this crucial reflection remains relegated to the "intellectual margins" of the collection.

²³ Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 4.

²⁴ José Damiao Rodrigues, "The Flight of the Eagle: An Island Tribute to the Universal Iberian Monarchy at the End of the Sixteenth Century," *e-JPH* 9, no. 2 (2011), 1-34, points out the lack of any major study on the effects of the Iberian Union within Iberia itself. See also Graça Almeida Borges, "The Iberian Union and the Portuguese Overseas Empire, 1600-1625: Ormuz and the Persian Gulf in the Global Politics of the Hispanic Monarchy," *e-JPH* 12, no. 2 (2014), 1-26, in which the author "seeks to demonstrate that the evolution of the Portuguese overseas territories during the Iberian union largely depended on the geopolitical priorities of Castile, something which contradicts the thesis of Portuguese political autonomy that historiography has long

unquestionable merit of immediately providing the reader with a clear geographical frame, it should be used warily, for it evokes a comparison with “an Iberia” that does not consider Portugal and Spain in their growing, independent distinctiveness within the period under consideration.²⁵ As a result, any incautious use of the term could lead to a misinterpretation of the complexity of early modern English attitudes towards, and relations with Spain on the one hand and Portugal on the other. The literature so far suggests that such attitudes and relations were, if not opposite, nonetheless deeply dissimilar (see below). To avoid this risk, we can take advantage of the notion of “Anglo-Iberian” only on the proviso that we have first deconstructed the latter term.

Not surprisingly, studies of early modern Anglo-Iberian relationships began in order to complete chapters and sections within “national histories”.²⁶ These major works of synthesis devoted to comprehensive chronological excursus in which, from our period onwards, the new global market and the colonial enterprises play a well-known and weighty role, form part of the so-called traditional history. In such narratives, geo-political and military concerns are at the heart of the investigation: the number of words written not only about naval battles and wars but also on royal marriages is thus remarkable.²⁷

defended”, 1. For the decades immediately following the Iberian Union see Fernando Dores Costa, “Interpreting the Portuguese War of Restoration (1641-1668) in a European Context,” *e-JPH* 3, no. 1 (2005), 1-14. For the previous period see Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela, “Relations Between Portugal and Castile in the Late Middle Ages. 13th -16th Centuries,” *e-JPH* 1, no. 1 (2003), 1-18. The nobility’s sense of belonging to either the Spanish or the Portuguese crown remains an open question, as do complex and fluctuating notions of ‘nativeness’ (*naturalidade*); see Antonio Terrasa Lozano, “The Last King’s “Naturais”: Nobility and *Naturalidade* in Portugal from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century,” *e-JPH* 10, no. 2 (2012), 23-57.

²⁵ The role played by the Inquisition, for instance, gives an example of a phenomenon which was enacted and experienced very differently according to the area of Iberia in which it was set. For the Spanish Inquisition see, for instance, Bertolomè Benassar, *Storia dell’ Inquisizione Spagnola. L’influenza sulla Scena Mondiale dell’Inquisizione Spagnola sui Costumi Politici, Religiosi e Sessuali del XV an XIX Secolo* (Roma: Bur, 1994). For the Portuguese Inquisition see Giuseppe Marcocci, *I custodi dell’ortodossia. Inquisizione e Chiesa nel Portogallo del Cinquecento* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2004) and Marcocci, *História da Inquisição Portuguesa 1536-1821* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2013).

²⁶ For Spain, see Benito Sanches Alonso, *Historia de la Historiografía Española*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1947), esp. vol. II. See also the more recent José Andrés-Gallego, *Historia de la Historiografía Española* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, S.A., 1999). For Portugal, see Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História Breve da Historiografia Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1962).

²⁷ For Spain, see the classic José Altamira, *A History of Spain: From the Beginnings to the Present Day*, trans. Muna Lee (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1949), esp. 225-508. For Portugal see Antonio Henrique de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal* (Columbia University Press, 1972). For an account of Oliveira Marques’s importance see Douglas L. Wheeler, “Tribute to a Portuguese Historian: A Foreign Historian’s Perspective on Oliveira Marques’ Principal Historical Studies in English,” *e-JPH* 5, no. 2 (2007), 1-3- See also José Mattoso, “Histories of Portugal,” *e-JPH* 8, 2 (2010), 1, in which he provocatively asks if: “the Portuguese public and our historians are once again demonstrating an effective cultural “backwardness” in relation to the present-day historiographic guidelines? Or did I, at that stage, misinterpret the signs of the times? Are the syntheses of national histories and the division of history into periods really out fashion?”. Mattoso was referring to the popularity of Rui Ramos, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994).

Early modern Portugal *per se* has been the object of investigation not only from Portuguese scholars, but also English ones and the same can be said, perhaps to a lesser extent, for Spain.²⁸ Furthermore, it should be noted here that studies on commercial trades, diplomacy and human mobility within these countries have also flourished to the point that we can access a vast, virtually comprehensive array of information.²⁹

Recently, this way of doing history has been supplemented by the work of scholars keen to investigate Anglo-Iberian relations through different lenses. The traditional approach has been enriched by the socio-cultural one; this has led to a variety of new intellectual stimuli - prominently cultural in their nature - and has recovered connections and relations between England and the Iberian Peninsula that have previously been missed. This is the aim of recent works like “the Spanish Connection”, the special issue of the *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies* edited by Barbara Fuchs in 2010. These works, markedly comparative in their approach, not only embrace fields such as history of art and comparative literature but also shed new light on the cultural, transnational dimensions of Anglo-Iberian studies.³⁰

Politically speaking, scholars agree that the major early modern rivalry and confrontation between England and Spain was counterbalanced by the Anglo-Portuguese

²⁸ For some recent and valuable contributions from English scholars on Portugal, see David Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal* (Cambridge University Press, 2003); Anthony R. Disney *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: From Beginnings to 1807*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge University Press, 2009); Malyn D. D. Newitt, *Portugal in European and World History* (London: Reaktion 2009). On the general historiographical trend see Diogo Ramada Curto, “Is There a Trend Towards Internationalization in Portuguese Historiography?”; Jean-Frédéric Schaub, “The Internationalization of Portuguese Historiography”; and Luís Adão da Fonseca, “Internationalization of Portuguese Historiography: An Opportunity Stemming from a Challenge” all in *e-JPH* 1, no. 1 (2003), 1-3. On Spain, see recent publications such as William D. Phillips and Carla Rahn, *A Concise History of Spain* (Cambridge University Press, 2010). For a valuable introduction in English see the already classic James Casey, *Early Modern Spain: A Social History* (London: Routledge, 1999) and from the same author, *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

²⁹ For English diplomacy see Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509-1688* (Rochester: Royal Historical Society, 1990). See also D.B. Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives 1689-1789* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1932), and Stanley Thomas Bindoff, *British Diplomatic Representatives 1789-1852* (Camden Society, 1934). For an account of Anglo-Portuguese commerce in the later part of the period see H. E. S. Fisher, *The Portugal Trade. A Study of Anglo-Portuguese Commerce 1700-1770* (London: Methuen and Co., 1971). See also the recent article from Miguel Dantas da Cruz, “The Diversification of Portugal’s Commercial Relations in the Late Eighteenth Century: Between Discourse and Praxis,” *e-JPH* 10, no. 1 (2012), 37-61. On human mobility, see John Walter Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667. Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (London: Cape, 1952), esp. 325-390. See also L. M. E. Shaw, *Trade, Inquisition, and the English Nation in Portugal, 1650-1690* (Manchester: Carcanet in association with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1989).

³⁰ See, for instance, Jonathan Brown, *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations between Spain and Great Britain 1604-1655* (Yale University Press, 2002); Barbara Fuchs, *Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). See also Anne J. Cruz ed., *Material and Symbolic Circulation Between Spain and England 1554-1604* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). For the centuries just before, see Maria Bullon-Fernandez ed., *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th -15th Centuries. Cultural, Literary, and Political Exchange* (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2007). The introductions to these last two texts offer references to other valuable secondary materials.

alliance. While relations between Spain and England “changed from friendship to mistrust”, those with Portugal were, at least in the *longue durée*, almost invariably stable and peaceful.³¹ And yet, the incorporation of Portugal within Spain that occurred for the six decades of the Iberian Union, meant that Spain’s enemies turned suddenly and *de facto* into Portugal’s enemies as well.³²

It is still a topic of historiographical controversy whether or not Portugal became the first “new colonial client of Britain” during the seventeenth century and thus if the latter became Portugal’s main protector. The Methuen treaty of 1703 decreed England’s position as Portugal’s dominant trading partner. This economic treaty can be considered as the apex of a long series of acts that had started centuries earlier, in 1386, with the Treaty of Windsor, which established the perpetual alliance between England and Portugal. Between these two crucial dates, other pacts were ratified: much more than an empty symbol, the royal marriage between Charles II and Catherine of Braganza in 1662 reconfirmed, after the Habsburg captivity, the strategic alliance - now of worldwide dimensions - between the two countries.³³

Commercially speaking, Portugal exported to England not only bullion (from West Africa, and later from Brazil), but also oil, wax, figs, resins, honey, dates, salt, hides and crucially, wine from Porto and Madeira (though the economic boom of Madeira was quite late though, from 1680 onwards).³⁴ In turn, England exported to Portugal a huge quantity of grain and textiles, especially wool. Anglo-Spanish import/export was of the same nature as in the case of England and Portugal, but even more varied. According to Connell-Smith: “wheat and other cereals were clearly the most important English export to Spain after cloth”.³⁵ The most significant import from northern Spain was iron for arms, while from the south there were:

³¹ Cruz, ed., *Material and Symbolic Circulation*, xix.

³² See S. Sideri, *Trade and Power: Informal Colonialism in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, (Rotterdam University Press, 1970), esp. 18-23. For an account of Portugal’s commercial trades with the East in this period see James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

³³ Though it now feels somewhat dated, see Gertrude Z. Thomas, *Richer Than Spices. How a Royal Bride’s Dowry Introduced Cane, Lacquer, Cottons, Tea, and Porcelain to England, and so Revolutionized Taste, Manners, Craftsmanship, and History in Both England and America* (New York: Knopf, 1965). On the presence of English and Spaniards in America see John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World. Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (London: Yale University Press). See also William D. Phillips, Jr., “The Frustrated Unity of Atlantic Europe: The Roles of Spain and England,” in *Material and Symbolic Circulation*, ed. Cruz, 3-12.

³⁴ For a detailed account of the wine trade see André L. Simon, *The History of the Wine Trade in England* (London: Holland Press, 1964). See also Catherine Rachael Pitt, *The Wine Trade in Bristol in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Masters dissertation, University of Bristol, 2006).

³⁵ Gordon Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake. A Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period* (London: Longmans, 1954), 50. On English transnational trades see also Ralph Davis, *English Overseas Trade, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1973) and Brian R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), esp. 442-528.

...mordants and the indispensable Seville oil... Orchil, woad, resin and wine. Scarlet grain was also imported from Spain in smaller quantities, though more came from Portugal.... Soap in different forms, including the white castile soap and smigmates (black and white) was another important commodity from Andalusia... Fruits, including oranges, prunes, dates and figs, sugar, honey, marmalade, almonds, liquorice, saffron, vinegar and cinnamon were prominent among the delicacies from the South... Spanish silks and leather goods were shipped to England in considerable quantities and expensive velvets and silks for the fishing industry from the low sand dunes of south western Spain...³⁶

For obvious historical reasons – not only the state of war, declared or not, between England and Spain (1585-1604; 1625-1630; 1654-1660) but also the Anglo-French alliances (1657; 1731) – trade between England, Spain and Portugal was anything but consistent; it fluctuated throughout the entire early modern period, yet such trade never completely stopped.³⁷

Although small in number, there was a meaningful and heterogeneous group of Englishmen who ventured over the Pyrenees in the early modern period (this trend in effect began to increase only in the late eighteenth century).³⁸ As well as diplomatic bodies, other minor sellers and sailors constituted - as everywhere - a protected group of temporary residents. Often, especially if they were diplomats, they travelled to Spain with their wives and families. After the English Reformation, potential religious tensions were carefully avoided by providing travellers with a special immunity in matters of religion and the consequent freedom of its expression (not only in their private residences, but across virtually the entire country of Spain).

Equally important is the existence of an English population who *permanently* resided in Spain. Some were those fervent Catholics who had relocated to keep on practising their faith after England became Protestant; others constituted a small handful of merchants who had been based in Spain since the early decades of the sixteenth century. And yet in regard to this last group, everything leads to the conclusion that the

³⁶ Connell-Smith, *Forerunners*, 59.

³⁷ It is well known that France had a significant influence on Anglo-Iberian trades according to its political relations with the other countries. Connell-Smith, *Forerunners*, 187, says: “The treatment of English merchants in Spain was always best when the Emperor needed England’s support against France”. See also Fernand Braudel’s classic *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (London: Collins 1972-1973), esp. vol. I, 543-643, on trade and transport; Pauline Croft, “Trading with the Enemy: 1585-1604,” *Historical Journal* 32, no. 2 (1989), and Richard Stone, “Bristol’s trade with Spain during the Anglo-Spanish Wars (1585-1604 and 1625-1630)”, conference paper, AIR 2015, Anglo-Iberian Relations 1500-1850, Brunel University & Harvard University, Mertola, (Spain) May 9-11, 2015.

³⁸ See Stoye, *English Travellers*, esp. 325-390.

English merchants who lived there were not really assimilated into Spanish society.³⁹ Even when they built a family in Spain and even if they took active part in the life of the town in which they lived, their ultimate loyalty was undeniably to their original English families.⁴⁰

In 1530, the English merchants in Spain organised themselves into the so-called “Spanish Company”: “the organisation built up by English merchants... for their own welfare and protection in the Iberian peninsula”.⁴¹ The corporation ran until 1585, when the conflict with the English Armada made trade temporarily impracticable, and it was restored in 1605, although it did not last more than a few decades. Moreover, the immunity mentioned earlier did not always operate as it should have and some Englishmen were forced to face the Spanish inquisitorial system. The accounts of their tribulations – likely exaggerated – served to build up a negative picture of Spain in England.⁴²

The systematic denigration of the character and achievements of the Spanish people that occurred in England for nearly four centuries is known as the Black Legend. Perhaps precisely because of the scarcity of English people in Spain, scholars agree that the English attributed ignorance, superstition and a long list of vices to Spaniards, creating a detrimental, specific “Spanish” stereotype. It has been convincingly argued that, beyond the Inquisition, two other highly significant experiences were at the root of England’s anti-Spanish feeling: the Armada and the systematic exploitation (real or presumed) of the indigenes that happened as the Spanish reached the New World. The sack of Antwerp in 1576 by Spanish soldiers as well as travellers’ accounts of “diatribes upon emergent occasions” contributed to the English hostility.⁴³ The two countries’ rivalry upon the Atlantic has to be acknowledged as the other major reason for such

³⁹ “Representacion de un vecino de Sevilla a fines de siglo XVI en favor de los comerciantes extranjeros que habian en dicha ciudad,” cited in Heather Dalton, “Negotiating Fortune: English Merchants in Early Sixteenth-Century Seville,” in *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World*, ed. Caroline A. Williams (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 57-74.

⁴⁰ Dalton, “Negotiating Fortune,” and Blanca Krauel, “Events Surrounding Thomas Malliard’s Will, an English Merchants in Seville,” *Proceedings of the 2nd Conference of the Spanish Society for English Renaissance Studies*, ed. S.G. Fernandez-Corugedo (Olviedo: 1992).

⁴¹ Pauline Croft, ed., *The Spanish Company* (London Record Society, 1973), vii-xxix. Connell-Smith, *Forerunners*, talks about the “Andalusian Company” but both sources clearly refer to the same group of people. See also Jason Eldred, “The Just will pay for the Sinners”: English Merchants, the Trade with Spain, and Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1563–1585,” in *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10, no. 1 (2010), 5-28.

⁴² Connell-Smith, *Forerunners*, 122, notes “how far accounts were exaggerated considering that trade did not cease and English merchants continued to trade and reside in Spain”.

⁴³ Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo and Maureen Quilligan, ed., *Rereading the Black Legend. The Discourses of Religious and Racial Differences in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago University Press, 2007); Victor Navarro-Brotóns and William Eamon, *Mas Allá de la Leyenda Negra: España y la Revolución Científica* (Valencia: Soler, 2007); William Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiments, 1558-1660* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966), 8. See also Charles Gibson, *The Black Legend. Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New* (New York: Knopf, 1971). For critique of the historiography of the Black Legend on the whole, see Benjamin Keen, “The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities,” in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 49, no. 4 (1969), 703-717.

hostility: this, like the Inquisition, lasted much longer than the specific events outlined above. The Tribunal of the Holy Office was suppressed in 1834; at the end of the eighteenth century, when the English Atlantic supremacy was unquestionable and Gibraltar (English territory since 1713) had become a key strategic point of English colonial expansion and control, Spain was still actively involved in an anti-English politics – the Spanish contribution to American Independence is possibly the major example.⁴⁴

The English were alert to what Barbara Fuchs describes as “maurophilia”, that is the Spanish “love of the moor” that characterised and further complicated the construction of early modern Spain. Early modern Spaniards, Fuchs contends, far from crafting an ideal image of themselves void of Moorish elements, retained part of this culture, especially in fashion and literature.⁴⁵ The English too tended to orientalise Spain and to mark its ‘moorishness’; they did this in ways which ultimately marked Spain’s alienation from Europe. In other words, there was a common acknowledgment (instrumental or not) of the presence of the Islamic element within Iberia but it was employed to opposite effects.

In contrast, Spanish culture did not ridicule the English in the same way. Recent literature has strengthened the claim according to which not only Spaniards did not foster “grotesque exaggerations” of the English but also that they positively engaged with prominent English figures. A fascinating case is offered by Sir Francis Drake who entered Spain as “Francisco Draque” and was perceived, regardless of his nationality and role, as a “witty, eloquent and clever master... in the context of the multi-ethnic Atlantic world”: he was, in short, an enemy but a respectable one.⁴⁶ In the same way, *La Espanola Inglesa*, a tale written by Cervantes in 1613 does not openly represent prejudices toward English people.⁴⁷

The majority of scholarly investigations into Anglo-Iberian relations deal with Anglo-Spanish accounts rather than Anglo-Portuguese ones. Undoubtedly, the fact that Dutch travellers’ reports – not English ones – represented the main reference used in order to build the Portuguese version of the Black Legend is meaningful precisely in the

⁴⁴ See Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe, 1450-1789* (Cambridge University Press, 2006); See also Robin W. Winks and Lee Palmer Wandel, *Europe in a Wider World 1350-1650* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁴⁵ Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009) and from the same author *Passing for Spain. Cervantes and the Fiction of Identity* (University of Illinois Press, 2003). See also Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (Yale University Press, 2003).

⁴⁶ Elizabeth R. Wright, “A Spanish Hero with an English Accent,” in *Material and Symbolic Circulation*, ed. Cruz, 29-38.

⁴⁷ Miguel De Cervantes, *La Espanola Inglesa*. For Cervantes in England see Dale J. Randall, *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England: the Tapestry Turned* (Oxford University Press, 2009). See also Ronald Paulson, *Don Quixote in England. The Aesthetics of Laughter* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

light of Luso-Dutch tensions surrounding the control of some strategic territories overseas.⁴⁸ Such accounts described the tendency of Portuguese colonists to “go native” in the Indies as the ultimate reason for the decline of their maritime Empire. Such tendency was a degeneration, a moral bankruptcy: it was due to an “oriental” allure (most often the allure of Indian women) that Portuguese men could not resist that the irreversible decline of their Empire was set in motion.⁴⁹ In conjunction with this, the endemic corruption in the management of Portuguese trades (overseas and internal) seems to have been another reason for the development of anti-Portuguese stereotypes.⁵⁰

Thus, both Spaniards and the Portuguese were victims of a notorious Legend; in both cases, the oppression of indigenous people as well as vague references to the Orient stood as prominent features. Both legends, moreover, were the results of intricate political alliances and strategies in the wider European panorama. Nonetheless, the Spanish were, in comparison with Portuguese people, the subjects of a significantly deeper English aversion. In this last respect, it cannot pass unnoticed that, even if both countries were vehemently Catholic, it was only the Spanish way of experiencing the faith that was reflected in English accounts and stereotypes.

In this section I have sketched out how Anglo-Iberian studies originated and developed and I have also selected and synthesized their main lessons. Thus, I have outlined geo-political, commercial and economic issues and also cultural concerns related to both events and perceptions; these were not isolated spheres. Food – as other commodities– moved from Iberia to England in early modern times. In the upcoming section, I will thus focus on the ways early modern people, in particular Spanish and English people, approached food and its consumption.

Early Modern Western Approaches to Food and Drink

In early modern Europe, culinary and medical knowledge were far from being distinct fields due to their separate but nevertheless interrelated, overlapping connotations: “from ancient times until well into the eighteenth century the art of cooking was an essential part of medicine”.⁵¹ As a consequence, early modern medical literature contains a vast

⁴⁸ See, for instance, Charles Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969).

⁴⁹ Carmen Nocentelli, “Discipline and Love. Linshoten and the Estado da India,” in *Rereading the Black Legend*, ed., Greer, Mignolo and Quilligan, 205-224.

⁵⁰ George Davison Winius, *The Black Legend of Portuguese India: Diogo Do Couto, His Contemporaries*, accessed Feb 23, 2015, <https://bit.ly/2QEbOdl>.

⁵¹ Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex?: Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Harvard University Press, 1991), 112. The same point is made in Mary Lindeman, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press 1999), 194, and in Ken Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe*, 214-225. For a comprehensive account see Lawrence Conrad, ed., et al., *The*

array of information that pertains to the domain of “health”, a domain that we can define as a combination of “the culinary” and of “the medical” in our contemporary, western sense. Following a well-grounded historiographical consensus which underlines the extent to which people in the past were intently concerned with their diets, Ken Albala defines the early modern western approach to food, and its digestibility, as the obsession of the people with “eating right”.⁵²

Two classical authors had a profound influence on early modern attitudes toward well-being, namely: Hippocrates and Galen. It is not an exaggeration to claim that these two were the authorities within European medicine for, at least, fifteen centuries.⁵³ To be sure the extent to which Renaissance Galenism was faithful to the original Galenic doctrine is controversial and much debated among specialists. The early modern elimination of any reference to the Arabic and Jewish medieval influences that formed an important part of the Galenic medieval tradition (from at least from the ninth century) is still under investigation.⁵⁴ What is unquestionably clear is that Hippocrates’s and Galen’s works were prescriptive in nature: rather than being a corpus of notions written to cure sick patients they were instructions given to prevent men and women from becoming sick. Galen’s systemic approach to both body and food had no other purpose but to encourage human beings to live healthily as well as to act ethically (in this sense, Juvenal’s “*mens sana in corpore sano*” reflects this Galenic principle).

According to Hippocrates, food and drink, like everything else, consists of the four elements of earth, fire, water and air, and the human body is composed of the same elements in the form of “humours”; Galen restated Hippocrates “in more sophisticated form” as well as emphasising the role of food and its consumption in maintaining health and preventing sickness.⁵⁵ As a result, Galenism became the dominant, theoretical medical framework of Western Europe.⁵⁶ Still in accordance with Hippocrates’s view,

Western Medical Tradition 800 B.C. to 1800 A.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1995), esp. 292-446. For a recent account see David Gentilcore, *Food and Health in Early Modern Europe: Diet, Medicine and Society, 1450-1800* (London: Bloomsbury 2015).

⁵² Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley University Press, 2002).

⁵³ Hippocrates (460-370 B.C) is universally acknowledged as the “father of western Medicine” and lived at the time of the Athenian democracy. Like Hippocrates Galen (129-199 A.D.) was Greek and lived in Rome serving, among others, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius as his personal physician.

⁵⁴ Galen’s works – which total almost 1/8 of all the Greek literature we possess – are only partially translated. This has created major problems of interpretation. See Stefania Fortuna, “Galeno e le sue Traduzioni,” in *Comunicare la Cultura Antica, i Quaderni del Ramo d’Oro on-line* 5 (2012), 112-122, accessed Mar 1, 2015, <https://bit.ly/2BY7VZ2>. For some English recent translation of Galenic dietetics see Mark Grant, *Galen on Food and Diet* (London: Routledge, 2000) and R. J. Hankinson, *Galen. On Antecedent Causes* (Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁵⁵ Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore. Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London: University of California Press, 1967), 11.

⁵⁶ For Galen, fundamental for the English reader are Owsei Temkin, *Galenism. Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (Cornell University Press, 1973); Vivian Nutton, “The Fortune of Galen,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. R. J. Hankinson (Cambridge University Press, 2009). See also Jacalyn Duffin, *History of Medicine. A Scandalously Short Introduction* (Toronto

Galen stressed the role of digestion in transforming food and drink into juices (*succi* in Latin), i.e. the bodily fluids: the so-called *humours*. Digestion was often compared to the activity of a kitchen: “the stomach cooks the food by means of heat”, it was believed.⁵⁷ In the same way, the four elements were transformed, via digestion, into blood, phlegm, yellow and black bile providing the nutrients and energy that the body required. “Temperaments” and “qualities” further complicated the matter: the former - “sanguine,” “choleric,” “phlegmatic” and “melancholic” - were the prime characteristics of people. “Hot”, “cold”, “dry” and “wet” were the qualities attributed to food that were in turn linked (in combinations) to the four elements. Food was understood to be ingested and digested and, in so doing, turned into the humours. Since Renaissance authors (following one of the core Greek axioms) understood the body, soul and mind to be indissolubly linked, food consumption and its digestion ultimately affected the nature of human thoughts, potentially leading not only confusion and disruption but also to sin.⁵⁸ The following table helps visualise the prime features of humoral theory as well as identifying its main correspondences.

| ELEMENT | HUMOUR | TEMPERAMENT | QUALITIES |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| Fire | Yellow bile | Choleric | Hot and Dry |
| Earth | Black bile | Melancholic | Cold and Dry |
| Water | Phlegm | Phlegmatic | Cold and Wet |
| Air | Blood | Sanguine | Hot and Wet |

Table 1.1 – Humoral correspondences.

Within humoralism nothing worked in isolation: the strict nexus between food and health underpinned the claim that the ideal condition of bodily and mental health was the result of an ideal balance among the humours. Moreover, it was believed that each humour had to be present in the body in a specific quantity; they were not meant to be present in equal measures. Crucially, the excess or lack of humours caused diseases but not every deviation from the state of equilibrium was considered a disease; an ample spectrum of conditions existed between health and sickness. The basic insight here is that the vast majority of human diseases were supposed to be cured by an appropriate diet; more properly, sickness should be prevented with a good diet.

However, a preventive diet was not the exclusive way in which men and women could aspire to reach an experience of perfect bodily balance; it was just one *conditio sine qua non*. According to Galen, anatomical changes and mechanical malfunctions, as well as, for instance, accidental injuries, had little relation to food ingestion. Moreover, some

University Press, 1999). For the Italian reader I suggest Giorgio Cosmacini and Martino Menghi, *Galeno e il Galenismo. Scienza e Idee della Salute* (Franco Angeli Edizioni, 2012).

⁵⁷ Albala, *Eating Right*, 57. The same point is expressed in Massimo Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, trans. Carl Ipsen (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 61.

⁵⁸ Albala, *Eating Right*, 63.

other crucial factors beyond food, identified in the Middle Ages in Baghdad and North Africa, had to be taken into account due to their influence on the body. The air, the motion or rest of the body, the state of sleep or wakefulness, excretion or retention of superfluities and, finally, the emotions were all understood to be factors that affected health: these, with food, constituted the six *non-naturals*. As a result, dietetics, understood as a preventive, medical practice, configured itself as a highly individual-centred discipline, since every person was dynamically originated by the interrelation of levels of humours on one hand and the non-naturals on the other. And yet, the lack of control over the emotions, or “the passions of the soul”, was particularly problematic.⁵⁹

Among the six *non-naturals*, the role of the air was especially meaningful. In a wider sense, air was synonymous with environment. Air affected people but also plants and animals: there was a causal connection between air and food. The environment as a whole, including not only air but also water and the land, was a key variable in understanding the living beings which inhabited it.⁶⁰ But air, the basic element people constantly and necessarily breathe to stay alive, was also crucial indoors. Air could be “conditioned” with a number of scented substances in order to preserve or restore health. It is well-known that since the late Middle Ages, some scents were very specifically employed in times of plague. So, to speak about scents in the early modern period means to speak, even if possibly not exclusively, of a clear association between scents and notions of well-being and the preservation of health, following Galenic and Hippocratic principles concerning the air, as well as the porosity of the human body.⁶¹

To what extent were Galenic insights actually observed and by whom? The writings of doctors and physicians might well describe ideal diets rather than real ones and the vast majority of early modern people might never have come across their works. And yet, that early modern medical and cultural knowledge was widespread and, in particular, that the popularity of humoralism was extensive, regardless of gender or social class, seems to be one of the few points generally agreed by scholars. Moreover, borrowing, for instance, from Margaret Pelling’s studies, we know that “although the structure and practice of medicine was often hierarchical”, with physicians, surgeons and barber-surgeons standing as the sole professionalized figures, cures, recipes and

⁵⁹ See, for instance, Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, ed., *Reading the Early Modern Passions. Essays in the Cultural History of Emotions* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) and Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁶⁰ See, for instance, Andrew Wear, “Making Sense of Health and the Environment in Early Modern England,” in *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays*, ed. Andrew Wear (Cambridge University Press, 1982).

⁶¹ See, for instance, Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey, *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford University Press, 2013); Michael Solomon, *Fictions of Well-being: Sickly Readers and Vernacular Medical Writing in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

techniques naturally moved across socially-constructed barriers⁶² In other words, conscious or unconscious, learned or not, the ways to face “the common lot” were widely socially and culturally shared: food and environment were taken into consideration by men and women at all levels of the social scale.⁶³

Still, early modern authors seem to reshape Galenic doctrines on food at their own convenience. In short, classical humoralism was widely accepted and followed as a theoretical framework but frequently and dramatically adjusted according to the aims of the writer. Fish, for instance, was habitually considered a watery, phlegmatic food and, as a consequence, too easily corruptible. More than one author, however, stressed its great value and digestibility and a Spanish scholar in 1630 actually recommended it to students.⁶⁴ Again, traditional knowledge praised the quality of chicken and rejected beef, describing it as almost indigestible; however, for English writers “this assumption was nearly impossible to accept and they eventually lifted the classical ban on it”.⁶⁵

The introduction of different food and beverages from the New Worlds – most strikingly potatoes, tomatoes, chilli, and chocolate – is likely to be one of the reasons why humoralism witnessed a process of “de-popularisation” during late early modernity.⁶⁶ Early modern followers of Galen struggled to coherently fit new products into the dietetic system. They also struggled to incorporate new drugs that seemed to work for everyone indiscriminately, since they contradicted Galen’s approach to the individual body as something quite unique (given the number of combinations between naturals and non-naturals that could potentially form it). To be sure, also the emergence of new diseases challenged Galenism – as the Black Death had already done almost two centuries earlier. Paracelsus’s (1493-1541) stress on the properties as well as right quantities of minerals such as sulphur, salt and mercury and their use as proper medicines had already begun undermining Galen’s authority; Vesalius’s *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543) and William Harvey’s *De motu cordis* (1628) further contributed to this process.

Albala suggests that between 1530 and 1650 Galen’s authority passed from being undisputed to being questioned by those hyper-specialized individuals able to understand the challenges described above.⁶⁷ Moreover, although during the period 1530-1570 medical literatures witnessed a new wave of fascination for the Greek author,

⁶² Margaret Pelling, *The Common Lot. Sickness, Medical Occupations and the Urban Poor in Early England* (London: Longman, 1998), 1.

⁶³ See Peter Elmer ed., *Healing Arts: Health, Disease and Society in Europe, 1500-1800*, (Manchester University Press, 2004), esp. 284-443. See also Roy Porter, “The Patient in England, c. 1660-c. 1800,” in *Medicine and Society*, ed. Wear, 91-118.

⁶⁴ Albala, *Eating Right*, 44, about the Spanish-born Ludovico Nonnius.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁶ The literature on the “new food” is huge. The book to read is Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange. Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973), though the author has been criticised because of his environmental determinism. See in this respect, the preface to the second edition of the book, published in 2003.

⁶⁷ Albala, *Eating Right*, 25-47.

from 1570 onwards Galenism's popularity slowly decreased until his doctrines were almost completely abandoned inside universities and scientific societies from around 1650. And yet, Hippocrates had a resurgence in the 17th-19th century and many practices which had been based on humouralism, such as bloodletting, continued. As Glacken puts it, "respect for Hippocrates and Galen continues, but they seem now more and more like consultants than like fountainheads of knowledge".⁶⁸

I started this section speaking about early modern medical literature. However, the way of making sense of food, the body and health described so far – the idea, in other words, that medicine was mostly preventive and understood in terms of regulation by means of food consumption – overtly discussed in medical texts, is also perceivable within recipe books, and especially manuscript compilations. This is the reason why the study of recipe books has led to many scholarly works which, to different degrees, speak of early modern women as "domestic healers".⁶⁹

* * *

My own PhD offers a detailed analysis of one particular set of transnational and translated food practices: the adoption and adaptation of Iberian foodstuffs and kitchen knowledge in early modern England. This PhD is grounded in the realisation that the striking majority of overt references to Spanish and Portuguese culinary practices within English early modern sources are to be found in printed and manuscript recipe books – most of the times as recipes in their own right.⁷⁰ Throughout, I emphasise the textual as well as contextual complexity of early modern recipe collections, and recipes, on the one hand, and their potential to illuminate transnational and intercultural encounters, on the other. Such complexity and potential, which in different ways characterised both printed and manuscript experiences, informs this work *tout court*.

⁶⁸ Glacken, *Traces*, 460. See also David Cantor, ed., *Reinventing Hippocrates* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

⁶⁹ Rebecca, Laroche, *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550-1650* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009). Leong, "Collecting Knowledge" and "Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82, no. 1 (2008), 145-168; Pennell, "'A Matter of So Great Importance to My Health': Alimentary Knowledge in Practice," in *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 43, (2012), 418-424. For Spain see: Cabré, "Women or Healers? Household Practices and the Categories of Health Care in Late Medieval Iberia," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82, no. 1 (2008), 18-51. See also: Alisha Rankin, *Panacea's Daughters: Noblewomen as Healers in Early Modern Germany* (Chicago University Press, 2013).

⁷⁰ Among other printed sources, I have systematically analysed via "word-searching" engines all the early modern English medical texts available and found no open references to Iberian kitchen knowledge. These texts are gathered within the "EMEMT corpus". The relative CD forms part of Irma Taavitsainen and Pahta Päivi, ed. *Early Modern English Medical Texts: Corpus Description and Studies* (John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010). More information available at: <https://bit.ly/2QogmRx>.

This PhD is divided into two main parts. Part I, “printed sources”, engages with all the recipes acknowledged as Spanish and Portuguese as well as other minor invocations, visible to English readers within recipe collections in print from 1500 to 1680. These recipes are exclusively of a culinary nature. Chapter 2 contextualises these Iberian recipes, emphasising the material transmission, and translation, of the recipes themselves; their availability in print; and their social and religious contexts, at times evidently courtly and informed by Roman Catholicism. While Chapter 3 looks closely at “Portuguese recipes”, Chapter 4 does the same for “Spanish invocations”: these titles aim to stress that invocations of Spanish items are more numerous, and meaningful, than specific references to Portuguese foods and practices. Beyond a careful analysis of the texts of the recipes, which are frequently hard to follow, the most challenging, yet rewarding, feature of Chapters 3 and 4 is my attempt to compare and contrast these English recipes associated with Iberia with related equivalents, by setting them in the context of all pre-modern Spanish and Portuguese collections which have survived the centuries. The English imagination of Iberian culinary practises, as visible within printed recipe, can also be recovered.

Part II, “manuscript sources”, after having surveyed the vast majority of the early modern English exemplars we still possess, reads closely the only four recipe books informed by certainly authentic, and substantial, Iberian recipes.⁷¹ These four sources, examined in chronological order in Chapters 5 to 8, represent extraordinary texts not only for the study of the transmission and reception of Iberian recipes in early modern England, but also for the study of pre-modern Iberian recipe knowledge *tout court*. Chapters 5 and 6, in particular, engage with two astonishingly substantial sets of recipes which could each form the basis for scholarly editions in their own rights. The manuscript discussed in Chapter 6 exclusively concerns Portuguese and Spanish recipes for the making of perfumes for gloves and rooms, as well as a few other cosmetic items. Extremely significantly, some of these recipes clearly descend from, and indeed integrate, Iberian manuscripts, including the so-called *Livro de Receptas de Pivetes, Pastilhas e Luvas Perfumadas y Conserbas*. Ultimately, Chapter 6 fills a significant, and unjustified, gap, in scholarship on early modern Iberian recipe collections by not simply devoting attention to non-edible recipes which have so far been almost completely neglected; but, in fact, explaining them.⁷²

The recipes at the centre of Chapter 5 can be understood with a high degree of confidence as the product of a defined circle of individuals, all English Catholic recipe

⁷¹ During my survey of manuscript compilations, I have found few other sparse recipes acknowledged as Spanish. Most certainly, these recipes were copied from some of the printed recipes which Part I discusses.

⁷² Cfr. Laura Vegas Sobrino, “Perfumadores, Frutereros y Confiteros: Recipientes Para Exhibir el Lujo Sensorial Entre la Nobleza Castellana del Siglo XV,” in *Anales de Historia de Arte* 24 (2014), 577-592, is the only scholar who looks at perfumes in a certain depth.

devotees: they are Thomas Lodge, Lady Anne Dacre Howard, Countess of Arundel, and Lady Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria. Sir Richard Fanshawe was also possibly Catholic: Chapter 7 explores his family recipe book which provides Iberian recipes collected by both him and, most notably, by his wife, Lady Ann Fanshawe, during and after Fanshawe's diplomatic missions in Spain and Portugal in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is very likely that Sir Martin Westcombe was also Catholic: Chapter 8, rooted in the consular and civic experience of this Englishman in Cadiz, focuses on the variety of Iberian recipes he collected during the mid to late seventeenth century. In contrast, with the exception of their Englishness, nothing can be said with confidence about the individuals connected to the recipes at the centre of Chapter 6: though I argue strongly for the presence of a man of medicine, probably an apothecary, as its translator, and suggest an intended audience of upper-class, possibly Catholic women.

To answer the question of how Iberian recipe expertise reached England in the early modern period requires the researcher not only to situate the sources within the network of the individuals directly or indirectly mentioned; it also means, wherever possible, to engage with the ways in which the text has been translated.⁷³ Part II engages with exceptional surviving evidence of the practice of recipe translation in the early modern period, disclosing specific Anglo-Iberian concerns. Again it is Chapter 6, in this sense, which is the richest of the entire thesis: it discusses the example of a translator who includes a commentary about the methods employed, demonstrating not only the key intermediation of the Spanish language, but also the complexity and intrinsic limits of such an act.

⁷³ To my knowledge there is no scholarship on the very act of translating recipes in the early modern period. Cfr. Matteo Valleriani ed. *The Structures of Practical Knowledge* (Springer, 2017). For early modern translations in general see: Sara K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington, ed., *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473-1640* (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2013); Peter Burke, ed., *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); Harold J. Cook and Sven Duprè ed. *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Zurich: Lit, 2012); Tania Demetriou and Rowan Tomlinson, ed. *The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France, 1500-1660* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Brenda M. Hosington, "Translation and Print Culture in Early Modern Europe," *Renaissance Studies* 29, No. 1 (2011): 1-18; Andrew Pettegree, "Translation and the Migration of Texts," in *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Betteridge (Routledge, 2007).

**PART I:
PRINTED SOURCES**

2.

Contextualising Iberian Recipes in English Printed Recipe Books

The early modern period did not witness any English translation of Iberian printed recipe collections. No Italian, French or German translation of Iberian texts existed either.¹ In effect, Spanish and Portuguese culinary enterprises did not cross national boundaries at all.² Not least because of the “foundationally francophone character of early English printing and the preponderance of vernacular translation from French into English” some French recipe collections, as we will see, successfully entered English markets and houses; a couple of Italian volumes made it to England as well.³ Some would argue, ultimately, that the circulation of French and Italian recipe books reflects the impact of these two cultures as the obligatory points of reference and comparison in early modern England.⁴

Should we then conclude that English readers could have not accessed Iberian food knowledge or elements recognised as such throughout the early modern period? Simply browsing the first early modern English recipe book to survive, printed in 1500, this conclusion is immediately undermined: the volume contains directions “To make bruet of Spayne”.⁵ Among the several thousand recipes which passed through the English printing press between 1500 and 1680, inclusive of those originally composed in French and in Italian, recipes which display an overt association with Spain or Portugal in their titles, like the one just above quoted, do exist – for every two recipe books available to be purchased in the period it is possible to find at least one Iberian recipe. Statistically speaking, these occurrences constitute an almost ‘negligible data’, representing less than 1% of all printed recipes: their significance for the study of the transmission and reception of Iberian culinary knowledge in early modern England is, nonetheless, unquestionable.

Chapters 3 and 4 analyse, respectively, the *content* of the Portuguese and Spanish recipes which made it into English texts. In this preliminary account, I offer an overview, contextualising my sources (both recipes and recipe books) as much as possible. This operation is essential if we are to appreciate the complex transmission of these texts in time

¹ A claim grounded on Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, and indirectly confirmed by: a). my extensive reading of early modern printed recipe collections; b). the lack of any mention of translations of Spanish printed collections within appropriate scholarship.

² The same observation can easily be applied to the English counterpart, with the notable exceptions of W.J., *A True Gentlewoman’s Delight*, 1653 and Hannah Woolley, *The Ladies Delights*, 1672 which were translated into German in 1674 and 1700 respectively. Cfr. Henry Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 81 and 110.

³ Anne E. B. Coldiron, *Printers Without Borders* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 14-15.

⁴ For some recent accounts see: Michele Marrapodi, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Anglo-Italian Renaissance Literature and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2017); Catherine Gimelli Martin, and Hassan Melehy, *French Connections in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁵ Anon., [*This is the Boke of Cokery*], Sig. [h.iii].

in their textual, material as well as cultural dimension – this latter, I suggest, in some notable instances markedly informed by Roman Catholicism.

* * *

Let me start with two small, yet illuminating, cases. *The Compleat Cook* and *The Perfect English Cook*, respectively printed in 1655 and 1656, promise with particular emphasis to convey foreign schools of cookery, from their very title-pages. As figure 2.1 shows, the first of these two recipe books employs a macroscopic left curling bracket at the middle of the page, with seemingly no hierarchical stress, alerting the “most ready wayes” to learn culinary techniques, including Spanish.⁶ The second volume, instead, assures its readers that it will deliver “the right method of the whole Art of Cookery, with the true ordering of French, Spanish and Italian Kickshaws, with Alamode varieties for Persons of Honour” at a time in which the word “kickshaws” could have meant curious, or fancy; certainly not an ‘insubstantial dish’ as would be the case today.⁷

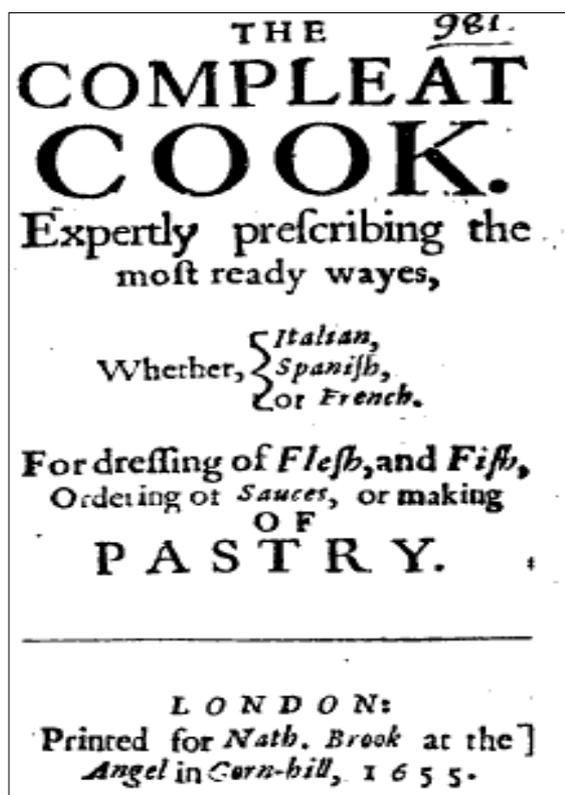


Figure 2.1 – Anon., *The Compleat Cook*, 1655, title-page.

⁶ Anon., *The Compleat Cook*, 1655, title-page.

⁷ Mounsiour Marnettè, *The Perfect Cook*, 1656, title-page. Cfr. OED, s.v. “Kickshaw”.

These two short episodes, if told in this simple way, are correct but misrepresentative. In fact, the macroscopic bracket overtly indicating Spanish ways in *The Compleat Cook* is actually echoed by just three recipes acknowledged as such within the entire volume. *The Perfect English Cook* furnishes only one Spanish recipe. Furthermore, *The Compleat Cook* and *The Perfect English Cook* not only contain some Spanish recipes; they also furnish one recipe each for a Portuguese dish, even if there is no trace of a ‘Portuguese cuisine’ understood as such in their frontispieces.⁸ Deceptively or not, the title pages of English recipe books never mention Portugal or Portuguese ways.⁹ In other words: while the extent to which these title-pages capture the real content of their text is debatable, what is clear is that English readers could have observed immediate references to Spanish culinary traditions, next to prominent French and Italian ways, but no manifest indication to Portugal was visible – even if English recipe books actually contained some Portuguese recipes.

Moreover, both these texts have their own distinctive material existences. *The Compleat Cook* was published as such for many years, but from 1679 until 1698 it was bound together within the *The Queens Closet Opened*, forming the third (not second) section thereof.¹⁰ From the very first edition, *The Perfect English Cook* followed *The Perfect Cook*, constituting in this way a ‘two-volume book’.¹¹

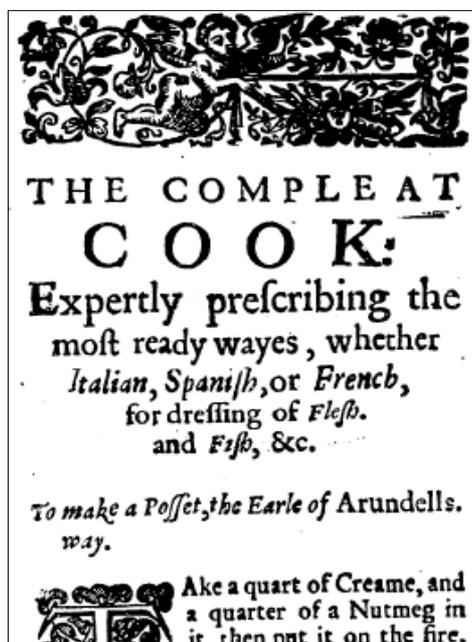


Figure 2.2 – Anon., *The Compleat Cook*, 1655, page 3.

Furthermore, while the *The Compleat Cook* was anonymous, opening with “To make a Posset, the Earle of Arundells. way.” (fig.2.2), a certain Mounsieur Marnettè, a French man, of whom nothing else is known, signed the dedicatory epistle which opens both *The Perfect Cook* and *The Perfect English Cook*. There, he recalled his “Forreign Parents”, self-defining himself as “myself, the Translator” of *Le Pâtissier François* which the *The Perfect Cook* translates, and expressing his desire to “proceed to the Englishing of other Tretises” also.¹²

⁸ Within table 2.1, these collections are sources 28 and 29.

⁹ For an account of early modern “front matters” (like titles) and the text see Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

¹⁰ Cfr. Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 90.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 95.

¹² Mounsieur Marnettè, *The Perfect Cook*, 1655, “The Epistle Dedicatory”, left page of A5.

Table 2.1 gives the titles of the Iberian recipes which Part I of this thesis discusses and a few other pieces of key information. It alternates grey and white rows, emphasising, in this way, recipe books, not recipes. It can easily be read together with the bibliography, where the printed recipe books are not only listed in chronological order but also numbered – numbering which table 2.1 follows. For example: the second line of the table refers to the third English recipe book consulted, here expressed as “[3]”, printed the first time in 1558 and the last time in 1595: this was the best-seller *The Secretes of the Reuerende Maister Alexis of Piemount*, originally written by Girolamo Ruscelli (1500-1566) in Italian but rendered into English via French, hence “FR” next to the number (a unique case of double translation here). The relevant recipe is the second ever Iberian recipe acknowledged within English printed collections; hence it is numbered “2”. In this case, given that the recipe also returns in fifth position, the occurrence is expressed through “[5]” at the end of the line and the title of the recipe itself is in a smaller font.

The movement of recipes from one volume to another represents an extremely important aspect of early modern printed recipe culture in general.¹³ What might be unexpected, and certainly unexplored so far by scholars, is that, at times, while changing collection the recipes also change their titles: for instance, recipe number 55 is identical, with minor variations, to recipe 46, even if their titles are clearly different. Recipe 33 is a shortened version of recipe 26. On the contrary, recipes 43 and 53, which have the same titles as recipe 10, are identical to each other but different from the latter text.

Just by looking at table 2.1 with some attention, several observations can be immediately made. First of all: Spanish recipes greatly predominate over Portuguese ones. Out of 55 recipes, 17 were described as Portuguese, and the remaining 38 as Spanish; by taking into account the circulation of the same texts within different collections, the ratio changes to 15 distinctive Portuguese recipes on the one hand and 27 equally different Spanish recipes on the other. Secondly: some collections ultimately contributed much more than others to the diffusion of recipes understood as Iberian. In effect, while sources 31 and 32 contain the highest numbers (eight and five recipes respectively), a few other recipe books, including source 1, 11 and 30, give just one Iberian dish each. Yet, source 32 borrows widely from a number of other recipe collections, including number 31. Thirdly: English recipe books recognise proper “domains” of Iberian expertise. Preservation through sugar of fruits and flowers on the one hand, and dressing of eggs on the other, constitute the two most clearly visible of these domains. Less noticeable (given the not immediately intelligible nature of some recipes) is the number of other sweet preparations, like creams, paps and tarts; but also of meat-based dishes given as Iberian, including a number of “olios” (only associated with Spain). What is impossible to fully comprehend from the table is the presence of vegetables in quantity, beyond cardoons

¹³ Cfr. Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 8-9.

(recipe 18) and including potatoes, as well as the complete absence of directions to make fish. Certainly eye-catching, moreover, is the recipe for “Spanish Chaculata”, the only case of a drink among these preparations.

| SOURCES | | RECIPES | |
|---------|---------|---------|---|
| [1] | 1500-33 | 1. | Bruet of Spayne; |
| [3] FR | 1558-95 | 2. | To confite peches after the Spanyshe facion; [5] |
| [7] | 1587-94 | 3. | To make Farts of Portingale; |
| | | 4. | To make conserue of quinces after the manner of Spaine; |
| [9] | 1597-06 | 5. | To confite peaches after the Spanish fashion; [2] |
| [10] | 1597 | 6. | How to make Farts of Portingale; |
| | | 7. | How to make Fystes of Portingale; |
| | | 8. | To make Spanish balles; |
| [11] IT | 1598 | 9. | IT. To make Miraus of Spaine; |
| [12] | 1602-56 | 10. | To preserue Orenge after the Portugall fashion; |
| [13] | 1608-56 | 11. | To candy marigolds in wedges the Spanish fashion; [39;54] |
| [14] | 1615-95 | 12. | Olepotrige ... “esteemed in all Spaine”; |
| [19] | 1639-67 | 13. | To preserve all kind of flowers in the Spanish candy in wedges; [14] |
| [20] | 1653-56 | 14. | To preserve all kind of flowers in the Spanish candy in wedges; [13] |
| [22] | 1653-87 | 15. | To candie all kind of floures in wayes of the Spanish Candie; [16;38] |
| [23] | 1653-87 | 16. | To candy all kind of floures in wayes of the Spanish candy; [15;38] |
| [24] FR | 1653-73 | 17. | Eggs after the Portugals way; |
| | | 18. | Cardons of Spaine; |
| [27] | 1655-98 | 19. | To candy Spanish flowers; |
| | | 20. | To candy citrons after the Spanish way; |
| [28] | 1655-98 | 21. | A Spanish creame; |
| | | 22. | To make a Portugall Dish; |
| | | 23. | To make Spanish Pappe; |
| | | 24. | A Spanish Olio; |
| [29] | 1656-86 | 25. | To make small minced pies according to the Spanish fashion; |
| | | 26. | The manner to dress Eggs according to the Portugal manner; [33] |
| [30] | 1658 | 27. | To make Capon pyes Spanish fashion; |
| [31] | 1660-85 | 28. | To make an Olio Podrida; |
| | | 29. | Forcing in the Spanish fashion in balls; |
| | | 30. | To dress oxe cheeks in stofadoe, or the Spanish fashion; |
| | | 31. | To souce or jelly a pig in the Spanish fashion; |
| | | 32. | To make the Portingal Tarts for Banqueting; |
| | | 33. | The fifth way in the Portugal Fashion; [26] |
| | | 34. | To dress eggs in the Spanish fashion, called, wivos me quidos; [36] |
| | | 35. | To dress eggs in the Portugal Fashion; [37] |
| [32] | 1661-82 | 36. | To dress eggs in the Spanish fashion; [34] |
| | | 37. | To dress eggs in the Portugal fashion; [35] |
| | | 38. | To candie all sorts of flowers after the Spanish way; [15; 16] |
| | | 39. | To candie marigolds in wedges, the Spanish fashion; [11; 54] |
| | | 40. | To make a Portugal pie; |
| [33] | 1662 | 41. | To make Spanish Chaculata; [51] |
| | | 42. | To candy the Spanish candy; [49] |
| [35] | 1664-77 | 43. | To preserve Oranges after the Portugal Fashion; [53] |
| [37] | 1669-77 | 44. | An excellent Spanish cream; |
| | | 45. | Portugal Broth, as it was made for the Queen; |
| | | 46. | A plain but good Spanish oglia; [55] |
| | | 47. | Portuguez Eggs; |
| [38] | 1670-84 | 48. | To make the Portugal Eggs; |
| | | 49. | The Spanish Candy; [42;52] |
| | | 50. | To make Spanish Pap; |

| | | | |
|------|----------------|---|----------|
| [39] | 1672 | 51. To make Spanish chaculate; | [41] |
| | | 52. To candy the Spanish candy; | [42; 49] |
| [42] | 1675-77 | 53. To preserve oranges after the Portugal fashion; | [43] |
| | | 54. To candy marigolds in wedges, the Spanish fashion; | [11; 39] |
| | | 55. To make a good Spanish olio; | [46] |

Table 2.1 – Recipes acknowledged as Iberian in English printed recipe books.

When we focus on the type of recipe books in which these Iberian texts were gathered a two-fold pattern emerges.¹⁴ On the one hand, recipes for the dressing of eggs and the preparation of meat-based dishes are to be found in the very vast majority of the cases in *cookbooks* – it is worth noting, in this respect, that all the recipe collections not originally written in English, thus Italian and French, with the exception of source 3 (the *Secretes* already mentioned), were *cookbooks*. On the other hand, recipes for the preservation of fruits and flowers greatly informed that particular type of English collections usually defined as “women’s recipe books” or “books of secrets”. From a *genre* viewpoint, the anomaly from this otherwise quite clear transmission of recipes announced as Iberian is represented by Gervase Markham’s *The English Husvife* – source 14. This best-selling book belongs to the category of so-called “how-to” manuals which concern the ‘management of the household’ on the whole.

Like all printed recipes, these Iberian recipes have their own ‘life in print’: a life spent within the printed collection in which they originally appeared, as well as their eventual subsequent re-prints. As should be clear by now, some of these recipes have life in other collections and editions as well. Table 2.2, which is basically a timeline, helps to visualise the *longevity in print* of the recipes. Given the distribution of the recipes in time, I have decided to represent the period 1550-1700, thus not including recipe 1. Within the table, Spanish recipes are coloured in red while Portuguese ones are in green. When only the number of a given recipe is visible, it is placed in correspondence to the only year in which it was printed. Commencing at the bottom end of table 2.2, the five colours in the background represent: fruits and flowers; sweet treats; eggs; meat-based dishes and, finally in green, vegetables. These are to be considered loose borders: not every recipe perfectly fits these categories. It is worth making it clear that recipe 41 (and 51), about chocolate, divides the table in two: the recipes below, all require sugar; the recipes above do not. Sugar, which from the middle of the seventeenth-century onwards reached England in enormous quantities, still could have been found on English tables in significant amounts from at least half a century earlier.¹⁵

¹⁴ Cfr. *Introduction*, 10-11.

¹⁵ Joe Stobard, *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1650-1830* (Oxford University Press), esp. 18-30. See also Jon Kepler, “Estimates of the Volume of Direct Shipments of Tobacco and Sugar from the Chief English Plantations to European Markets, 1620-1669,” in *The Journal of European Economic History*, no. 1 (1999), 115-136. See also: Stuart B Schwartz,

| | | | |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| | 18. <u>CARDONS</u> | 45. <u>BROTH</u> | |
| | 12. <u>OLEPOTRIGE</u> | <u>OLEPOTRIGE</u> | <u>OLEPOTRIGE</u> |
| | | 24. <u>OLIO</u> | <u>OLIO</u> |
| | | 28. <u>OLIA</u> | <u>PODRIDA</u> |
| | | 45. <u>OGLIA</u> | |
| | 22. <u>DISH</u> | <u>DISH</u> | <u>DISH</u> |
| 6 | | 40. <u>PIE</u> | <u>PIE</u> |
| 7 | 31. <u>PIG</u> | | <u>PIG</u> |
| 8 | 30. <u>OXE</u> | | <u>CHEEKS</u> |
| 9 | 29. <u>BALLS</u> | | <u>BALLS</u> |
| | 25. <u>PIE</u> | | <u>PIE</u> |
| | 27 | | |
| | 33. <u>EGGS</u> | | <u>EGGS</u> |
| | 26. <u>EGGS</u> | | <u>EGGS</u> |
| | 41. <u>CHOC.</u> | 51 | |
| | 48. <u>EGGS</u> | <u>EGGS</u> | |
| | 47. <u>EGGS</u> | | |
| | 34. <u>EGGS</u> | <u>EGGS</u> | 36 |
| | 35. <u>EGGS</u> | <u>EGGS</u> | 37 |
| | 17. <u>EGGS</u> | <u>EGGS</u> | |
| | 32. <u>TART</u> | | <u>TART</u> |
| | 44. <u>CREAM</u> | | |
| | 50. <u>PAPPE</u> | | <u>PAPPE</u> |
| | 23. <u>PAPPE</u> | | <u>PAPPE</u> |
| | 21. <u>CREAME</u> | | <u>CREAME</u> |
| | 3. <u>FARTS</u> | | |
| | 42. <u>CANDY</u> | <u>CANDY</u> | 49+52 |
| | 13-15. <u>ALLEFLOWERS</u> | <u>FLOWERS</u> | <u>FLOWERS</u> 14-16-38 |
| | 11. <u>MARIGOLDS</u> | <u>MARIGOLDS</u> | 39. <u>MARIGOLDS</u> 54 |
| | 4. <u>QUINCES</u> | | 19. <u>FLOWERS</u> |
| | 2. <u>PEACHES</u> | <u>PEACHES</u> | <u>FLOWERS</u> |
| | 5. <u>PEACHES</u> | | 20. <u>CITRONS</u> |
| | 10. <u>ORANGES</u> | <u>ORANGES</u> | <u>CITRONS</u> |
| | 43. <u>ORANGES</u> | <u>ORANGES</u> | 53 |

Table 2.2 – ‘Longevity in Print’ of Iberian Recipes in English recipe books.

Tropical Babels: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680 (University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

Table 2.2 not only effectively shows that Spanish recipes are much more prominent in number than Portuguese ones; it also shows that, taken in their singularities, they also span a longer period of time than Portuguese recipes. The Spanish *Olepotrige* has no equal in this sense. In other words, recipes from Portugal are fewer, and their *cursus* in print is also shorter, to the point of being episodic in a few instances. And yet, directions “To preserue Orenge after the Portugall fashion” are among the longest-lasting preparations acknowledged as Iberian within English recipe books. What table 2.2 also highlights is that Iberian recipes for eggs not only appeared after 1650 but were, with one exception, exclusively associated with Portugal. The macroscopic information which table 2.2 clearly shows is that, taken as a whole, Iberian recipes proliferated from 1650.

If these Iberian recipes have an evident life in print they also have, let me say, a multiplicity of *relationships*. None of them present the names of donors immediately attached to them; yet they are connected, in different ways, to anonymous authors/collectors and also to renowned personalities, chefs English and foreign, both men and women; recipes are also connected to printers and booksellers, with the same names sometimes recurring several times. Indeed, by often moving through different printed books, recipes acquire new printers and booksellers and, at times, new authors/collectors. Ultimately, due to the ontological complexity which characterises recipes, nothing certain can be said in regard to the mentioned *relationships*. Very little can be said of these individuals in general, due to the scarcity of available information. However, something particularly thought-provoking can be highlighted regarding a few of these people; something which sheds some light on their own relations to Spain and Portugal, understood also as Roman Catholic countries.

Edward Allde (d.1628) was the printer of sources 7, 9 and 10. Edward was the son of John, imprisoned in 1568 after being accused of printing philo-Catholic propaganda.¹⁶ Together with Edward White (d.1616), bookseller of source 9, Allde also collaborated in the publication of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* as well as on the translation of a Spanish religious text apparently produced for the Emperor Charles V (1500-1588) by his preacher Don Antonio de Guevara (c.1481-1545).¹⁷ Nothing is known about the declared authors of sources 7 and 9; and source 10 has no declared author in the first place.

Robert May (1588-1664) is the declared author of *The Accomplisht Cook*: source 31, containing 8 Iberian recipes. The volume has been described as “the most important

¹⁶ Edward Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, s.v. “Allde, Aldaye, or Alde (John)” writes: “In October 1568, Allde was imprisoned... for printing a book about the Duke of Alva [Arber, II, 745]... His son Edward became a freeman by patriomy in 1584”.

¹⁷ See Ronald Brunlees McKerrow, “Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer,” in *The Library*, 4th Series, 10 no. 2 (1929), 121-162. See also Allison Kavey, *Books of Secrets: Natural Philosophy in England, 1550-1600*, (University of Illinois Press), esp. 18-25.

English cookery book of the seventeenth century”.¹⁸ Exceptionally for a recipe book it contains “A short Narrative of some passages of the Authors Life” as well as “The Preface” dated “Jan.24.1659” signed “Robert May” in which the man recalls his travels to the Continent as well as the foreign culinary readings he undertook in order to refine his art:

As I lived 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 Authours, whatsoever I found good in them I have inserted in this Volume. I do acknowledge myself not to be a little beholding to the Italian and Spanish Treatises though without my fosterage and bringing up under the Generosities and Bounties of my noble Patrons and Masters, I could never have arrived to this Experience.¹⁹

According to Ken Albala, “May was a professional cook working for several Catholic noble households... like his Patrons, he looked to Catholic Europe for aesthetic inspiration”.²⁰

Elisabeth Talbot Grey, countess of Kent (1582-1651) is the declared collector (and user) of source 22.²¹ Mary Talbot, her mother, converted to Catholicism in adulthood.²² As we will see in Part II of this thesis, Grey’s younger sister entered into marriage with one of the most powerful English Catholic houses of the time. Was she a Catholic herself? We do know that Robert May prepared Grey’s family’s and her guests’ meals as main chef of the household for a number of years.²³ It seems that this Lady never visited the Continent.

William Rabisha (d.1661) author of source 32 was, according to Albala again, “a Catholic exile during the Interregnum, working for much the same sort of patrons as May.”²⁴ Given the absence of information about this man, this assertion derives from the way in which Albala reads between the lines of the letter to the “Impartial Reader” signed

¹⁸ Alan Davidson, Marcus Bell, and Tom Jaine, ed. *Robert May, The Accomplisht Cook, Or the Art and Mystery of Cooking. A Facsimile of the 1685 Edition* (Prosepect Books, 1994), 10.

¹⁹ Robert May, *The Accomplisht Cook*, 1660, preface. Cfr. Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food. Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 90.

²⁰ Albala, *Cooking in Europe*, 173.

²¹ ODNB, s.v. “Grey, Elizabeth [née Lady Elizabeth Talbot].” See Spiller, *Seventeenth-Century English Recipe Books...in the Works of Elizabeth Grey and Aletheia Talbot*, xxxii, [“Introductory Note”].

²² This is Mary Talbot Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury (1557-1632). The ODNB s.v. “Talbot, Gilbert seventh earl of Shrewsbury” specifies that the man (1552–1616) married Mary mentioning “his wife’s open Catholicism” as an issue for the Earl.

²³ ODNB, s.v. “Grey, Elizabeth [née Lady Elizabeth Talbot],” in which it is said “Elizabeth continued to employ and patronize talented persons, such as the cook Robert May.”

²⁴ Albala, *Cooking in Europe*, 174.

by Rabisha which, opening his *The Whole Body of Cookery*, recalls (always generic) travels abroad between the reigns of Charles I and II, as well as banquets in the houses of (always generic) foreign ambassadors and elites.²⁵ On the title-page of his volume, Rabisha claims to provide the reader with recipes “according to the best tradition of the English, French, Italian, Dutch, &c.”. Given that he also offered both Spanish and Portuguese dishes, that “&c.” must thus have referred to these Iberian countries. Had he ever gone there? The Spanish recipes are all taken from other sources, including May, as table 2.1 shows.

Possible collector. Walter Montagu (1603-1677) is usually accepted as the ‘man behind’ the “W.M.” acknowledged in source 27, even if there is no definitive evidence.²⁶ A courtier, especially close to the French and certainly Catholic Queen Henrietta Maria, spouse of Charles I, Montagu “embraced the Catholic faith in 1635”.²⁷ He was regularly on the Continent, including Spain which he visited in the early 1620s, where he first met one of his closest friends – Kenelme Digby of whom I speak of next – and during the last part of his life he also acted as abbot of St Martin of Pointoise, in Paris.²⁸

The posthumously-declared recipe collector, Sir Kenelme Digby (1603-1665), apparently authored the *Closet* (source 37) already mentioned above. Of this truly astonishing man, who was among the first members of the Royal Society for his works on Paracelsian chemistry, and whose works were patronised by Charles II himself, a plenitude of pages have been written.²⁹ Here, what matters is that, like Montagu and most of the others donors who appeared in his *Closet*, including the Countess of Kent, Digby was a Roman Catholic (by reconversion after his wife’s death in 1633).³⁰ He was well-acquainted with Spain and the Spanish court, which he visited in 1617-18: Charles I sent some of the Digbys there to negotiate the “Spanish match” and Sir Kenelme visited them.

²⁵ William Rabisha, *The Whole Body of Cookery*, 1661, A3-A4. The relevant entry of the ODNB is based on the preface of his recipe collection. Cf: Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, 91. Please note that under the authorship of William Rabisha the English reader could have found in print, in 1649, a text entitled *Adam Unveiled, and seen with open face or, Israel's right way from Egypt to Canaan, lately discovered*. The text is clearly the product of a Radical Protestant. Interestingly, the work was “Printed for Giles Calvert at the black spread-Eagle at the west end of [St] Pauls” as was *The Whole Body of Cookery*. Does this mean that our William Rabisha was, in fact, the same Protestant? This is the suggestion made by William Poole, *Milton and the Idea of the Fall* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 71-72.

²⁶ First tentative attribution in Jane Archer, “The Queen’s Arcanum: Authority and Authorship in The Queens Closet Opened (1655).” *Renaissance Journal* 1, no. 6 (2002): 14–26. Attribution acknowledged in Spiller, *Seventeenth-Century English Recipe Books...in the Works of Elizabeth Grey and Aletheia Talbot*, xxxviii-li [“Introductory Note”], as well as in Laura Lunger Knoppers, “Opening the Queen’s Closet: Henrietta Maria, Elizabeth Cromwell, and the Politics of Cookery,” in *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2007), 464-499.

²⁷ ODNB, s.v. “Montagu, Walter”.

²⁸ For his presence in Spain see please see ODNB, s.v. “Digby, Sir Kenelme”.

²⁹ For both life and sources, primary and secondary, please see ODNB, s.v. “Digby, Sir Kenelme”.

³⁰ Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson, ed., *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digby Kt. Opened*, (Blackawton: Prospect Books, 1997), 268-298, Appendix II “Biographies of the donors of receipts and other persons noticed in the text”.

The man was an avid reader as well as a prolific correspondent. Within his vast multi-lingual library, also formed from books certainly acquired in Spain, no cookbooks or related texts are visible.³¹ As for his private letters “from an epistolary perspective Digby’s Spanish experiences are one of the most frustrating black holes” and, in general, present no references to food at all.³² Digby was acknowledged by Robert May as one of his patrons.³³

Finally, Hannah Woolley (1622?-1675) deserves a special mention here. No scholar working on early modern recipe books ignores her professional engagement with the *genre*: Woolley is the first English woman to have explicitly authored not just one but, in fact, several recipe books. *The Ladies Directory*, printed in 1661 at her own expense, possibly to cope with a widowhood in poverty, represents her first collection. At times she “reused and added to material from her... earlier books”; she also overtly acknowledged, among other sources used within her texts, “May’s Cookery”.³⁴ For the sake of this thesis, Woolley’s significance lies in the several Spanish and Portuguese recipes given in her collections. Within table 2.1 sources 35, 38, and 39 are hers, as well as source 33, *The Ladies Directory*.

Among Woolley’s Iberian recipes the reader finds the never-before-printed “Spanish Chaculata”. Visible to scholars within the 1662 edition of *The Ladies Directory*, the recipe was very likely also printed in the first edition of the volume dated 1661, which is now inaccessible, as the only surviving copy was destroyed during World War II.³⁵ Regardless of its precise year of publication, “Spanish chaculata” is extraordinary from an Anglo-Iberian perspective, considering that chocolate reached Europe, and England, as a consequence of the Spanish colonial experience in the New World. In these years, to be sure, the English presence in the Mexican area and adjacent territories, including Jamaica, where cacao was cultivated was just burgeoning.³⁶ So, can this recipe indicate that Woolley was part of philo-Spanish, hence Catholic, networks? Considering the complexity of recipes as texts in transmission, the recipe certainly cannot be used this way.

³¹ R.W. Hunt and A.G. Watson, ed. *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Pars Nona Codices A Viro Clarissimo Kenelm Digby, Eq. Aur., Anno 1634 Donatos, Complectens: Adiecto Indice Nominum Et Rerum* (Oxford Bodleian Library, 1999). Cfr. Vittorio Gabrieli, *Sir Digby: Un Inglese Italianato nell’Età della Controriforma* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1957), 125, note 3.

³² Personal correspondence with Dr. Joe Moshenka, on 31/03/2016, who is the scholar who most recently has engaged with these pages.

³³ May, *The Accomplisht Cook*, 1660, A3.

³⁴ ODNB, s.v. “Wolley [other married name Challiner], Hannah”. The very little that we know about Woolley’s life mostly derives from her the “epistles to the readers” of her collections. Woolley, *The Gentlewomans Companion*, A4.

³⁵ Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 103, acknowledges Ferguson’s note about “certain differences between the two editions... with a new title-page and a new address to the readers”.

³⁶ Trevor, Burnard, “A Failed Settler Society: Marriage and Demographic Failure in Early Jamaica,” In *Journal of Social History* 28, no. 1 (1994), 63-82, offers an interesting account of the first English years in Jamaica.

Should we believe the title-page of *The Ladies Directory* according to which it was “By Hanna Woolley. Who Hath had the Honour to performe such things for the entertainment of His late MAJESTY, as well as the Nobility”, some doubts about possible Catholic connections grow fast.³⁷ That “late majesty”, technically speaking, was Charles I. However, even if the king was Charles II, the point does not change much: both men’s sympathies for Roman Catholics, commencing from their spouses, is a given within early modern English history. More suggestively, in Woolley’s *The Ladies Directory*, we also find recipe “139. King PHILIP his perfume” – see figure 2.3.

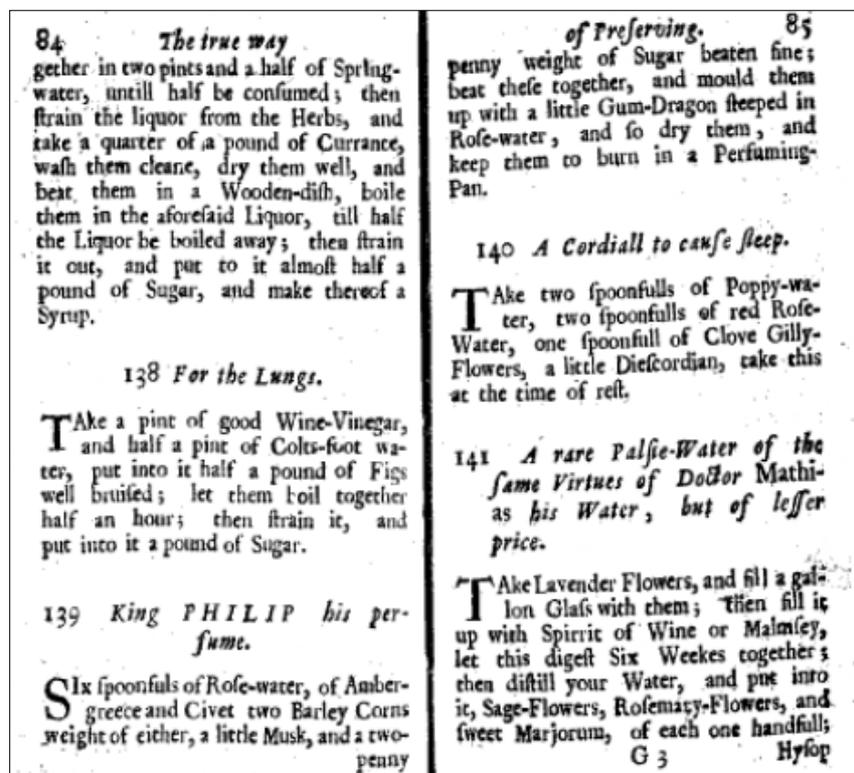
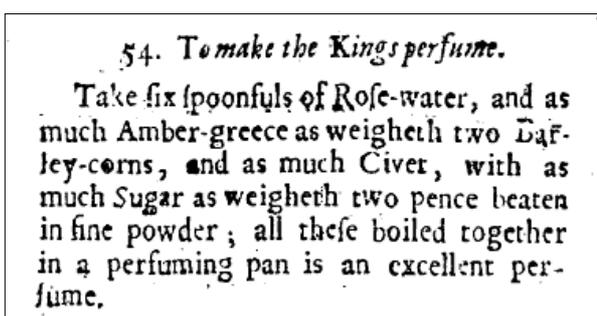


Figure 2.3 – Hannah Woolley, *The Ladies Directory*, 1662, pages 84-85.

I have checked printed sources as extensively as I could and I have found no other recipe with such an illustrious donor attached to it. Who was “King Philip”? From an English viewpoint, the only King Philip who has ever existed, by virtue of marriage to Mary I (from 1554 to 1558), is Philip II of Spain. If it was not him, the man could have been his son and heir, Philip III of Spain who hired our chef Martinez-Motiño for his household and, in the years 1609-1620, offered an uneasy truce to England over the situation of the Spanish Low Countries.

³⁷ Despite of Woolley’s popularity among scholars, I have been unable to find any discussion of the meaning of these lines.

I shall come back to this recipe in the conclusions of this work. It is worth noting, though, that in 1675, within the anonymous (usually attributed to Woolley) *The Accomplisht Ladys Delight*, the recipe for “King PHILIP his perfume” returns with some variations, but Philip does not return – see figure 2.4. Comprehensively, “King Philip”, whoever he was, did not evoke joyful memories in English minds and a generic King was perceived as a better choice. However, the point I would really like to make here is that for Woolley, King Philip’s perfume evidently did not constitute any issue, at least in its first incarnation.



54. To make the Kings perfume.
Take six spoonfulls of Rose-water, and as much Amber-greece as weigheth two Dailey-corns, and as much Civer, with as much Sugar as weigheth two pence beaten in fine powder; all these boiled together in a perfuming pan is an excellent perfume.

Figure 2.4 – Anon., *The Accomplisht Ladys Delight*, 1675, page 21.

The two chapters which follow look at the Portuguese and Spanish recipes surveyed above, and other minor invocations, in their distinctiveness. The full texts of these recipes are available in Appendix I. Chapters 3 and 4 have identical structures and aims. They both open with tables descending from table 2.1, enriched by key bibliographical information which, except in some few notable cases, will not be repeated within the chapters themselves, for reasons of length.

The first aim of these chapters is to facilitate the comprehension of the recipes through my summaries: some of these recipes are particularly condensed and hard to understand. The second aim of the chapters is to compare and contrast, through detailed textual analysis, the recipes acknowledged as Portuguese and Spanish with their possible equivalent ‘originals’: for this reason, especially, Chapters 3 and 4 engage with the recipes by typology, although trying as much as possible to follow a chronological order. The consequent final goal of the chapters is to determine the extents to which these recipes resemble or not their Iberian equivalents, and to suggest, for each case, ‘reading keys’ in line with notions of appropriation, adaptation, re-invention but also misinterpretation. As a matter of fact through these two chapters, taken together, we can also recover the English imagination of Iberian kitchens and tables as appreciable via printed recipe books.

3. Portuguese Recipes

This chapter offers a detailed analysis of the fifteen preparations which English readers could have appreciated as Portuguese within printed recipe books from 1500 to 1680 – listed in table 3.1. It is easy to see that a third of the preparations concern themselves with ways to prepare eggs and that there are two recipes with recognised Portuguese ways to preserve oranges. Most of the remaining recipes are for meat-based dishes, broadly defined. Having said that, a few notable exceptions enrich these pages, commencing with the very first recipe called “farts of Portingale”.¹

Within this Anglo-Portuguese comparison of recipes, it is imperative to appreciate the state of extant pre-modern Portuguese sources: what we possess is the 1680 printed cookbook *Arte de Cozinha* by Domingo Rodriguez on the one hand; and the mid sixteenth-century manuscript, now held at the National Library of Naples, here referred to as MS.I.E.33, on the other. According to the title-page and prologue of Rodriguez’s work, the man was not only “the chef of Count of Vimioso”, a member of a powerful noble family, but he had also worked for a number of years for the Portuguese royal family.² MS I.E.33, instead, is generally associated with the Infanta Maria of Guimarães (1538–1577), who in 1565 married Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma.³

This chapter returns a most fascinating picture. A few recipes emerge as significantly aligned with the Portuguese tradition, while a few others visibly diverge from Portuguese sources. In the middle, I explore a number of recipes which, although not visible in Portuguese sources, are, I argue intimately connected to Portuguese knowledge and practices: they are, in fact, concerned with preliminary techniques not included explicitly in Portuguese sources precisely because they were, in turn, always implied. In this sense, by reading English sources we finally obtain meaningful information otherwise lost. Reading English recipes acknowledged as Portuguese also enable us to appreciate what English people, in turn, must have understood as typical of the Portuguese gastronomic heritage in the early modern period.

¹ For other similarly entitled recipes within European cookbooks see Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks: From Kitchen to Page Over Seven Centuries* (University of California Press, 2017), 107.

² Domingo Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, title-page “*Cozinheyro de Conte do Vimioso*”; Sig. †4, “Given my twenty-nine-year long experience [as chef] and my attendance in all the main banquets of this Court, and of the Royal Court, I decided to write this Art” [“*Com o exercicio de vinte & nove annos, & com assistencia dos mayores banquetes deste Corte, & de todos os de Casa Real me habilitei para fazer esta Arte*”].

³ Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, MS. I. E.33. Throughout the chapter, I derive the foliation of the recipes from the edition of the text by Elisabeth Thompson Newman, *A Critical Edition of an Early Portuguese Cookbook* (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina, 1964).

| RECIPES | |
|---------|--|
| 3. | A.W. <i>A Book of Cookrye</i>. Edward Allde, printer. To make Farts of Portingale; |
| 6. | Anon. [<i>A Book of Cookerie</i>]. Edward Allde, printer. How to make Farts of Portingale; |
| 7. | How to make Fystes of Portingale; |
| 10. | Hugh, Platt. <i>Delights for Ladies</i>. To preserue Orenge after the Portugall fashion; |
| 17. | La Varenne, François Pierre. <i>The French Cook</i>. Eggs after the Portugals way; |
| 22. | Anon. <i>The Compleat Cook</i>. To make a Portugall Dish; |
| 26. | Marnettè, Mounsieur. <i>The Perfect Cook</i>. The manner to dress Eggs according to the Portugal manner; |
| 32. | May, Robert. <i>The Accomplisht Cook</i>. To make the Portingal Tarts for Banqueting; |
| 33. | The manner to dress Eggs according to the Portugal manner; |
| 35. | To dress eggs in the Portugal Fashion; [37] |
| 37. | Rabisha, William. <i>The Whole Body of Cookery Dissected</i>. To dress eggs in the Portugal Fashion; [35] |
| 40. | To make a Portugal pie; |
| 43. | Woolley, Hannah. <i>The Cooks Guide</i>. To preserve Oranges after the Portugal Fashion; [53] |
| 45. | † Digbie, Kenelme. <i>The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir... Opened</i>. Portugal Broth, as it was made for the Queen; |
| 47. | Portuguez Eggs; |
| 48. | Woolley, Hannah. <i>The Queen-like Closet</i>. To make the Portugal Eggs; |
| 53. | Anon. <i>The Accomplish'd Lady's Delight</i>. To preserve Oranges after the Portugal Fashion; [43] |

Table 3.1 – Recipes acknowledged as Portuguese in English recipe books.

* * *

Recipes 3, 6 and 7, at first glance, give the impression to be about the same Portuguese dish; however, this could not be more incorrect.⁴ Recipe 3, in print from 1587 to 1594, describes a sweet tart or, maybe better, a sort of stuffed biscuit. The filling, which once cooled down was probably quite stiff, was made of honey, “a certain fine biskets”, sugar and powder of clove and cinnamon, ginger and anise seeds, all mingled well together over the fire – after the honey was preliminarily purified, says the recipe, although not specifying how. As for the external pastry mix, this was obtained with flour “as finely dressed as may be” and sweet butter only, “work[ed]...well together” but not “not knead[ed]”.

Fartes of Portugal appear to have been known in sixteenth-century England outside recipe books. They were taken as a point of comparison to other culinary products, as in the 1538 dictionary entry “Collybia: fig tartes, fartes of Portyngall, or

⁴ Cfr. the blog entry “Farts” within “The Foods of England Project”, available online at: <https://bit.ly/2SeOFMT>.

other like things”.⁵ Remarkably, of their importation to England there are traces within the 1480-1 Exchequer custom account records, which mentions “4,000 fart de Portingale”.⁶ *Farteis* could last much longer, in effect, than a journey to England, without wasting away. The famous letter penned by Pêro Vaz de Caminha to Manuel I of Portugal (1569-1621) mentions them among the food which Portuguese explorers offered to indigenous people when they landed in Brazil in 1500, seemingly considering these biscuits a staple food, at least during times of sea-navigation.⁷

While within Domingo Rodriguez’s 1680 cookbook there is no mention of *Fartes*, MS I.E.33 contains a recipe to make *Fartees*.⁸ It calls for wheat flour [*“farinha de trigo”*], honey or sugar and, optionally, almonds and pine nuts for the filling; for the exterior part a mix of wheat flour, olive oil and hot water (seven litres, one and one respectively) which, once cooked in the oven and consequently crumbled through a fine sieve, became “biscuit flour” [*“farinha dos biscoitos”*]. Thus, anticipating some conclusions, the English phrase “a certain fine biskets” may well be a tentative interpretation of this, even if it is not clear whether biscuit flour was also imported into England or how easy it would have been for an English person to replicate it.

Recipes 6 and 7, belonging to the same 1597 recipe collection, although speaking of “farts” and “fystes” respectively, reveal a completely different nature from recipe 3; their final products seem to resemble Italian *tortelloni*, or dumplings. “Farts”, can be defined as spiced meat-balls of minced leg of mutton, seasoned with cloves, mace, pepper, salt and also dates and currants, which are boiled and served in beef broth. “Fystes” are not too dissimilar: the initial compound was made with “sweet suet minced small” (suet is the fat of beef or mutton from around the loins), the yolks of two eggs, grated bread, currants, and was seasoned with a little saffron, cinnamon and ginger cooked in some white wine (“Bastard or Sack” says the recipe) modelled in the shape of “tennis balles” – “a familiar reference since it was one of the most popular games among the wealthy” explains Albala – and served with the (undefined) “broth that they were sodden in”.⁹

Not surprisingly given that meat dishes, here meat-balls in broth, were at the centre of Domingo Rodriguez’s *Arte* and also central among MS I.E.33, both these

⁵ Thomas Eliot, *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot Knyght* (1538), s.v. “Collybia”.

⁶ “Petty Custom Account 1480-1: Imports, Oct - Dec 1480 (nos 1-55),” in *The Overseas Trade of London: Exchequer Customs Accounts, 1480-1*, ed. H. S. Cobb (London Record Society, 1990), 1-19, “Martin Rodkyns [S Roderigus], A, 4,000 farts of Portugal (‘fart’ de Portingale), (fn. 16) 6s.8d.” available online within *British History Online*, henceforth BHO, at: <https://bit.ly/2xFG6Bf>.

⁷ Arquivos Nacionais Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, PT/TT/GAV/8/2/8, available online at: <https://bit.ly/215ulJb>. The author says “they gave them to eat: bread and cooked fish, sweetmeats, farteis, honey, preserved figs” [*“Deram-lhes ali de comer: pão e peixe cozido, confeitos, fartéis, mel, figos passados”*]. The letter has been translated into English in 1936, within the Hakluyt series of travel writings. It is accessible online at: <https://bit.ly/216tXdz>.

⁸ MS. I. E.33, fols. 38r-39r.

⁹ Albala, *Cooking in Europe*, 107.

Portuguese sources contain recipes for preparations of this kind. More importantly, *Almôndegas*, as given within the manuscript source clearly resemble those prepared following recipe 6, in their being served in broth also; the notable difference is the request for a sodden egg to be a part of the mixture along with bread crumbs.¹⁰ Recipe 7, in turn, is remarkably in line with Rodriguez's *Almondegas*.¹¹ What remains completely unclear is why within Allde's publications the word "farts" not only describes two different dishes (recipe 3 and 6), but also how the word "fystes", which does not have any affiliation to the Portuguese language, originated.

Let us now discuss recipes 10 and 43 (this latter which returns in recipe 53). Both entitled "To preserue Orenge after the Portugall fashion" these recipes were nonetheless different. Recipe 10, in print from 1602 to 1656 within Platt's *Delightes for Ladies* asks the reader to cut the oranges "on the side" first; then to wash them and boil them. Significantly, the recipe specifies that, while boiling in water, the oranges have to be stirred, in order to "take away their bitterness". The recipe goes on to say that, once soft, these fruits have to be transferred to a pan containing sugar brought to syrup in order to be completely covered by the syrup itself, as this "will make them take sugar". What is emphasised, moreover, is the consistency of the final product which "will cut like an hard egge" and which is called "marmalade of oranges".

In synthesis, it could be said that recipe 43, given first in Woolley's *The Cooks Guide* and overall in print from 1664 to 1677, is of the same nature. Here, nonetheless, the bitterness of the oranges is not mentioned. What is mentioned, instead, is the straw through which the softness of the oranges is inspected, after they have been boiled several times in clean water. At this point it is explained to not only boil the oranges several times more, but now in sugar, with the process being repeated for one day further. Moreover, some "preserved pippins" must be added to the compound which, again, must undergo further boiling in sugar "till you think [the oranges] are enough". Pippins are a kind of apple; themselves preserved, they were certainly sweet.¹² Likely, though, their primary scope was to allow the final jam to set better, thanks to the extra pectin contained in the apples. The final product – the recipe is extremely clear on this point – must have been, in fact, a "stiff jelly" rather than simply "a jelly". Not by chance, the recipe advises that if this last occurrence happens, "you must make a new syrrop with the water wherein some sliced pippins have been boiled".

Manuscript I.E.33 contains a section of fifteen recipes "for things to be preserved" [*caderno das cousas de conservas*].¹³ Within the *Arte de Cozinha* Chapter

¹⁰ MS I.E.33, fol.14r., "meat-balls...serve them with enough broth. If it is little, add to the meat-balls broth from other pans" [*Almôndegas...Sirvam com bastante molho. Se este for pouco, ajuntem às almôndegas caldo de outras panelas*].

¹¹ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 144.

¹² OED, s.v. "Quinces".

¹³ MS I.E. 33, fol. 26r-37v.

XI lists ten recipes of “*Doces de Fruta*”.¹⁴ The process through which to preserve several types of fruit, via honey or sugar, is at the centre of these recipes; in some cases sun-drying is also part of the overall process which, in MS I.E.33, can last up to fifteen days.¹⁵ Although some variations on the consistency of the final product, this seems to be always thick – such thickness can eventually be checked with sticks, as many recipes claim. Ultimately, these were directions to prepare what we now call jams and compotes.

Among the fruits preserved within MS I.E.33 pears, lemons and peaches are listed, starting with quinces. Of the orange-tree not oranges, in fact, but rather its flowers (from which the orange would eventually grow) constitute what has to be preserved [“*frol de laranja*”].¹⁶ In essence, recipes to preserve oranges do not exist in this source – the closest recipe is that to make conserve of *diacidrão*, which means “citron” (*citrus medica*).¹⁷ Significantly, recipes to preserve oranges do not exist in the printed *Arte* either. The first three of these recipes are for quinces, with the very first defined as “common jam”; the fourth and fifth for pears; the sixth and seventh for citrons, again; the eighth and ninth for peaches. The tenth recipe is to make “*florada*”: jam produced from the flowers of the orange-tree. Possibly even more remarkably, this last preparation asks for “flowers of sweet orange-trees, or from/of China” [“*flor de laranja doce, ou da China*”].¹⁸ This is because since the end of the fifteenth century, at least, Portuguese expansion facilitated the diffusion in Iberian soils of the sweet, oriental type of orange (*citrus sinensis*) next to the local, bitter Mediterranean orange (*citrus x aurantium*): the above mentioned line taken from Rodriguez, seems to reflect the coexistence of sweet and bitter oranges in Iberia in no uncertain terms.¹⁹

The story becomes even more fascinating. It is well-known to food historians that the fruit *par excellence* to be preserved in Iberian lands were quinces, in the Portuguese language called “*marmelos*”; where Rodriguez’s first recipe to preserve quinces is defined as a “common jam,” the Portuguese expression used, consequently, is “*marmellada commua*”.²⁰ Anne Wilson has found evidence from port records that

¹⁴ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 144-150.

¹⁵ MS I.E.33, fols. 29v-30r., “*Para fazer limoes*”.

¹⁶ Ibid., fols. 33v-34r., “*Frol de laranja*”.

¹⁷ Ibid. fol. 27r., “*Para fazer diacidrão*”.

¹⁸ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 149, “*Florada*”.

¹⁹ I have read widely on this point and it is impossible to identify with greater precision when such diffusion happened. Some scholars argue that sweet oranges were introduced in the Iberian Peninsula by the Arabs already in the 10th century. Cfr. Alan Davidson, *The Oxford Companion to Food*, s.v. “Oranges” which also says that Bartolomeo Sacchi, Italian author of the monumental *De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine* clearly speaks of sweet oranges already in the preparatory manuscript compiled in 1465. Cfr. Clarissa Hyman, *Oranges: A Global History* (London, Reaktion Books, 2013), esp. 11-14. Cfr. Marion Eugene Ensminger et al, *Foods & Nutrition Encyclopedia*, (CRC Press, 1994) vol.2, s.v. “Orange, Sweet, Citrus sinensis”.

²⁰ Albala, *Cooking in Europe*, 129; Albala, *The Banquet: Dining in the Great Courts of Late Renaissance Europe*, 88. Cfr. Enrique García Ballesteros, “Jam, Jellies, Marmalades and Fruit Pastes. A Sweet Etymology,” blog available online at: <https://bit.ly/2xEkkxO> where the author says that: “The Spanish words membrillo and mermelada share the same Portuguese and Latin

marmalade of quinces, thus the Portuguese (and Spanish) “common jam”, was often shipped to England in the early sixteenth century. The first (recorded) cargos with “quantities large enough to have to be declared and valued” entered the port of London in 1495. Within the first decades of the next century, trade of “*marmellada commua*” only came from Portugal: it was an exclusive Anglo-Portuguese affair.²¹

In short, *marmalade* of preserved quinces – not oranges – secured into boxes reached England from Portugal (and later from Spain and Italy) at least a century before printed recipes existed. At the same time, English people could have preserved their own local quinces. According to Thomas Moffett (1553-1604), quinces, which belong to the family of *Rosaceae*, appeared in early modern England at least in two varieties: one, a sort of a very hard apple; the other, more resembling a pear.²² Regardless of their variety, quinces, being of a very hard texture, are practically only edible after cooking. In the words of Moffett, who was not alone in this judgment:

...though their raw flesh be as hard as raw
beefe unto weak stomachs, yet being roasted,
or baked, or made into *marmalade*, or
cunningly preserved, they give a wholesome
and good nourishment...²³

This passage, penned at least half a century earlier, (posthumously) made it to print in 1655. In the same year a number of English recipes associated the term *marmalade* with the preservation of quinces.²⁴ Possibly the most suggestive case is represented by “To make an excellent Marmelate which was given Queene Mary for a New-yeares gift” appearing within the anonymous *A Closet For Ladies and Gentlewomen*, in print from 1608 up to 1656 – figure 3.1 shows the recipe. Given Mary Tudor’s (1516-1558) obvious connections to Iberia, one expects a quince-based preparation; and, in effect, this is what happens. Yet, the recipe is so spiced and perfumed that, as far as I can see within other English printed recipes of this kind, there is none which parallels it. To be sure: that

root - melimelum, marmelo (quince) - which gives us the Portuguese word marmelada, which in Spanish becomes mermelada, in French marmelade, [...] Until around 1850, the word mermelada was used in Spain exclusively for a quince preserve made with honey or sugar.”

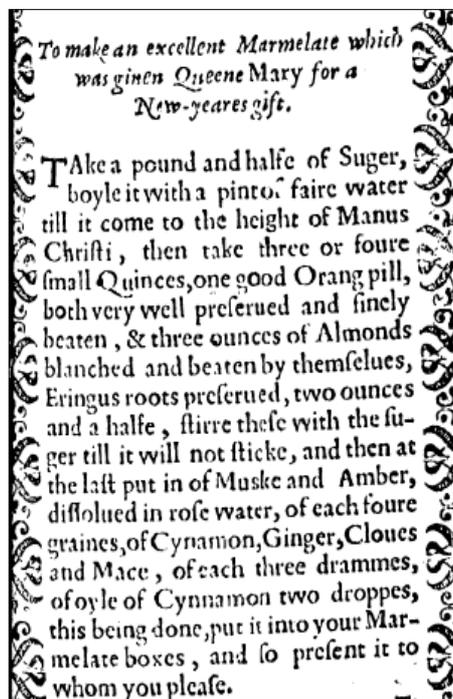
²¹ C. Anne Wilson, *The Book of Marmalade*, second revised edition (London: Prospect Books, 2010), esp.13-39 (27-28 for port records). See also The OED, s.v. “Marmalade”.

²² Thomas Moffett, *Healths Improvement* (1655), 212-213, “Quinces are of two sorts; an Apple-quince called malum cotoneum, and a Pear quince called of Dioscorides Struthium...we account most of the latter sort; but the cotton and downy Quince made like an Apple, is most commended of the Grecian and Latin writers”. Bullein William, *Bulleins Bulwarke of Defence Against All Sicknesse* (1579), 14, in marginalia, writes: “Quinces rawe hurte”.

²³ Moffett, *Healths Improvement*, 213, my italics.

²⁴ For instance, [John Partridge], *The Widowes Treasure* (1586), sig. [C.vi], “Marmelade of Quinces”.

“*Manus Christi*” given at the end of the third line of the recipe defines the expected temperature of the sugar.²⁵



Even more interestingly, this recipe does not resemble those given in our Portuguese sources. While it is true that MS I.E.33 at times requires “some few drops of orange-flower water” as well as a very little musk (optional moreover), no addition of this kind is expected for quinces.²⁶ In Rodriguez’s “*marmellada commua*” ambergris and musk were optional as well.²⁷ Furthermore, spices, with the exception of cinnamon, in both Portuguese sources are never employed within the preservation of fruits.

Figure 3.1 – Anon., *A Closet for Ladies and Gentlevomen*, 1608, page 43.

In this story, originating from the discussion of recipes 10 and 43 which, throughout the seventeenth century, acknowledged how “to preserve oranges after the Portugall fashion”, it is to be noted that other collections, although ignoring Portugal, kept on remarking on the natural “bitternesse of taste” of the fruit. Markham’s best-seller *The English Husvife* and its “To make an excellent Marmalade of Oranges” is a striking case of this tendency: after cutting and cleaning the oranges the reader is advised to “steepe them in faire water, changing the water twice a day, till you find no bitternesse of taste therein”.²⁸

Let us move away from oranges and focus our attention on eggs. From 1653 to 1684, a number of ways to dress eggs (according to the Portuguese ways) left the printing houses and found their way into the English recipe market. The very first recipe written in English was given in the 1653 translation of La Varenne’s cookbook, originally composed in French in 1651.²⁹ Recipe 17 only demands, at first, to beat very well the yolk of “many” eggs together with syrups of sugar (half or one pound thereof) and to add

²⁵ Cfr. Albala, *Cooking in Europe*, 131. Cfr. Elise Fleming, “Sugar Stages Listed by Temperatures”, blog available online at: <https://bit.ly/2leaLug>.

²⁶ MS I.E.33, fol. 31r., “*para fazer peras...algumas gotas de água-de-flor e de almíscar*”.

²⁷ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 144, “Add ambergris, or musk, if you want to” [“...*deitelhe ambar, ou almíscar se quiserem*”].

²⁸ Markham, *The English Husvife*, 120. Cfr. Albala, *Cooking in Europe*, 129.

²⁹ Cfr., Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 86-87.

“one drop of orange-flower water”. More challenging, nonetheless, the recipe goes on to suggest that this dish must be served cold, like a *semifreddo* dessert, dressing it up with “cinnamon, lemon peel preserved and, flowers” ... and presenting it in cone-like shape, using “a cornet with butter paper” to contour the dish.

Intriguingly, recipe 17 also instructs to garnish this dessert with “the peare called *nompareill* (or not such)”. The original French sentence simply asks to garnish the dish with “*nompareille*” – “& le garnissez de *nompareille*” as figure 3.2 shows. As a consequence, while it seems clear that “(or not such)” is the attempted translation of the French “*nonpareil*” as recorded in the English language since 1450, i.e. with the meaning of “having no equal” – translation misleading here; it is, on the contrary, not at all obvious why the translator speaks about pears.³⁰ According to Anne Willan founder, in 1975, of the *École de Cuisine La Varenne*, the word “*nompareille*” defines the smallest type of pickled capers (*Capparis Spinosa*).³¹ However, more possibly, given the nature of recipe 17, in this case the word simply meant a sort “of small sweet” – “Certain little Comfits, which in France we call Non-pareil” wrote Madame d’Aulnoy in 1697.³²

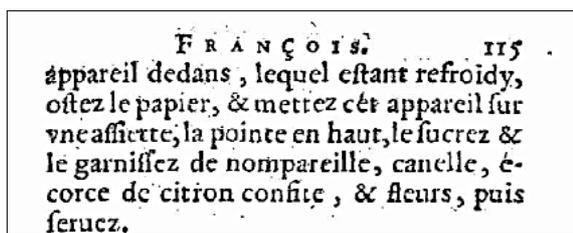


Figure 3.2 – François Pierre La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier François*, 1651, detail of page 115.

Recipe 17, given in La Varenne’s collection, can intimidate for a number of reasons, not least linguistically. Our English reader, from 1660 to 1685, could have looked for, and found, within May’s *The Accomplisht Cook*, another recipe for eggs according to the “Portugal Fashion”; and, identically, in Rabisha’s work – recipes 35 and 37. This time, the preparation is unquestionably easier to make: it is, in fact, a sort of perfumed, sweet omelette, created by whisking twenty yolks of eggs, sugar, some musk, rose-water, all stirred over a gentle fire. It is to be served with some extra sugar, “trim[m]ing] it with your finger” over a “French dish” (the meaning thereof I do not know).

³⁰ OED s.v. “Nonpareil”.

³¹ Cfr. Anne Willan, *La Varenne Pratique: Part I, the Basics*, s.v. “Capers”, consultable online at: <https://bit.ly/2OGyOob>. The text was originally published in French, in 1989. No other scholar to my knowledge has discussed the meaning of the expression.

³² Quotation taken from OED, s.v. “Nonpareil”, third meaning “3. Originally: any of various kinds of small sweet”. Cfr. Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, “The Sweet Truth About ‘Nonpareil’”, blog available online at: <https://bit.ly/2I90PIL>.

Recipe 47, taken from Sir Kenelme Digby's *Closet*, does not simply deal with eggs as prepared in accordance to Portuguese ways; rather, as the very first line of the recipe indicates, with eggs prepared for Queen Catherine of Braganza according to the Countess of Penalva's custom – she was one of the (very few) Portuguese ladies-in-waiting of the Queen.³³ Here, all it takes to make these semi-liquid eggs, which have not “to grow too hard” being, in fact, “of the consistency of an Electuary” and “put into pots to keep” are twelve fresh yolks “exceedingly” beaten together with a “(scarce a spoonful)” of orange-flower water and some “pure double refined sugar” first, and continually stirred over a gentle fire later. Please note: the recipe specifies that, unless the sugar is perfectly pure, “it must be clarified before [...] if you clarifie your Sugar do it with whites of eggs”. Optionally, the recipe says that some ambergris, dissolved either in orange or rosewater could have also been added to the eggs. Following this point, the clarity of the recipe is remarkable: if amalgamated to the eggs when placed over the fire, these scented waters almost completely vanish. On the contrary their scent, it is said, is “more than ten times as much” if they are added just before serving the eggs (thus when taken away from the fire).

“To make the Portugal eggs”, in print since 1670 within Woolley's *The Queen-like Closet* represents a particularly noteworthy recipe. As it happens in modern *Tiramisu*, where sponge fingers (also called ladyfingers) are dipped in coffee, here some “Naples Bisket” has to be dipped in Sack and placed, into the shape of a star, within a vessel with a high brim. At this point “little pieces of preserved Orange, and green Citron Pill... and French comfits” have to be placed all over the star, enriching it. As for the eggs, they are buttered eggs and are to be laid down too after the confits. The recipe, which envisages the formation of some “hollow places in the Dish” suggests to fill them with “Coloured yellies”. As for the edge of the star, it has to be garnished with “lawrel leaves gilded with Leaf-Gold”; some extra coloured jellies will fill, again, the eventual gaps. Ultimately, it is easy to see that this recipe is only nominally concerned with eggs; it fails, moreover, to describe with precision the very eggs themselves. My understanding is that they were to be beaten with butter, forming thus a sort of semi-liquid, cream-like element – again like eggs and *Mascarpone*, the Italian cream cheese which forms the cream of *Tiramisu*.

Of recipe 48 two elements are worth commenting on further: “Naples bisket” on one hand, and the use of gold on the other. As for the first case, it is thought-provoking that “Naples Bisket” is so openly associated with Portuguese foodways in Woolley's recipe 47: Southern Italy was under direct Spanish rule until 1707 and, far from being a

³³ See Edward Corp, “Catherine of Braganza and Cultural Politics,” in *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics, 1660-1837*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester University Press, 2002), 57-59.

mere bureaucratic presence, Spanish culture informed many spheres of daily life.³⁴ In fact Naples, the capital city of the homonymous kingdom, was a crowd of Spaniards, from viceroys down: anyone else, as the Infanta Maria of Portugal did, could have travelled with recipes (and in few cases like hers, with cooks). This could, in turn, mean that “Naples” was somehow linked to Spain, and, by extension, Iberia with Portugal in English minds; such a suggestion would have been even more concrete in times of the Iberian Union (1580-1640), at least for those knowledgeable enough to be informed of this geo-political situation.

In effect, the impression is reinforced by reading the very recipe “To make Naples Biscuit” as given within Woolley’s *The Queen-like Closet* which asks to beat together in a mortar “four Ounces of Pine Apple seeds, two Ounces of sweet Almonds blanched, the Whites of two Eggs, one spoonful of Ale-Yeast, one spoonful of Rice Flower, one spoonful of sweet Cream” and to add some Musk or Ambergris before baking the compound in the oven.³⁵ More than half a century lies between Woolley’s and Murrell’s directions “To make Naples Bisket” appearing as early as 1617 – the oldest recipe of this kind.³⁶ However, with minor variations, the recipes deeply resemble each other. Equally similar is the other, and only, recipe to make biscuits of Naples visible within English recipe books.³⁷

As for gold, as is still the case today, its use was an exclusive practice in kitchens. Gold could be employed as a decorative element as well as an ingredient within edible dishes: in very small amounts it does no harm and, indeed, it was used medicinally for centuries.³⁸ Gold must have been aspirational for most people, but could still have been an ingredient for the few who could access it. Gold represents a very rare occurrence in English culinary recipe texts: however, Platt indicates the use of “lead-gold” for the distillation of “Rosa-Solis” and Digby mentions it several times as an ingredient for some of his medical recipes.³⁹ Significantly, Woolley indicates its use in

³⁴ Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden, ed., *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia (Transculturalisms, 1400–1700)*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015). See also Alessandra Anselmi ed., *Rapporti tra Roma e Madrid nei Secoli XVI e XVII: Arte Diplomazia e Politica* (Roma: Gangemi editore, 2014).

³⁵ Woolley, *The Queen-like Closet*, 128, recipe 55.

³⁶ Thomas Murrell, *A daily Exercise* (1617), sig. E.

³⁷ [Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne]?, *Archimagirus Anglo-gallicus* (1658), 75, recipe 120. To be sure: references (not recipes) to Naples biscuits occur several other times: they constitute the only food ascribed to the city in print, as well as manuscript English recipe collections, as far as I can see.

³⁸ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (14th century), “General Prologue” speaks of potable gold within the last lines about the physician: “For gold in phisik is a cordial; Therefore he lovede gold in special”. See Larry D. Benson, ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, (Oxford University Press, 2008), third edition.

³⁹ Hugh Platt, *Delightes for Ladies*, (1602), Sig. E3-E4, recipe 6, “Some adde the gum amber with coral and pearl finely poudred, and fine leafe golde”; Kenelme Digby, *Choice and Experimented*, for instance, 81-82, “A Medicinal Powder”; 83, “A great Medicin which hath don great Effects, from an intimate Friend”.

this Portuguese recipe, but also, as we will see in the next chapter, in a recipe acknowledged as Spanish.

Tangential reflections aside, and coming back to preparations of Portuguese eggs within English recipe books, it is vital to register that those discussed so far were sweetened by a conspicuous amount of sugar and were also richly perfumed. Eaten warm, but also cold, they featured sweet waters, especially orange-water, and, optionally, musk and ambergris, spices but also preserved fruits or candies.

But what do our Portuguese sources say in comparison? MS I.E.33 furnishes a “section about egg-dishes” within the accordingly entitled “*Cadernno dos mamgares de ovos*”.⁴⁰ The first recipe details the way to make “scrambled eggs” [“*ovos mexidos*”].⁴¹ In there, everything starts with a dozen of eggs beaten with syrup of sugar scented with some orange-water placed over the fire “stirring slowly, always in the same direction, in order to not have the eggs falling apart.”⁴² They are served with cinnamon and sugar, over a piece of bread soaked in the same scented syrup of sugar. Within the other preparations, instead, rice or flour is always requested.

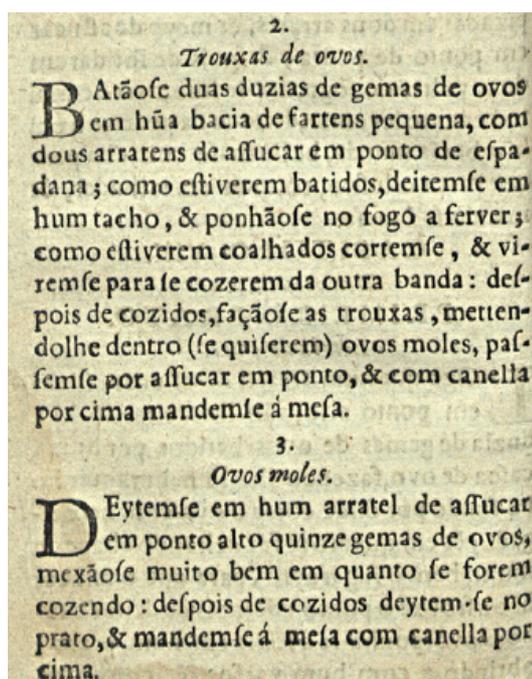


Figure 3.3 – Domingos Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, page 142.

As for Domingos Rodriguez’s *Arte de Cozinha*, chapter VIII is devoted to exactly “egg-based sweets” [“*De Doces de Ovos*”].⁴³ Out of five recipes, two are of particular interest here: number 2, “*Troupas de ovos*”, and number 3, “*Ovos moles*”– see figure 3.3. Recipe 3, for *ovos moles*, is very simple: it requires fifteen yolks mixed to c. half a pound (“*hum arratel*”) of sugar which has to boil “*em ponto alto*” and stirred “very well as the eggs rise while cooking”; they are to be served with cinnamon.

⁴⁰ MS I.E.33, fols. 16r-20r.

⁴¹ Ibid., fol. 16r.

⁴² Ivi, “*comecem a mexer tudo lentamente, sempre para o mesmo lado, a fim de que os ovos não se desfaçam*”.

⁴³ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 141-144.

Recipe number 2, with slightly different proportions, calls for twenty-four yolks combined to c. one pound (“*dous arratens*”) of sugar which, this time, has to boil at “*ponto de espadana*” and later placed in a pan to be warmed up on the fire (on both sides); filled with precisely *ovos moles*, the dish is again topped with some cinnamon and ready to be consumed.⁴⁴ For the record: “*em ponto alto*” and “*ponto de espadana*” are expressions which cannot but define the temperature to which the sugar has to be brought, exactly like “*Manus Christi*” does.

There is something more about Portuguese eggs in English printed recipe collections that needs to be said. In fact, in the same years in which English readers could have learnt of the sweet-scented, and overall softness in consistency of these eggs, they could have also appreciated their versatility in two distinctive recipe books. Recipe 26, taken from Monsieur Marnette’s *The Perfect English Cook*, speaks about boiled eggs cut in rounds and fried together with *either* parsley, *or* onions, *or* leeks which have already been half fried in butter. To this mix, sliced mushrooms fried in brown butter *can* be added too, with some vinegar, *or* mustard sauce as well, poured in the later stage of the cooking. Finally, the dish *can* be garnished with some grated nutmeg and bread, together with some slices of lemons. To note that recipe 33, within May’s *The Accomplisht Cook*, even if differently entitled, offers the same directions. The tone of the recipe is stricter, though: it conflicts with the variations allowed by recipe 26, as my italics aim to highlight. May’s recipe fries the boiled eggs and cuts them with parsley and onions (or leeks); then adds the mushrooms, the vinegar and finally garnishes the dish with grated nutmeg and slices of lemons.

Reading this recipe in Anglo-Portuguese comparison, the first point to make is that neither MS I.E.33 nor the *Arte de Cozinha* provide directions to fry eggs in their own right. More importantly, in the manuscript there are a number of recipes which require eggs, always fried in butter; but they all form part of more elaborate, meat-based preparations, which substantially differ from recipe 26 – and in which the eggs never appear together with parsley or onions.⁴⁵ The same can be said looking at Rodriguez’s text.

Considering that generic mushrooms, which are optional in recipe 26, are instead required in recipe 33, I have double-checked within the printed recipes of the *Arte de Cozinha* the recipes for mushrooms – the Portuguese word is “*cogumelo*” or “*fungo*”. In line with its courtly dimension, the volume ignores generic mushrooms; nonetheless, within Chapter XVII, “Of various little dishes” [“*De varios pratinhos*”] it gives five short

⁴⁴ Cfr. Isabel M. R. Mendes Drumond Braga, “Ovos, Ovos, Ovos e Mais Ovos – Cultura, Economia, Dietética e Gastronomia,” in *Revista de História de Sociedade e da Cultura* 13 (2013), 426, “Quadro 2: Receitas de Ovos-Moles (séculos XVII e XVIII) em Livros de Leigos”.

⁴⁵ MS I.E. 33. fol. 5v. “*Galinha albarada*”; fol.9v. “*Receita de tortora*.”

recipes for “*tubaras*”.⁴⁶ The word today is “*tuberas*”: it defines a particular type of white truffle (“*trufa*”), which grows in the *Alentejo* and *Ribatejo* areas of southern Portugal. Out of five recipes, three fry this type of mushroom in butter and, crucially here, two do it with eggs, adding pepper and slices of lemon before serving the dishes.⁴⁷

In this close reading of English recipes acknowledged as Portuguese there are a few, four to be precise, that remain to be discussed. I shall commence with recipe 22 “To make a Portugall Dish” and recipe 40 “To make a Portugal pie”; then I will move towards “To make the Portingal Tarts for Banqueting” and, finally, “Portugal Broth, as it was made for the Queen”, recipes 32 and 45 respectively.

Recipes 22 and 40 are detailed recipes. They both require capons; the first recipe gives directions to roast and serve two capons; the second recipe used some flesh of already roasted capons to prepare a pie. Technically speaking, capons are castrated roosters; the taste of their flesh is superior to that of similar birds; it is especially softer and fatter, due to the abnormal hormonal cycle-life to which the animal is subjected. Recipe 22, from the anonymous *The Compleat Cook*, asks for two of these domesticated birds. Of them “guts, gizzards and liver”, thus some of the fatter parts, are used. After preliminary cleaning, while the guts are soaked for “about an hour in white-wine”, gizzards and liver are half boiled. Subsequently, the (dried) guts are seasoned with “Salt and beaten Pepper, Cloves and Mace” and, together with gizzards and liver, are roasted on a wooden skewer, until they are “very brown”. At this point, the roasted meat has to be cut into pieces and placed on a dish where a mixture of “Gravy of Mutton, the juyce of two or three oranges, and a grain of Saffron” lies already.

Recipe 40, from Rabisha’s *The Whole Body of Cookery* is a layered savoury “Portugal pie”. The recipe seems to describe a buttery pastry pie with an extremely rich filling, consisting of some flesh of (already roasted) capons, minced finely, amalgamated with almonds, and flavoured with salt, nutmeg, sugar, rosewater and lemon juice; the compound also has to be worked with sweet butter. Over the bottom layer of pastry some sliced lemons; “two or three sweet-breads of veal”; with half of the above filling; some fat from bone-marrow; with the remaining half of the filling and, finally, some boiled egg yolks, have to be layered down in this exact order. Once the pie is closed (by employing some other pastry) melted butter, rosewater and sugar have to be poured over, most certainly to form a glaze after the pie has been baked for forty-five minutes – “pretty quick oven” it is said. With some almonds to garnish the dish, this is now ready to be served.

As stated while discussing those meat-balls in broth seen at the start of the chapter (recipe 6 and 7), meat dishes are prominent in the two Portuguese recipe

⁴⁶ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 78-79, recipes 10-14.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, recipes 11, 12 and 14.

collections we still possess, especially within Domingo Rodriguez’s printed cookbook. With regard to MS I.E.33, the first point to make is that it never mentions capons, in Portuguese “*capões*”. However, like in the case of “another way to make Moorish hen” it asks for a particularly fat one.⁴⁸ The second point is that the manuscript does not provide directions for the very roasting of meats either; this is possibly the reason why soaking in wine is non-existent. However (again) what is remarkable, in my opinion, is the recurrent indication that roasted meats, like that of rabbit, are to be cut and served within a given sauce – in line with that given in recipe 22.⁴⁹ Pies are even harder to compare. Looking for similarities, what can be said is that all of them indicate to mingle the meat very finely, which has to be seasoned but also amalgamated with plenty of butter and fat. At times, moreover, the recipes indicate to glaze the pie as well, like it happens in recipe 40. The main differences, instead, consist not surprisingly in the number of herbs and spices which the Portuguese manuscript, overall, asks for – cinnamon, especially.

A possibly more significant comparison, given their time in print, is that with Rodriguez’s *cookbook*. As far as I can see, within the *Arte de Cozinha*, references to capons appear just a handful of times over a strikingly high number of other meat dishes. To be precise: not only while for every sort of animal the *Arte* furnishes the reader with a proper chapter (of recipes), this does not occur for capons; but also the reader will not even find a recipe primarily concerned with this type of bird. Capons are relegated to the margins: literally. The few times in which they are mentioned, they appear listed at the end of recipes, usually about hens and chickens above all – “you can prepare this recipe with capons as well” the reader basically reads.⁵⁰ As for recipe 22, any attempt to compare this recipe with Rodriguez’s *Arte de Cozinha* fails: (like in the manuscript source we still possess) the Portuguese printed volume does not provide the reader with any directions for roasting, as the knowledge of this cooking technique is, in turn, evidently always implied. Nonetheless, the soaking of meats in white wine is often explicitly indicated: for instance, in the first recipe to make a “meat-pie” (“*empadas de carne*”).⁵¹ As for any possible comparison with recipe 40, the first point to make is that recipe pies are the *forte* of the Portuguese cookbook. The *Arte* entitles no less than fifty recipes as “pies” (“*empadas*”) which become still more numerous, given that, as just seen for capons, the typical conclusive remark of these recipes extends the instructions to

⁴⁸ MS. I.E.33, fol.13r., “Make little pieces of a very fat han” [“*Façam em pedaços uma galinha bem gorda*”].

⁴⁹ Ibid., fol. 16v, “Rabbit” [“*Coelho*”], “Make a sauce with butter, beaten onions, vinegar, cloves, black pepper and ginger. then put the pieces of the rabbit in the sauce...” [“*Faz-se então um refogado com manteiga, cebola batida, vinagre, cravo da- índia, açafião, pimenta-do-reino e gengibre. Ponham em seguida os pedaços do coelho dentro do refogado...*”].

⁵⁰ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 26- 27, “Stewed hen” [“*Galinha asada*”] in which it is said “in this way you may capon, turkey, and hen” [“*deste modo se assa capão, perù, & galinha da terra*”].

⁵¹ Ibid., 91.

other types of meat. In the case of “thrush pie”, for instance, the final line reads as: “in this way you can also make chickens, pigeons and turtledoves”.⁵² A variety of fish pies are also given. Surprisingly, or perhaps not, “*empada de capão*” does not exist in this volume, not even as a variation of a recipe overtly concerned with another bird. Even more significantly, I believe, meat-pies in general in Rodriguez’s work are not as rich as that described in recipe 44. While it is true that a great deal of butter and fat is required to be mingled to minced flesh, and that in many pies the juice of lemons, vinegar and leaf of laurel were advised to be used; on the contrary, rosewater, almonds, and sugar never appear in pies, not even as a final dressing – I have checked this aspect with the greatest of care.

Recipe 34, given in May’s *The Accomplisht Cook* consists of a “tart for banqueting” which, in the English of this time, did not mean a generic feast; rather the serving of sweet treats after the mains, possibly to be enjoyed in another room.⁵³ Let me anticipate that this is a triumph of sweetness, scents and almonds. This two-layer tart has an almond-paste “heart” made together with “caraway seed, a grain of musk, and three drops of oyl of lemons”, incorporated to a very similar almond-paste; scented, this time, with “musk, some rosewater and “oris-powder”. The recipe instructs to prepare this exterior, latter paste by boiling its components over a chafing-dish of coals, also adding the white of two eggs “beaten to froth”, thus seemingly whipped. Before being served, this has to be baked upon some almond-based waffles (“marchapane waffles”). The recipe, unlike the average English recipe, is quite visual: its last lines, consultable within Appendix I, effectively explains how to mould together the two elements of the tart.

Not even a recipe vaguely similar to this just described is contained in the two Portuguese sources we possess. However, the point worth making is that marzipan was among the most ubiquitous sweet dishes of European elites (with obvious associations with the Middle East). “*Para fazer Maçapão*”, given in MS I.E.33, is among the very first recipes to prepare marzipan which has survived the centuries: an *amalgama* of sugar and almond flour given in the same quantity and cooked over the fire, continually stirring.⁵⁴ Rodriguez, although not registering any elaborate almond-paste tart, nonetheless still furnishes directions for “*massapaes de ovos*.”⁵⁵ Almonds very well grounded, sugar, “a drop of rosewater” [“*a goa rosada*”], all placed over a fire with “two dozens of yolk of eggs” [“*duas dozias de gemas de ovos*”] are its basic ingredients.

The recipe which brings this chapter to a close is recipe 45, that of a “Portugal Broth, as it was made for the Queen”, appearing in 1669, within Sir Kenelme Digby’s

⁵² Ibid., 93, “*Empadas de tordos*”, “...*Assi se fazen frangoas, pombos e rolas*”.

⁵³ See Chris Meads, *Banquets Set Forth: Banqueting in English Renaissance Drama* (Manchester University Press: 2001), esp. 8-21.

⁵⁴ MS I.E.33, fols. 39v-40r.

⁵⁵ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 140.

posthumously published *Closet*. Like every broth, it requires some meat to be boiled in water. Here pieces of veal, beef and mutton, a brawny hen or a young cock are chosen, with the recipe highlighting that the froth deriving from the very first boiling of these meats in water had to be taken away. To people used to making broths this last advice – as effective and useful it is – sounds somehow redundant, by describing the most basic step within the preparations of meat-broths in general. But was this advice perceived as self-evident to English readers? In any case, more than the meat though, it is the variety of vegetables, herbs and spices that is particularly notable. In fact, onions, parsley, thyme, mint, coriander-seeds bruised, saffron, salt, pepper, clove and, at discretion, some garlic, altogether flavour the broth. Added in little or minute quantities, the final impression is, consequently, that of a light and fresh broth. The recipe goes further to suggest an optional addition of parsley-roots, or leeks, or cabbage or endive, if this would have pleased. Furthermore, it indicates a version for summertime, made of “Lettice, Sorrel, Purslane, Borage and Bugloss [another plant in the borage family], or what other pot-herbs you like”.

There is little reason to doubt that recipe 45 reflects the presence, since 1662, of Queen Catharine of Braganza at the English court: not only could Digby have met her there before his death in 1665 but, more importantly here, the Portuguese culinary background of the recipe seems clear. Unlike English recipe books which very seldom give directions to make broths appreciated as dishes in their own right, the two Portuguese sources we possess often speak of soups or broths as proper, rich in taste, dishes – Rodriguez’s *Arte* in fact opens up with directions for twelve types of soups/broths.⁵⁶ Interestingly, most of the times these recipes stress how the soups have to be served with bread, in slices and in pieces. Indeed, recipe 45 devotes many words in explaining how to enjoy the broth together with bread: hence pouring it over some slices, or directly immersing pieces thereof on the plate, leaving such pieces to absorb the broth, turning the dish into a sort of “good potage”.

As for the ingredients, the variety of meats required by recipe 45 is aligned to Portuguese recipes. However, the most macroscopic hint of the Portuguese background of the recipe is represented by herbs, the reference to mint above all. Mint, “*hortelã*” in Portuguese, is well-known to belong to the Moorish tradition: it can often be found in MS I.E.33 as well as in the printed *Arte*, in more than one recipe acknowledged, not by chance, as “*mourisca*” [“Moorish”].⁵⁷ On the contrary, it very seldom features in English recipe books – and most of the times within overtly declared curative recipes, especially drinks.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the summery variation to the theme finds correspondences in

⁵⁶ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 1-10.

⁵⁷ For instance, MS I.E.33 fol. 5r; Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 196.

⁵⁸ A popular drink which often required mint was the so-called “Doctor Steven’s water”. “Doctor Steven” was Charles Estienne, (1504-1564), a French anatomist.

Rodriguez's attention to the seasonality of products often visible is the *Arte*, most notably within the final section "ways to give feasts in each month of the year".⁵⁹ Having said that, the case of this broth is particularly intriguing because while MS.I.E.33 provides recipes in which both meat and vegetables appears, the *Arte* completely focuses on meat-based broths only, especially ignoring leafy vegetables.

I shall move to the conclusions of this second chapter imminently. Yet, let me point out that, beyond recipes acknowledged as Portuguese from their very title, there is one (!) English printed recipe book which actually calls for "eighte figgs of Algarye" within the recipe "Sirrop of Rosa solis good for sowning or any other diseases in the stomach".⁶⁰ The OED does not recognise "Algarye" as a form of "Algarve" (this may be a mistake by the compositor who did not know the word) but this Portuguese region was, and still is, renowned for its figs (and almonds). In short, this is not only the sole case which, as far as I can see, a specific product is acknowledged as original to a Portuguese area; it is also the earliest reference to Portugal in English recipe books on the whole. While "to make Farts of Portnigale" was given in 1587, this recipe was already printed the year before, in 1586 and possibly even in 1582, but the edition is now lost.⁶¹ The text of the recipe, which I shall not discuss now but to which I will return in my main conclusions, is worth quoting in full.

Take a quarte of the best Aqua Composita, Aqua vitae a quarte, a quantitye of the Roses of Solis cleane picked: and some what dryed in the Sunne, put all these in a glasse, set it in the Sun foure or fve dayes [...] dates, a quarter of a pounce of Raisons at the Sunne, eighte Figges of Algarye, viii. graines of Muske, as muche of Ambergrice, white and redde Corral, Ana. of Pearles, all these infused togeather in the saide Liquor: and set in the Sunne forty dayes, and closely couered that no ayre may come vnto it.

* * *

What conclusions can we then make of Portuguese invocations in English recipe books? The bigger picture is of English readers who could have imagined, already some years before the arrival of Catherine of Braganza at the English court in 1662, Portuguese kitchens and tables full of sugar, in which preserved oranges consistently featured, together with eggs and meat dishes. Overall, the impression must have been that of very

⁵⁹ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 152-174, "Forma de como se ham de dar os banquetes em todos os meses do anno".

⁶⁰ [John Partridge], *The Widowes Treasure* (1586), Sig. [D.i].

⁶¹ Cfr. Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 60.

sweet and scented preparations, which included the use of musk, ambergris, rose- and orange-water and, even less frequently, currants, dates and almonds; but the impression must have also been of rich and flavoured dishes, in which a vast array of spices - pepper, cloves mace, cinnamon – were consistently employed, often in conjunction, moreover, with juice of lemons and oranges. With the arrival of the Queen, English readers could have not only imagined a garden of flourishing herbs and vegetables; but a garden in which products were consumed in association with several types of meats, here in broth. The relevance of soaked bread with which to serve broth and eggs, along within the preparation of pies, could probably have been observed by the attentive reader, also.

However, the most striking data is that while English readers appreciated for decades and decades the preservation of oranges – one of the Mediterranean fruits *par excellence* – via sugar and consequent transformation into marmalade as typically Portuguese, no equivalent recipe, out of a number to preserve other fruits, commencing with quinces, could have been found in MS I.E.33 nor in Rodriguez's *Arte de Cozinha*. Suggestively, not even the 1780 *Cozinheiro Moderno*, the first cookbook to be printed after Rodriguez's, detailed any recipe to preserve oranges – again, of the orange-tree, only the flowers were preserved.⁶² The very type of oranges employed complicates, moreover, the reading of this case: the bitter type, the only one overtly recognised in English early modern recipe books *tout court* – which seems to well explain the origins of *English marmalade* made by bitter oranges to date – lived alongside its sweet counterpart, acknowledged, instead, in Rodriguez's work as well as in the *Cozinheiro Moderno*.

Nonetheless, what must be pointed out is that the attention for the thick consistency of the final product (according to Woolley obtained by resorting to further pectin via the pap of roasted apples) as well as the tools with which to test it are clearly aligned to Portuguese directions. In other words, this case seems to speak not so much of a recipe, rather of a technique: that of the preservation of fruits via sugar, understood in its main traits. So, these directions acquire new significance in Anglo-Portuguese perspective disclosing, I would like to argue, clear appropriation – that said, though, there is no mention of optional scented waters as happens in both Portuguese sources. What certainly remains remarkably suggestive is how firmly oranges remained associated with Portugal. Clearly such association was intentional: no oranges grew in England in the early modern period.

English readers from the middle of the seventeenth-century could have also noted the fondness of the Portuguese for eggs. In this sense, the significance of these recipes lies not only in their number but also in their variety which beautifully reflects the

⁶² Lucas Rigaud, *Cozinheiro Moderno*, (Lisboa, 1780), 460, “*Doce the flor the laranja*” and “*Gateu, ou bolo de flor de Laranja*”. These two recipes are given immediately after those for more traditional jams.

Portuguese situation, as visible within MS I.E.33 and in Rodriguez's work. So, the recipes for fried eggs, especially with butter and together with mushrooms, described not too dissimilar ways from those given in Rodriguez. Above all, nonetheless, Portuguese eggs were prominently sweet and scented eggs. The most attentive reader could have possibly pondered, as I do, in which measure the chef's stylistic and personal touch informed these preparations, apparently conflicting with more traditional Portuguese ways: Woolley's creative *tiramisu*-like preparation (with her use of gold), as well as La Varenne's geometrical attention to the presentation of the *semifreddo* dish, in translation moreover, conflict with the surviving Portuguese recipes we possess, resembling none. They conflict with recipe 47 given in the *Closet* of Sir Kenelme Digby, which represents, in turn, the recipe more aligned to those Portuguese recipes detailed in the previous pages of this chapter. While it is true that the individual taste of an extraordinary consumer, like the Queen, could have been (at least partially) invoked as one of the reasons why the sweet eggs given in recipe 47 took the precise form that they did, it is equally true that her individual taste is what seems to guarantee the Portuguese trait of the dish.

Thanks to the broth still associated with the Queen – recipe 45 was certainly eye-catching given its royal association – the variety of leafy vegetables and herbs employed by Portuguese people within the preparation of broths was clear. This recipe finds no parallels either in MS I.E.33 nor in Rodriguez's work; nonetheless, in this case, for all the other converging elements previously described, as well as considering the default lack of vegetables in Rodriguez's cookbook in particular, I am inclined to make sense of this broth as a typical elite Portuguese broth: in short, I add this recipe given in the English *Closet of the Eminently Sir Kenelme Digbie Kt. opened* with no hesitation to the group of early modern Portuguese recipes we still possess.

I started this chapter with “farts of Portingale”, recipe 3. Now, after more than five centuries, *fartes* are still produced in Portugal. The dish itself looks like a very sweet “cake” (even if it does not require flour) formed only of eggs, water, sugar and almonds, gently cooked in the oven; *fartes* are perceived now in Portugal as quite a sophisticated sweet, not for daily consumption or preparation; so, quite paradoxically, if we want, it is more similar to the almond based tart given by May (recipe 32) than those biscuit-like preparations offered and eaten in Brazil in 1500.⁶³ In this respect recipe 3, although matching “in nature” to the *Fartees* of MS I.E.33, it ultimately required different ingredients and, very significantly, to swap the amount of olive oil for butter - the former being basically not available in England. For this case, thus, we can confidently speak about the assimilation but also adaptation of foreign recipes to the availability of local products. *Fartes*, as said, also physically reached England from Portugal so this recipe must have confirmed, during its time in print at least, that biscuit-like preparations were

⁶³ See for instance: <http://media.rtp.pt/praca/rubricas/fartes-culinaria/>.

commonly prepared there, with possible associations with life at sea, given that they certainly survived for months and were easy to transport. Of recipes 6 and 7, which imagine *Farts/Fystes* as spiced, fatty meat-balls to be served in broth, the incongruity of the name has been already pointed out: maybe the compositor simply mis-set “farce” here, given the chopped meat required. Equally, on the other hand, the striking similarity with dishes given in our Portuguese sources has been already discussed.

That said, it is worth remembering that these two dishes were in print only in 1597, so most probably they had no substantial impact on the English collective of such Portuguese culinary traditions. Undoubtedly, the English reader of recipes 3 and 6, both expressively concerned with “farts”, could not have failed to notice the divergence in preparation.

The other two meat-based dishes, recipes 22 and 40 speak of capons, roasted well and cooked in a pie. The aim of the English specification of capons possibly was to stress the quality of this type of domesticated bird in general and thus to suggest the very employment of a superior fat and soft meat, rather than a specific Portuguese custom to eat this bird. Certainly, though, both recipes speak to English readers of rich, seasoned and spiced preparations and, in the case of pies, of a laborious and scented elaboration. Like in the case of the preservation of oranges, I believe that the Portuguese trait of these dishes lies more in the ways to prepare and roast, as well as cook birds minced into pies in general, rather than how to precisely use capons in the kitchen. Whilst recipe 40 sees a divergence from equivalent recipes given in MS I. E. 33 and, of course Rodriguez’s, so that it is ultimately a matter of personal sensibility to believe (or not) in its plausibility as a Portuguese dish; recipe 22, I argue, could certainly reflect Portuguese methods to prepare and roast meat. Thus, recipe 22, from the anonymous *The Compleat Cook*, would not only represent another recipe to add to the overall very small number of early modern Portuguese preparations, but also a particular significant recipe in itself, by being concerned with techniques implied but never really explained in Portuguese recipe collections.

The next chapter looks at Spanish recipes and invocations and will thus present its own conclusions. I anticipate, nonetheless, that some important references to this very chapter and Portuguese culinary knowledge will be made as well.

4.

Spanish Invocations

This chapter reads closely the recipes available in English printed texts from 1500 to 1680, which are overtly acknowledged as belonging to the Spanish culinary tradition, as summarised in table 4.1. While table 4.1 lists a total of 38 recipes, the chapter engages with 27, since a number of recipes appear in more than one collection with substantially identical text. In the pages which follow, I analyse the recipes by category, moving from those which required sugar as key ingredient (fruits and flowers; other sweet preparations, such as creams, paps and eggs; chocolate) to those which do not (meat-based dishes, including *Olla podrida*; and vegetables, including potatoes). Unlike the previous chapter, this chapter also engages with other sparse references to Spain detectable in English recipe collections: hence the term “invocations” in the title.

As for the comparison with early modern Spanish recipe books, we possess a reasonable number of them, though still many fewer than English sources. With the exception of the first Spanish printed cookbook, the so-called *Libre del Coch*, from the early sixteenth-century – a text with a complex textual tradition - the remaining publications left the press between 1592 and 1611. Francisco Martínez Motiño’s *Arte de Cozina* in particular, dated 1611, was re-issued regularly throughout the entire seventeenth century and for this reason is the main point of comparison here. On the contrary, Granado’s 1599 *Arte de Cocina*, which silently borrows a vast number of recipes from Bartolomeo Scappi’s cookbook, will be used as sparingly as possible.¹ Composed around 1550, Vallés’ monumental *Regalo de la Vida Humana*, by being the most detailed and comprehensive manuscript with over six hundred recipes, constitutes a recurrent point of comparison here – and thanks to Fernando Serrano Larráyoiz’s superb edition of the text it is readily accessible to readers of Spanish.²

Like the previous one, also this chapter discovers a varied and fascinating picture which is also informed by the complex transmission of a couple of recipes via foreign collections. While some recipes unquestionably match Spanish equivalents, especially in their call for specific techniques, some others, although aligned with Spanish exemplars, nonetheless significantly diverge from them. In between these two extremes, some recipes

¹ Cfr. Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 355-358.

² Fernando Serrano Larráyoiz ed., *Juan Vallés. Regalo de la Vida Humana* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra-Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2008). This is a two-volume work: while the first volume is the facsimile of the manuscript the second gives the introduction(s) and transcriptions of the recipes, listed according to their original numeration. Throughout this chapter the work will be cited as “Vallés, *Regalo*” with pages taken from the second volume also giving, for precision, the number of the recipes as well.

plausibly display Spanish culinary traditions, but it is difficult to make a definitive comparison, as the techniques remain implicit within Spanish texts. This chapter moreover, also reveals the presence of a few clear associations between raw products and Spain; cases which testify to different extents of geographical, and culinary, awareness among compilers and readers. Like the previous chapter, this one grasps the early modern English imagination of Spanish kitchen expertise as obtainable via recipe books.

| RECIPES | |
|----------------|---|
| 1. | Anon. [This is the Boke of Cokery]. Bruet of Spayne; |
| 2. | Ruscelli, Girolamo. <i>The Secretes of ...Alexis of Piemount.</i> To confite peches after the Spanyshe facion; [5] |
| 4. | A.W. <i>A Book of Cookrye.</i> Edward Allde, printer. To make conserue of quinces after the manner of Spaine; |
| 5. | Dawson, Thomas. <i>The second part of...</i> Edward Allde for Edward White. To confite peaches after the Spanish fashion; [2] |
| 8. | Anon. [<i>A Book of Cookerie</i>]. Edward Allde, printer. To make Spanish balles; |
| 9. | Rosselli, Giovanni De. <i>Epulario, or the Italian Banquet.</i> To make Miraus of Spaine; |
| 11. | Anon. <i>A closet for Ladies and Gentlevomen.</i> To candy marigolds in wedges the Spanish fashion; [39; 54] |
| 12. | Markham, Gervase. <i>The English Husvwife.</i> Olepotrige ... “esteemed in all Spaine”; |
| 13. | Anon. <i>The Ladies Cabinet Opened.</i> To preserve all kind of flowers in the Spanish candy in wedges; [14] |
| 14. | Anon. <i>A Book of Fruits and Flowers.</i> To preserve all kind of flowers in the Spanish candy in wedges; [13] |
| 15. | [†Kent, Elisabeth Grey, Countess of.] <i>A Choice Manual.</i> To candie all kind of floures in wayes of the Spanish Candie [16; 38] |
| 16. | W. J. <i>True Gentlewomans Delight.</i> To candy all kind of floures in wayes of the Spanish candy; [15; 38] |
| 18. | La Varenne, François Pierre. <i>The French Cook.</i> Cardons of Spaine; |
| 19. | W.[alter] M.[ontagu]? <i>The Queens Closet Opened.</i> To candy Spanish flowers; |
| 20. | To candy citrons after the Spanish way; |
| 21. | Anon. <i>The Compleat Cook.</i> A Spanish creame; |
| 23. | To make Spanish Pappes; |
| 24. | A Spanish Olio; |
| 25. | Marnettè, Mounsieur. <i>The Perfect Cook.</i> To make small minced pies according to the Spanish fashion; |
| 27. | [Mayerne, Theodore Turquet de, Sir]? <i>Archimagirus Anglo-Gallicus.</i> To make Capon pyes Spanish fashion; |
| 28. | May, Robert. <i>The Accomplisht Cook.</i> To make an Olio Podrida; |
| 29. | Forcing in the Spanish fashion in balls; |
| 30. | To dress oxe cheeks in stofadoe, or the Spanish fashion; |
| 31. | To souce or jelly a pig in the Spanish fashion; |
| 34. | To dress eggs in the Spanish fashion, called, wivos me quidos; [36] |
| 36. | Rabisha, William. <i>The Whole Body of Cookery Dissected.</i> To dress eggs in the Spanish fashion; [34] |

| | | |
|--|---|----------|
| 38. | To candie all sorts of flowers after the Spanish way; | [15; 16] |
| 39. | To candie marigolds in wedges, the Spanish fashion; | [11; 54] |
| Woolley, Hannah. <i>The Ladies Directory</i>. | | |
| 41. | To make Spanish Chaculata; | [51] |
| 42. | To candy the Spanish candy; | [49; 52] |
| † Digbie, Kenelme. <i>The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir.... Opened</i>. | | |
| 44. | An excellent Spanish cream; | |
| 46. | A plain but good Spanish oglia; | [55] |
| Woolley, Hannah. <i>The Queen-like Closet</i>. | | |
| 49. | The Spanish Candy; | [42; 52] |
| 50. | To make Spanish Pap; | |
| Eadem. <i>The Ladies Delight</i>. | | |
| 51. | To make Spanish chaculate; | [41] |
| 52. | To candy the Spanish candy; | [42; 49] |
| Anon. <i>The Accomplish'd Lady's Delight</i>. | | |
| 54. | To candy marigolds in wedges, the Spanish fashion; | [11; 39] |
| 55. | To make a good Spanish olio; | [46] |

Table 4.1 – Recipes acknowledged as Spanish in English recipe books.

* * *

Recipe 2, which belongs to the 1558 English translation of Ruscelli's *Secretes* (1555), instructs its English readers how "To confite peches"; the recipe, with minor variations, was included also in Thomas Dawson's collection, thus it was printed for the last time in 1606. While recipe 2 translates the *Secretes* into English via the French translation, recipe 5 seems to re-arrange the English text of recipe 2 directly. In all three languages, peaches cut into pieces are preserved following simple but repetitive directions, which can take up to several days to be completed. After having been cleaned, cut and peeled, these fruits are placed in the sun on top of a wooden table for a couple of days in order to dry. The fruits must be dried out on both sides, hence the instruction to turn them frequently. Subsequently, the peaches have to be soaked in syrup of sugar and dried in the sun again, with the syrup "prepared as is aforesaid" – I shall come back to this point later. The combination of sun-drying and sugar has to be repeated three or four times until the peaches "haue gotten a faire barke or cruste" and are finally ready to be stored "in boxes for the winter".

Among the Spanish printed recipes we still possess, Baeza and Martinez Motiño advise readers to preserve peaches; yet within their recipe collections sun-drying, as a technique, is completely absent: it is all about sugar and honey.³ This absence may have several explanations, commencing with the fact that these are two cookbooks in the strictest sense, thus descriptions of cooking techniques. It is by looking at manuscript

³ Miguel de Baeza, *Los Cuatro Libros Del Arte de la Confiteria*, recipe 49 "about the fine jam of peaches" ["*De la conserva de los duraznos fina*"]; recipe 58, "about the fine meat of peaches" ["*De la carne de los durazon fina*"]. It is not possible to furnish the exact page of the recipes, but only their title together with their original numeration. Please see: *Bibliography*, 242. Francisco Martinez Motiño, *Arte de Cozina*, 289.

sources, in particular at the *Regalo de la Vida Humana*, that we can understand another aspect of the Spanish tradition of preserving fruits and, crucially, see how well recipe 2 (and hence 5) reflects it. In Vallés' fourth chapter, which is fully devoted to "all the jams and electuaries of sugar and honey" ["*todas las conservas y electuarios de açucar y de miel*"], it is clearly stated that one of the many ways to preserve fruits, and especially peaches, is to dry them outdoors on a wooden table for days, and later place them in sugar.⁴

It is in recipe 4, in print from 1587 to 1594, that English readers found directions "To make conserue of quinces after the Spanish fashion". The first half of the text might have well surprised them, though: it is particularly concerned with a certain froth deriving from the immersion of "the whites of two eggs, shels and all" in boiling water, in which seven pounds of quinces have already been laid. The recipe also specifies that only after having removed the froth can five pounds of sugar be added to the water, until all is soft. At this point, a "woollen cloth of cotten" and a "canvas cloth" are required in order to filter the quinces which have to go back to the fire several times in between filtering, and then are to be stirred with "stickes with broade endes".

As seen in the previous chapter, quinces ("*membrillos*" in Spanish), were the most common type of fruit to be preserved according to Portuguese recipes; Spanish collections offer a striking number of equivalent recipes. Moreover, recipe 4, with its attentiveness towards the necessary tools as well as the repetitiveness of the instructions, resembles the vast majority of Spanish directions to preserve fruits: the final lines, in particular, are thus strongly aligned to the Spanish tradition of preparing jams and preserves. On the contrary, something similar to the froth which occupies the entire first half of the English text can be found by looking at the Spanish tradition. Let me quote from Baeza's third recipe: "the ways of clarifying the sugar and why it is clarified by eggs".⁵

It is well-known that in order to clarify the sugar eggs are used, however there are some officers and masters who if asked why [sugar] is clarified by eggs would not be able to give reason or answer this question [...] As I said, the egg whisked with that water by reducing itself in the sugar while boiling, brings away the viscosity of the sugar....⁶

⁴ Vallés, *Regalo*, 464-467, recipe 10, "About the preservatives and electuaries made of peaches and melocoton" ["*De la conserva y electuarios que se hazen de duraznos y melocotòn*"].

⁵ Baeza, *Arte de la Confiteria*, 30-31, recipe 3, ["*Del modo de clarificar el açucar y por qué se clarifica con huevo*"].

⁶ Ibid., "*Para clarificar el azúcar es notorio que se clarifica con guebos, pero también ay algunos oficiales y maestros que si le preguntassen por qué razón se clarifca con guebo no sabrían dar razón ni responder a esta pregunta... Como tengo dicho, el guebo que va arrebuuelto con aquel agua se quaja en el açucar en hirviendo y tray consigo la viscosidad del açucar...*".

Before Baeza, the *Vergel de Señores* devotes its entire first recipe to indicate “how the sugar has to be and how it has to be clarified” [“*que tal a de ser el açucar y como se ha de clarificar*”]: there, the use of fresh egg whites [“*claras de huebos frescos*”] in water is acknowledged.⁷ The centrality of the process of purification of sugar via water and beaten eggs (sometimes water and whites, and sometimes water and entire eggs) can also be found in the long and detailed instructions on “how to clarify sugar” [“*como se ha de clarificar el açucar*”] given in Juan Vallés’ *Regalo de la Vida Humana*.⁸ All of these recipes, placed in key positions within their respective collections, stress that the rising froth, which contains the impurities of the sugar, has no other purpose than to be removed, which thus results in a “clean” sugar; this sugar, in turn, is invariably employed for the confection of a wide range of preserves. In short: within Spanish recipes the eggs must be added to the sugar only, not to the quinces in sugar as recipe 4 indicates.

Looking at the corpus of English printed recipes, it is evident that, out of several hundred recipes for the preservation of fruits, only a handful of them imply the clarification of sugar via eggs, and no English collection overtly focuses on clarification as a proper technique.⁹ The most notable exception, in translation from the French language, is Ruscelli’s *Secretes*: at the start of the third book fully devoted to confectionary, the reader finds directions which replicate to the Spanish tradition of sugar clarification via eggs, and the subsequent removal of its froth, entitled “howe to purifie and prepare honnye and sugre for to confite Cytrons and all other fruites”.¹⁰ These directions appear within the *Secretes* directly before “To confite peches after the Spanyshe facion”, our recipe 2 (and 5) discussed above: the line “prepared as is aforesaid” about the syrup of sugar needed to preserve peaches refers to this recipe.

Let us jump forward in time to recipe 20. The last recipe to focus on the preservation of fruits acknowledged as Spanish within the corpus of early modern printed recipe books is “To candy Citrons after the Spanish way”, available from 1656 to at least 1698 within *The Queens Closet Opened*, attributed to Walter Montague. Citrons (*Citrus medica*), which at first glance can be taken for lemons so similar they are to each other, are instead characterised by a very thick rind and very little juice; in the early modern period they “were known to most Europeans as candied peel”.¹¹ Indeed, while now the noun commonly refers to lemons, early modern learned treatises and recipe books clearly distinguished them from lemons and oranges, the other more popular types of “citrus

⁷ MS 8565, f. 7r., [page 1 according to the modern archival pagination].

⁸ Vallés, *Regalo*, 434-436, recipe 3.

⁹ [Partridge], *The Widowes Treasure*, recipes “To preserve quinces” and “Marmalade of Quinces” – the book has no pagination and the signatures marks are inconsistent. Thomas Dawson, *The Second Part of the Good Hus-wiues Jewell*, 50-51, recipe “To make Quinces in Sirrope”.

¹⁰ Ruscelli, *Secretes*, “Fol.63”.

¹¹ Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe*, 52.

fruits”. Here, not by chance, the recipe describes how to make little candied “citron peels”. Everything starts with their soaking (“the inner part being taken away”) for nine days in cold water and ashes, taking care to “shift them” on the fifth day. Subsequently, the peels are washed until “the bitterness be taken away and that they grow sweet” and they are then to be boiled in water until soft. At this stage, and for a full day, they have to be placed in a vessel made of stone, together with some watery syrup of sugar. Subsequently, the citron peels must be boiled above a gentle fire until they resemble a little “stick of boiled sugar” (“penidies” says the recipe) or a paste-like consistency. Finally, they are placed “one by one” in a glass container with sugary rosewater “made somewhat hard”, and optionally scented with ambergris or musk.¹²

This recipe, which implies a remarkably long preparation time, is also well aligned to Spanish ones because of its attention towards the specific materials used to contain the citrons: a stone vessel first, a glass one later. The recipe calls for ashes as well. Ashes are to be added to cold water in order to initially ‘clean’ the citrons, that is to eliminate their bitterness (contained in their *oleoeuropin*). Could the indication to employ ashes within the preparation of food, indeed fruits in particular, be the element which, more than the citrons themselves, define the Spanishness of the recipe? While the recourse to ashes as a cleaning agent in the kitchen is not in itself surprising, their direct usage on fruit, or, in general within food practices, is remarkably uncommon in English recipe books.¹³

There is no direct trace of the use of “ashes” in early modern Spanish printed collections. However, Juan de Mata, royal confectioner to the Spanish court, in his best-selling book on confectionary entitled *Arte de Reposteria*, published in 1786, gives a brief, yet essential, description of the process of making “*legia*” (now in modern Spanish “*leija*”) which means “lye”, which he uses mainly to give olives a preliminary clean.¹⁴ Ashes, passed into a sieve, quicklime and water are placed together into a jar and then boiled; after two days, the ashes will have naturally moved towards the bottom of the jar, and the remaining liquid – which becomes *legia* – will then be ready to be taken and used.¹⁵ Given this key information, and the evidence of Spanish manuscript recipe books, it is clear that ashes or, better, *legia*, was often prescribed to soak fruits before their preservation: a soaking which could have lasted several days. Meaningfully here, within the *Regalo de la*

¹² OED, s.v. “Penide”.

¹³ The use of ashes is advised several times for their cleaning properties in Gervase Markham, *The English Huswifery*, for instance. Equally, Francisco Martínez Motiño, *Arte de Cocina*, advised to clean tables and tools with ashes within his “Frist chapter: About the cleanness of the kitchen, and the control who the first chef has to exercise in there” [“*Capitulo primero. De la limpieza de la cocina, y del gobierno que ha de tener el Cozinerero mayor en ella*”]. As for ashes as food, Robert May, *The Accomplished Cook*, 35-48, provides the reader with the section “To make all manner of Hashes”.

¹⁴ Juan de Mata, *Arte de Reposteria* (Madrid, 1786).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 161, “Special way to dress olives” [“*Modo especial de adobar aceytunas*”].

Vida Humana, the several page-long recipe to preserve citrons [“*de las conservas que se hazen de cidras*”], the word *lexia* appears numerous times.¹⁶

Five distinct recipes devoted to the preservation of flowers via sugar to make flowers into candied sweets, appear in English printed recipe collections: almost one-fifth of all the recipes discussed by this chapter. These recipes are numbers 11, 13, 15, 19 and 42. Their life in print, moreover, as table 2.2 shows, is significantly long: recipe 11 was available to English readers from 1608 to 1683 (though not printed in between 1656 and 1662). It is also worth stressing how many times these recipes entered other collections beyond their originals. Recipe 11 returns in recipes 39, and recipe 54, even if it is shorter, clearly also descends from it. Moreover, while recipe 14 copies recipe 13, recipes 16 and 38 copy recipe 15; equally, recipes 49 and 52 were copies of recipe 42. Only recipe 19 never reappeared in other printed collections. In short: taking into consideration re-prints, almost one-third of all the Spanish recipes available within English printed texts were concerned with preserved flowers.

I shall start with recipe 11, taken from the anonymous *A Closet for Ladies and Gentlewoman*. Following the extremely condensed directions given “To candy marigolds in wedges the Spanish fashion”, the reader is invited to recreate little candies, sweet treats, of a quite hard consistency. Quite suggestively marigolds, now naturalised in most of Europe, are “indigenous to central and northern South America”, having apparently reached the Continent via the first years of Spanish voyages of discoveries.¹⁷ However, in this case it is also possible that the term ‘marigold’ simply identifies the European, autochthonous plant of *calendula*. Regardless of the origin, the process of candying starts with two ounces of yellow marigolds “shredded” and dried “before the fire”, and then boiled together with four ounces of sugar, finally brought to the height of *Manus Christi*: recipe 54 simply says “to a height”. Later, the compound is poured into a “wet pie-plate” and when it is not too liquidised, nor too hard, it has to be cut into pieces, then finally placed on white paper and secured, according to the recipe, in a “stove” – which I read as synonymous with ‘iron box’. The recipe speaks of yellow marigold in “wedges”: the word, now obsolete, in this period could have defined “an ingot of gold, silver, etc.”¹⁸ Together with the explicit request of yellow marigolds, used to confer colour to several things, it was very likely that this candy looked like a little goldish rectangle rather than a sort of triangular prism which would have been extremely difficult to mould and shape. Indeed, just a couple of recipes before this, *Manus Christi* is described not simply as the

¹⁶ Vallés. *Regalo*, 484–486, recipe 19, which says “make ordinary, clean *lexia*” [“*Hagan lexia limpia de la comun*”]; see also 702, recipe 348, “take peaches and put them in *lexia* made with ashes for the space of three hours” [“*cojan los duraznos ...y ponganlos en lexia hecha de cenisa por espacio de tres horas...*”].

¹⁷ P.N. Ravindran, *The Encyclopedia of Herbes & Spices* (Wallingford: CABI, 2017), vol.2, 610.

¹⁸ OED, s.v. “Wedge”.

temperature of the sugar, but as a hard sweet-treat resulting from the cooling down of sugar syrup and rosewater in which a “leafe Gould” was also “mingled”.¹⁹

Recipe 13 (and 14), entitled “To preserve all kind of flowers in the Spanish candy in wedges” exited the printing press the first time in 1639 and finally in 1667 in two anonymous collections (see details in table 4.1). Offering directions to candy a “sort of banquetting stuff” the recipe, which similarly instructs readers to use a “wet pie-plate” on which to cut the compound, substantially differs from the recipe described above. Not only are violets, cowslips and “any other kind” of flowers used to supplant marigolds, but also, and more interestingly, they have to be tempered “with the pap of two roasted apples, and a drop or two of verjuice, and a grain of muske” before being placed in the syrup of sugar, so that the final impression is that these candies were softer and gummier than the previous ones. Intriguingly, the recipe specifically instructs the reader to “gild” the candies before storing them in boxes, ultimately recreating edible “wedges” in the sense of the word discussed earlier.

Recipe 15, “To candy all kind of floures in wayes of the Spanish candy”, was in print from 1653 to 1687. It was first available in *A Choice Manual*, a collection associated with Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Kent, and later in two different recipe books; recipes 16 and 38 share the same text. Recipe 15 represents a significant variant of recipe 13. First, the syrup is made with sugar and “as much rosewater”. Second: rather than two apples, only half a roasted apple in pap is to be added to the compound. Third: no verjuice is mentioned at all. Fourth: the candies *may* be sprinkled with gold, but evidently the maker could have skipped this step.

The recipes just summarised in the above paragraphs provide the reader with extremely similar instructions, yet the consistency as well as the perfume of the final candies seems to fluctuate, especially given the presence or lack of rosewater and musk. It is worth pointing out, moreover, that while the request to use gold is consistent, even if not always obligatory, the shape of the candies gradually disappears. The “wedges” of recipe 13 (and 14) transform into “wayes” in recipe 15 (and 16) and then into “after” in recipe 38, and this change is encapsulated in the titles (see table 4.1). According to recipes 16 and 38, the readers have to cut the compound in “wayes”, but recipe 11 asks for “waves”. It is recipe 11 that speaks about wedges in the first place.

Recipes 19 and 42, which are also concerned with Spanish ways to candy flowers remain to be analysed. Recipe 19, the sole text in this group to have not been reproduced in later publications, recurred in print from 1665 until 1698, in the *The Queens Closet Opened*, “by W.M”. It is a short and condensed recipe, yet remarkably attentive to detail. Generic flowers – but please note: the blossom thereof – are placed into a watery sugar

¹⁹ Cfr. the blog entry “Manus Christi” within “Time Travel Kitchen” available at: <https://bit.ly/2Njcn6T>.

syrup until it becomes “very thick”. Evidently, the addition of the blossoms to the syrup is understood as the reason why the latter reduces its temperature, as the recipe tells users to stir the mixture “till it turn into sugar again”. It is unclear how these candied flowers were to be cut or shaped: the line “stir them with the back of the spoon, till the sugar fall from it”, probably indicates that the circular, pearl-like shape of the blossom of flowers was maintained. “To candy Spanish flowers” produced candies which could have lasted up to a year and, says the recipe, might have kept for “sallets” – I shall come back to this point in my conclusions.

Finally, recipe 42, first printed in Hannah Woolley’s collections in 1662 and later from 1670 to 1684 (in recipes 49 and 52) advises readers first to beat “well picked” flowers into a mortar, and then to boil them in sugar, pouring the compound on a wet trencher, and cutting it “into lozenges”. At this point, unlike the other recipes discussed so far, the recipe shows a particular concreteness, suggesting that users work what remains of the posset (in which the flowers and syrup were boiled), with “some gum-dragon steeped in rose-water” (and a “little ambergreece” in recipe 49) shaping it into little pastilles which, before being consumed, have to be dried.

Spanish recipe books attest in no uncertain terms the preservation of flowers even if there is no source which specifically marks it out as such: directions to preserve flowers appear next to a variety of others to preserve fruits. In between a printed recipe to preserve pippins and another to preserve quinces, Baeza gives instructions for the conservation of roses [“*rosas*”], flowers of borage [“*flor de borraja*”], and roses again.²⁰ Granado’s section “to make several different jams” [“*para hazer diversas maneras de conservas*”] deals with fruits, roses, and orange blossoms, called by the specific name of “*azhar*”.²¹ Francisco Martinez Motiño preserves roses but also flowers of borage and rosemary [“*flor de romero*”].²² Equally, Spanish manuscripts offered various ways to preserve roses, flowers of borage and rosemary, and generic flowers [“*flores mezcladas*”].²³

Marigolds, however, never appear within Spanish recipes; on the contrary, they often evoked employment of clean blossom of flowers as it happens within recipe 19 only. Moreover, the request to add roasted apples (in recipes 12, 15, 16, 17 and 36) is not traceable at all in Spanish texts, whether in print or in manuscript. Furthermore, in Spanish recipes of this kind, honey still co-exists with sugar: very likely this is partially due to the fact that Spanish texts are older than English ones. What is interestingly similar is the request for musk which, together with other scented waters, but especially rosewater, is often demanded in Spanish preparations.

²⁰ Baeza, *Arte de la Confiteria*, recipes 52-54.

²¹ Diego Granado, *Arte de Cozina*, 277. Cfr. Vallés, *Regalo*, 508, “Of the conserve of “*azhar*” which is flower of oranges” [“*De la conserva de azhar que es flor the naranjos*”].

²² Martinez Motiño, *Arte de Cozina*, 292-4.

²³ Vallés, *Regalo*, 500-517, recipes 35-49. Cfr. also Ms 6058, 74-5.

The case of gold is, moreover, fascinating. Gold never appears in Spanish recipes to preserve fruits or flowers. Nonetheless, Vallés' *Regalo* gives instructions of "how to cover with gold or silver any sugary thing" ["*como se ha de dorar o platear qualquier cosa de açucar*"].²⁴ The recipe speaks about leaves of gold or silver which, usually kept between two tiny papers, have to be placed on the selected product and later brushed with rosewater or juice of "*alquitiria*" which, though hard to indentify precisely, was very likely employed for its adhesive properties.²⁵ Following these directions, it is hard to imagine anything more sugary and easily gold-plated than little candies.

There is a macroscopic element which must be acknowledged in this Anglo-Iberian comparison: with the exception of Vallés, Spanish sources, printed as well as manuscript, exclusively focus on the transformation of flowers into jams and conserves; the recipes listed two paragraphs ago all belong to this category. Little candies, made with flowers and sugar, are only explicitly visible within Vallés, where they are called tablets ["*tabletas*"]. They are obtained by mingling together sugar and roses (white or coloured) cut into pieces. The several page-long recipe which describes candies is entitled "how and in how many ways *açucar rosado* is made" ["*Como y de quantas maneras se haze el açucar rosado*"].²⁶ The Spanish adjective "*rosado*" means "rosy". However, by looking at the ratio of roses to sugar, the best translation of sugar "*rosado*" would be either "preserved roses" (a sort of jam of roses) or sometimes "sugar of roses", with the final products being sugar which smells of roses; and in a few other cases, "candied roses".²⁷

The next section of this chapter discusses the remaining recipes characterised again by their use of sugar as one of the central ingredients. These recipes proliferate in the second part of the seventeenth century. I shall start with eggs, moving to "Spanish paps" and "Spanish creams", finally concluding with chocolate.

Recipe 34 "To dress eggs in the Spanish fashion called, wivos me quidos", in print between 1660 and 1685 in May's cookbook, could also have been found within Rabisha's text (see recipe 36 of table 4.1). While the body of these recipes is identical, the same cannot be said for their title, given that the specification "called, wivos me quidos" is missing from the title of recipe 36. This phrase, which has already caught the attention of several food historians as an evident attempt to reproduce an original foreign expression, has been argued to be May's "quirking spelling for the Spanish phrase *huevos meijos* which means mixed or scrambled eggs", suggesting that "May had heard [the name of the

²⁴ Vallés, *Regalo*, 543, recipe 21.

²⁵ According to Candelario Mondragon-Jacobo and Salvador Perez-Gonzales, *Cactus (Opuntia Spp.) as Forage -Fao Plant Production and Protection Paper 169* (Rome, 2001), 7, "*alquitiria*" is a cactus, also commonly called *Nopal*. It is plausible, however, that there is an Old World cactus that is a better fit, and would have been known by the Arab world.

²⁶ Vallés, *Regalo*, 503, recipe 35.

²⁷ Please note: recipes like those for "pastilles of roses" ["*pasticas de rosas*"], available within the so-called *Manual de Mugerres* which, at first glance by reading their titles only, could possibly be the closest Spanish recipes to the English ones just discussed constitute, in fact, recipes for perfumes.

dish] said but had not seen in writing. Thus ‘huevos’ (eggs) comes out as ‘wivos’. The other two words might correspond to one word, mezclados, meaning ‘mixed’, or almizclados, meaning ‘musky’.²⁸ It is debateable whether this misspelling, quirking or not, has to be fully or partially ascribed to May: the compositor could well have played a role, as indeed this could have perceived as a phonetic transcription not a linguistic mistake. But, the central question, which food historians have not yet attempted to answer, is simple: what were these eggs? They were a sort of sweet, perfumed scrambled eggs, rich in taste. Twenty fresh eggs are beaten together with a quarter of a pint of sugar, a quantity “of sack, claret, or white wine”, grated nutmeg, salt, and the juice of an orange. Continually stirred on a fire until they “be a little thick, (but not too much)” these eggs, moreover, could have also been enriched with some musk, but such an addition would have been at the maker’s discretion. The dish, furthermore, was to be carefully presented on a piece of toasted bread, soaked “in juyce of orange and suguar, or in claret, suguar, or white wine” as well as “orange comfits, or muskedines red and white”.

The cookbooks of Hernandes Maceras and Martinez Motiño contain recipes for “*De huevos mecidos*” and “*Plato de huevos mexidos*” respectively (see figures 4.1 and 4.2 which show sections taken from the tables of the volumes). There is some resemblance between these eggs (which are clearly similar to each other), and the eggs described by May.

De los guilados de huevos, p. 89.
 Huevos abunuelados en cubiletes, p. 89.
 De huevos mecidos, p. 90.
 De huevos rellenos, p. 91.
 De huevos dorados, p. 92.
 De huevos en leche, p. 92.
 De huevos esponjados, p. 93.
 De huevos dulces, pag. 93.
 De un plato de cogombros, p. 95.
 De huevos atabalados, p. 96.

Figure 4.1 – Domingos Hernandes Maceras’, *Arte de Cozina*, 1607, detail of page 148.

199. Huevos hilados. 199. Otro plato de huevos hilados. 201. Plato de huevos mexidos. 202. Huevos esponjados. 202. Huevos de alforja. 203. Huevos con cominos. 204. Capirotada de huevos. 205. Otra capirotada de huevos rellenos. 205. Otros. 206. Huevos crecidos. 206. Huevos en escudilla. 207. Huevos rebueltos con vino. 207. Huevos arrollados. 208. Tor:
 Google

T A B L A.
 Tortillas de agua. 208. Tortillas Carajitas. 209. Tortillas dobladas. 209. Tortilla blanca. 209. Una tortilla con agua, y sal, y zumo de limon. 210. Tortilla con queso fresco. 210. Huevos de capirote. 210. Platillo de huevos dulces. 211. Huevos dorados. 212. Fricafea de huevos. 213. Huevos en puchero. 213.

Figure 4.2 – Francisco Martinez Motiño, *Arte de Cozina*, 1611, detail of pages 334-335.

²⁸ Albala, *The Banquet*, 133; Alan Davidson et al, ed., *The Accomplisht Cook*, 35, “Glossary”, s.v. “Wivos me quidos”.

Motiño's and Maceras's recipes simply speak of yolks of eggs and "almíbar", which is nothing more than sugar dissolved (not boiled) in warm water, with which the eggs are beaten – this is all it takes to make these Spanish scrambled eggs.²⁹ While Macera garnishes the dish with cinnamon, Motiño suggests serving the eggs with some sliced bread, and even more interestingly, considering May's recipes, tells the reader to "adorn the dish with some preserves" ["*adornando el plato con algunas conservas*"].³⁰ Among the numerous dishes on eggs given in Spanish sources, exemplified by those listed in the tables below, there is no single recipe which matches recipe 34. Possibly the most similar preparation given in Spanish cookbooks is represented by "to make double omelette" ["*para hazer tortillas dobles*"] available within Granado's *Libro del Arte de Cozina*. There, ten eggs are beaten with rosewater and salt, and are served on a plate together with some cinnamon, sugar, orange juice, and raisins.³¹

1655 is not usually remembered as the first year in which English people could have read how "To make Spanish pappe"; but so it was – within the anonymous *The Compleat Cook*. Recipe 23 asks for a mixture of "three spoonfuls" of rice-flour, sugar and rosewater, to be mingled with two yolks of eggs; later, the mixture is poured into a pint of cold cream and cooked "to a reasonable thicknesse", ready to be served. The last year in which this recipe was printed was 1684.

1684 also represents the last year of printing of recipe 50, first printed in 1670, fifteen years later than recipe 23, in Woolley's *The Queen-like Closet*. The recipe constitutes the second way available to English readers "to make Spanish pap". First some cream is to be boiled with "whole Spice" (possibly cinnamon sticks but the recipe does not specify this); later, having "take out the Spice", the cream has to gain consistency, via the addition of rice-flour. Once the flour is well amalgamated the reader is instructed to place "yolks of Eggs, and Sugar and Rosewater, with a very little Salt" in the compound, which, with some sugar sprinkled on the top, is ready to be served as a dish.

Within pre-modern Spanish printed and manuscript recipe collections there is nothing similar to the two paps described above. Nor does the 1747 *Arte de Reposteria* details something analogous. With some limits, comparing the "pap" described in recipes 23 and 50 to the evolution of so-called "white dishes" helps us to illuminate the nature of the pap itself. Called *Blancmange* in English, *Manjar Blanco* in Spanish, *Biancomangiare* in Italian, as well as the French *Blanc-manger*, from which the English derives, these "white dishes" are traceable in almost every recipe book of Medieval Europe, often under

²⁹ There is no pre-modern recipe books which explains what "almíbar" precisely is but it is clear that the sugar is not boiled. Moreover, the word is still used today with the same meaning. Cfr. *Real Academia Española*, henceforth RAE, s.v. "Almíbar".

³⁰ Motiño, *Arte de Cozina*, 202.

³¹ Granado, *Arte de Cozina*, 198-99.

the name of “royal/imperial dishes”. Following different patterns according to different regions of Europe, they evolved from a sort of meat-based thick pudding – made with finely beaten chicken flesh or other similar birds, along with rice, sugar, rosewater and almond milk – into a sweet dessert which, by being completely deprived of the animal meat, must have been less thick than the original in consistency.³² In other words, even if we do not know exactly when *Manjar Blanco* turned into a sweet pudding in Spain (in France this sweet evolution happened not before the 18th or 19th century), and even if absolutely all the early modern Spanish sources we possess unfailingly include directions to make *Manjar Blanco* (either “*Real*” or “*Imperial*”) understood in its original form, it is easy to see the similarities between the pap of recipe 23 and 50 and the later version of “white dishes”, especially in terms of ingredients, texture and flavours.³³

Even more strikingly, we can note the similarities of the pap described in recipe 23 and 50 with the now universally known “Catalan cream”: a dish which, precisely like the pap, requires egg yolks. Do our English recipes 23 and 50 constitute early modern versions of the Catalan cream as we all know it today, that is corn-starch worked with some milk, to which beaten eggs, sugar and vanilla (or other essences) are added, gently cooked but later served cold with the characteristic sugary crusty top?

Recipes 21 and 44, contained in *The Compleat Cook* and Digby’s *Closet* respectively, detail Spanish ways to make cream: the dense and fat part of the milk, usually white or light-yellow (hence “yellow cream” to define the colour), formed at the top of the milk itself it has been left to stand at least for a day; properly beaten, this cream also transforms into butter. Recipe 21 is all about technique. The first step involves directly milking into a bucket previously filled with hot water, thrown away just seconds before the milking so that the bucket remains hot but is dry. The second step, recognised by the recipe as being the extraordinary, hence seemingly being the precise Spanish trait, requires the immediate filtering of the fresh milk into milk-pans “set on the ground” while “stand[ing] on a stool”, being cautious while pouring the milk, since it “may rise in bubbles with the fall”. It seems that the distance between the bucket and the pan, if we imagine the former kept over a stool and the latter placed on the ground, is what facilitates the formation of bubbles. By the following day, according to the recipe, the milk will have turned into a “very tough cream” and will be ready to be laid down upon other layers of thick cream, with some sugar optionally dispersed in between.

³² A good account is given in Darra Goldstein ed., *The Oxford Companion to Sugar and Sweets* (Oxford University Press, 2015), s.v. “Blancmanger”, 65-67. Cfr also Davidson et al, ed., *The Accomplisht Cook*, 23, “Glossary”, s.v. “Blamanger”.

³³ See Campbell, *At the First Table*, 108. Please note that within Roselli, *Epulario, or the Italian Banquet*, two recipes for “white dishes” are given according to the “Catalonian manner.” See *Appendix I*, 215.

Recipe 44, for “An excellent Spanish cream”, is about technique as well. In this case, a little piece of “double refined hard sugar” is added to two quarters of already “perfectly sweet-cream” always stirred in the same direction on a “char-coal-fire” which must not be too hot, as otherwise the cream “will turn to oyl”, warns the recipe. After some gentle stirring, a layer of thick cream will rise to the top of pan; this layer will have to be removed and placed over a dish. By continually stirring and removing; stirring and removing, and so on, all of the initial cream will finally turn into several pieces of thick cream. Like recipe 21, the final dish will be a layer of creams, served either warm or cold, with some extra sugar possibly rendering everything even sweeter. The wording of these various recipes for cream, suggests that their writers were particularly concerned not only to transmit knowledge of a recipe, but to also describe the process in quite visual ways, conjuring a process seen, experienced, and felt.

As well as preserved fruits and flowers, cream [“*nata*”] often features in Spanish recipe collections. Printed sources attest to its popularity: there, its use is key in preparing cakes and several other sweet preparations. The *Arte de Cozina* by Motiño, for instance, details nine recipes in which cream is essential, including “little creams of milk and flour” [“*natillas de leche y harina*”] and “custard tarts” [“*pastellones de nata*”].³⁴ It also recommends cream another eleven times within recipes: to make biscuits and to dress fruits, but also to dress soups and different sorts of meats. Motiño though, like the other Spanish chefs who made it to print, never described cream as being eaten on its own, a dish in its own sake. Even more importantly, the basic process of making cream is never explained, so we cannot be sure about how exactly his cream was made.

The presence of cream in manuscript recipe books is more discrete but still visible.³⁵ Crucially here, the *Regalo de la Vida Humana* offers the only explanation of the process of making cream which has survived the centuries, in significant detail. Details aside, “how to make creams” [“*como se hazen las natas*”] indicates, fundamentally, that one needs to boil the milk and to skim the cream when it appears at the top, then repeat this operation as many times as possible.³⁶ The recipe makes no mention of sugar. The recipe requires, furthermore, a day of rest before serving the cream. The last paragraph reflects:

Some other prepare cream without so much industriousness, cooking up the milk until it boils well. . . and they cook it in order to eat it. . . so they put the cream to cool down. And I have eaten creams made this way which were very good, even if the others are better.³⁷

³⁴ Motiño, *Arte de Cozina*, 76; 136-37.

³⁵ For instance, Ms 6058, 27r.

³⁶ Vallés, *Regalo*, 579, recipe 7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 581, “*Otros hazen la nata sin tanta cerimonia coziendo la leche no mas de quanto bulla bien y como se acostumbra cozer para comerla...la ponen a enfriar. Y yo he comido natas muy buenas fechas desta manera ahunque todavia seran mejores las otras*”.

The quoted passage reduces the distance between English readers' understanding of Spanish creams and Spanish practices as it speaks of layered creams enjoyed as such – even if, ultimately, neither recipe 21 or recipe 44 fully matches the recipe given here.

Soon I will put the (prominence of) sugar and sweetness so far described aside in order to engage with the meat-based dishes associated with Spain in English printed texts. However, before this, let me discuss chocolate whose main ingredient is cacao, one of the products *par excellence* of the New World. Here chocolate has to be understood as a drink as well as a paste; the latter is basically a tablet with sugar, spices and ground nuts inside. Much has been written on this product already: that it reached Europe from Mesoamerica via Spanish *conquistadores* (a short-hand term for soldiers, settlers, merchants, but also for courtiers and families) is a given for food historians.³⁸ That chocolate reached England through Spain is also well-known.³⁹ Significantly, while chocolate was consumed in Spain since the middle of the sixteenth-century at least, enduring as the most fashionable drink among the Spanish nobility up until the middle of the nineteenth century, the evidence for its consumption in England dates to the middle of the seventeenth-century.⁴⁰ Moreover, it seems that the English consumption of chocolate, just “some 50 years” after its introduction, went out of fashion.⁴¹

“To make Spanish Chaculata”, recipe 41 (and 51), appears within two of Woolley's publications, in print in 1662 and in 1672, and offers simple instructions for chocolate to be consumed as a hot drink. After some water has boiled for a quarter of an hour, first sugar and later some chocolate paste “scrape[d] ...very fine” also have to be added, before they are boiled together for another half an hour; notably, at the very end just before it is served, the compound is enriched with some beaten yolks of eggs, until everything gets “thick”.

It is worth noting that Woolley's most popular recipe collection, *The Queen-like Closet*, in print from 1670 up to 1684, includes the recipe “to make chaculata”, with no reference to Spain, and that it differs from recipe 41 in the sense that it does not envisage

³⁸ Arthur Knapp, *Cocoa and Chocolate: Their History from Plantation to Consumer* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1920). Christine A. Jones, “Exotic Edibles: Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, and the Early Modern French How-to,” in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 43, no. 3 (2013): 623-653. Beth Marie Forrest and April L. Najaj, “Is Sipping Sin Breaking Fast? The Catholic Chocolate Controversy and the Changing World of Early Modern Spain,” in *Food and Foodways* 15, no. 1 (2007), 31-52. See also Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Cornell University Press, 2010).

³⁹ Kate Loveman, “The Introduction of Chocolate into England: Retailers, Researchers, and Consumers, 1640-1730,” in *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 1 (2013): 27-46; Edmond Valentine Campion, “Thomas Gage and the English Colonial Encounter with Chocolate,” in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39 (2009), 183-200; James Delbourgo, “Sir Hans Sloane's Milk Chocolate and the Whole History of the Cacao,” *Social Text* 106, no. 29 (2011), 71-101.

⁴⁰ Cfr. Maria del Carmen Simon Palmer, *La Cocina de Palacio* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1997), esp. 37-79.

⁴¹ Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England. Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760* (London: Hambledon, 2007), 310.

boiling water, rather “a pint of Clarret wine”.⁴² It has been suggested that this swap of wine for water could possibly indicate an Anglicisation of chocolate, with Woolley taking “a familiar English recipe for a posset (a hot curdled wine or ale drink) and modifying it with the addition of ...chocolate”: this is certainly an interesting reading of the case.⁴³

However, many further points can be made in relation to this recipe, especially from an Anglo-Iberian perspective. The first is that there are no directions with which to compare recipe 41 within pre-modern Spanish recipe collections at all. It is only in the 1747 *Arte de Reposteria* that a proper section about chocolate appears. It opens by noting that “no one ignores the composition of Chocolate, which is a solid paste, made by cacao...sugar and cinnamon” [“ninguno ignora la composition del Chocolate, que es una pasta solida, compuesta de Cacao...de Azucar y Canela”] and, significantly but somehow unfortunately here, that:

...because the ordinary way to make Chocolate is so common, it will be omitted here, as it would be impertinent [to give it], so well-known it is. If you would like to make it more delicious, some few drops of orange-flower water and vanilla can be added while the paste is made [...] they way to make [chocolate] using the *Chocolatera* will be also be omitted, because there is no house, even that of the most rustic person, which does not know how to make it.⁴⁴

Something else. Antonio Colmenero de Ledesma, a physician, authored, in 1631, his most famous treatise on chocolate, namely: *Curioso Tratado de la Naturaleza y Calidad del Chocolate*.⁴⁵ This is the first Spanish text – and the first European text – to offer not only many pages in which chocolate is meticulously discussed under the humoral framework (dealing especially with healthy and unhealthy combinations of cacao with other products, notably spices) but also to give a recipe to make chocolate in paste and, consequently, a recipe to drink chocolate. James Wadsworth, also known by his Spanish name Diego de Vades-forte, translated this work into English in 1640 as *A Curious Treatise of the Nature*

⁴² For the text of the recipe see *Appendix I*, 224.

⁴³ Amy Tigner, blog entry “Chocolate in Seventeenth-Century England, Part II”, within “The Recipes Project,” available online at: <https://recipes.hypotheses.org/731>.

⁴⁴ Mata, *Arte de Reposteria*, 144-5, “Y porque el modo ordinario de labrarle es tan comun, le omitirèmos como imperinente por sabido. Si se quisiere hacer mas delicioso, se pueden anadir, quando se forma la pasta, algunas gotas de agua de Azar y Baynilla [...] El modo de hacerle en la *Chocolatera* para tomarse, se omite tambien, porque no hay parte de casa, aune la del mas rustico Aldeano, que no se sepa”.

⁴⁵ Antonio Colmenero de Ledesma, *Curioso Tratado de la Naturaleza y Calidad del Chocolate* (Madrid, 1631). Cfr. Campbell, *At the First Table*, 110.

and *Quality of Chocolate*.⁴⁶ While no reprints of his translation seems to have occurred, Colmenero's work was also translated into Italian, French and Latin in the same years.⁴⁷ Wadsworth, born in 1604 in Spain from English, Roman Catholic parents belonging to a family since long of recusants, in 1625 moved to England, "where he publicly denounced popery and offered his services as a spy to the privy council".⁴⁸

It is impossible to say if Woolley knew Wadsworth's translation of the Spanish physician, or the extent to which Woolley's "Chaculate" paste (to be scrapple to then create chocolate to drink) resembled that given in Colmenero. If not via Woolley, some other English readers could certainly have learnt Colmenero's recipe, thanks to the faithful translation produced by Wadsworth. Figure 4.3, which artificially combines pages 15 and 16 of the English translation, shows the Spaniard's recipe for chocolate paste.

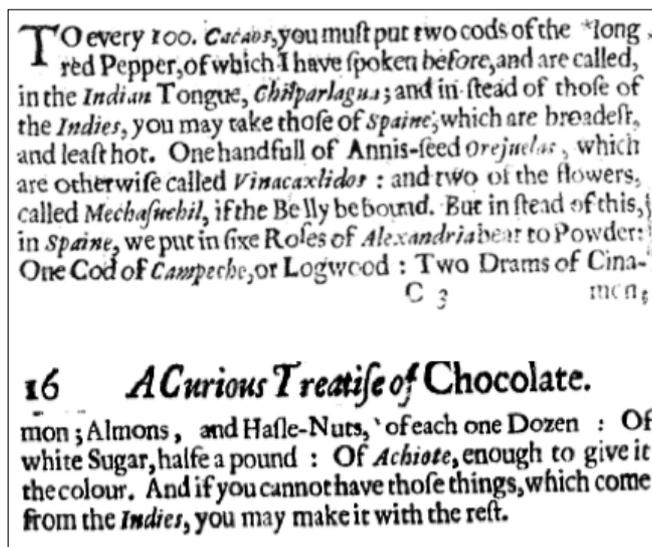


Figure 4.3 – James Wadsworth, translator. *A Curious Treatise of the Nature and Quality of Chocolate*, 1640, detail of pages 15-16.

As just said, the extent to which Woolley's chocolate resembled the above preparation remains an open question. What is certain is that Woolley's recipe 41 does not match Colmenero's way to prepare chocolate as a drink: according to the Spanish physician, chocolate was simply boiled in water with sugar, and so drunk, with no final addition of eggs like Woolley indicates.⁴⁹ Equally, Woolley fails to register that such a drink was obtained after having dissolved the chocolate paste through the so-called *molenillo*, the wooden whisker "...with a thick and toothed wheel at its lower end which, turned on one

⁴⁶ James Wadsworth, translator, *A Curious Treatise of the Nature and Quality of Chocolate. Written in Spanish by Antonio Colmenero, Doctor in Physicke and Chirurgery. And Put Into English by Don Diego de Vades-forte* (London, 1640).

⁴⁷ Cfr. Knapp, *Cocoa and Chocolate*, 187, "Books on Cocoa and Chocolate arranged in order of date of publication".

⁴⁸ ODNB, s.v. "Wadsworth, James [pseud. Diego de Vadesfoote]".

⁴⁹ Ledesma, *Curioso Tratado*, C9.

side and another, with outstretched hands” caused the rising of a very singular, airy froth, peculiar to potable chocolate.⁵⁰

In contrast, the similarities between Woolley’s recipe 41 (and 51) and the “manner of making chocolate”, which ends the 1652 *Chocolate: Or, An Indian Drinke*, the second book written by Wadsworth as a result of his engagement with Colmenero’s *Curioso Tratado*, must be acknowledged here.⁵¹ Despite what is professed on the title-page, this was not simply another word-by-word translation by Wadsworth of Colmenero’s text; rather, it was a partial re-visitation.⁵² Crucially here, this “manner of making chocolate” most likely represents a personal addition to be attributed to Wadsworth himself, not only because it is given after the concluding “finis” which ends the work but, above all, because such a “manner” is absent from the Spanish text (and any other translation of the work).⁵³ There, it is explained that chocolate, added to some boiling water, is sweetened with sugar and, notably, is prepared with some yolks of egg: precisely as Woolley’s recipe indicates. Wadsworth envisages using either boiling water or milk with which to prepare chocolate; moreover, his concluding “manner” abundantly speaks of the *Molenillo*. Woolley does not mention either the milk or the tool but the eggs are unquestionably a remarkable point in common.

Some years after Colmenero’s text in translation Woolley, like other English readers, could have also learned about chocolate from a text originally composed in English: in 1662 (coincidentally or not the same year as Woolley’s chocolate), Henry Stubbe presented King Charles II with *The Indian Nectar, or A Discourse Concerning Chocolata*, a medical text again deeply informed by humoral principles.⁵⁴ There Stubbe registered the learned discourse on chocolate among some notable Spanish doctors like Colmenero – to the extent of providing original quotations – as well as his own experience and understanding, as physician and consumer, of chocolate, acknowledging both “Indian and Spanish ways” as well as English ways of consumption.

What matters most here is that Stubbe informed his readers about two Spanish recipes to make chocolate: the former called “chocolata Royal” and the latter called “common-chocolata”. According to Stubbe “chocolata royal” was regularly consumed at the Spanish court and the recipe thereof was the one, he says in his preface, “whom I follow” – common chocolate is not discussed.⁵⁵ In the preface Stubbe also claims that in

⁵⁰ The definition given translates RAE, s.v. “Molinillo” which reads “*Palillo cilindrico con una rueda gruesa y dentada en su extremo inferior, que se hace girar a un lado y otro entre las manos extendidas, para batir el chocolate u otras cosas*”.

⁵¹ Wadsworth, *Chocolate: Or, An Indian drinke...Written originally in Spanish, by Antonio Colminero of Ledesma, Doctor in Physicke, and Faithfully Rendred in the English, by Capt. James Wadsworth* (London, 1652).

⁵² To my knowledge no scholar has ever studied the relationship between Colmenero’s text and Wadsworth’s “translations” – In effect, scholars often confuse Wadsworth’s texts with each other.

⁵³ Wadsworth, *Chocolate: or, An Indian Drinke*, last page of the volume (unnumbered).

⁵⁴ Henry Stubbe, *The Indian Nectar, or A Discourse Concerning Chocolata* (London, 1662).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Sig. [A6].

order to obtain the best “chocolate Royal” he was assisted, in England, by a certain Richard Mortimer, an “honest though poor man” who “lived in Spain many years and is as skilful as honest”.⁵⁶ The recipe to make potable chocolate is strikingly simple: dissolve the homonymous paste (made by cacao, vanilla and a number of other spices) in hot water with some sugar, and consume it either cold or hot.⁵⁷ What Stubbe also notes, just a few lines later, is that:

Here in England we are not content with the plain Spanish way of mixing Chokolata with water: but *they* either use milk alone, or half milk, and half conduit-water or else thicken the water (if they mix no milk with it) with one or more eggs put in entire, or yolks only into the water...⁵⁸

In other words: not only Stubbe confirms, though without providing details, Colmenero’s most simple, watery “plain Spanish way” to prepare chocolate to be drunk; but he also describes the English habit of enriching chocolate with eggs which is not only well-aligned to Woolley’s recipe 41 (and 51) but also, in turn, with Wadsworth’s “manner”. The word “they” which I have italicised within the above quotation refers to Englishmen and woman who, unlike Stubbe, do not follow the Spanish way.

It is now time to analyse meat dishes. Recipe 1, for “Bruet of Spain”, the only recipe not included within table 2.2, constitutes the first recipe acknowledged as Spanish to be printed within an English recipe book, in 1500; it describes long pieces of venison firstly fried in butter and consequently “washed in wine”, boiled together with sugar, almond milk, cloves, maces and vinegar, to be served as a sort of pottage, here called “bruet”.

While recipe 1 was reprinted in 1510 and in 1533, recipe 9, enigmatically entitled “to make Miraus of Spain”, left the press only in 1598, almost a century later. Recipe 9 describes a very rich pottage made from pieces of half roasted and dressed (how is not said) pieces of pigeon, pullets “or capons” which are boiled for one hour in clear broth “strained through a cloth” together with a previously prepared fine mixture of beaten almonds, toasted bread and some yolks of eggs (likely beaten rather than sodden); while the last mixture is tempered with some vinegar the dish in its entirety is spiced with “especially Sinnamon and Saffron”, as well as some sugar.

Recipe 9 is similar to recipe 1; within the remaining meat-based dishes, no other recipe is so aligned to recipe 1 than recipe 9. Why? Because recipe 9 is not simply taken

⁵⁶ *Ivi.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 109, my italics.

from the English translation of the Italian top-seller *Epulario*, originally printed in 1516; but it also, and most notably here, traces back to the *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*, a manuscript cookbook composed in Italian vernacular around the 1470s.⁵⁹ The original title of recipe 9, appearing in both sources, is “to make Catalan Miraus” [“*per fare mirrauesse catalano*”]: the swap of “Catalan” for “Spanish” is an exclusively English alteration to the text.⁶⁰

It is easy to see, as noted above, that both recipes 1 and 9, resemble to a very notable degree the meat-based dishes included within the 1525 printed recipe collection called *Libre del Coch* (previously printed in Catalan in 1520).⁶¹ There, the combination of spices, sugar and almonds represents the most notable trait of the late medieval meat-based recipes which the *Libre* offers. It is hard to say if such a combination was understood as the Spanish element of recipes 1 and 9, since it is well-known that Italian, French and English recipe collections of the period show the same disposition for rich, nowadays contrasting, flavours. It is possible that the use of vinegar was appreciated as distinctly Spanish: vinegar appears seldom in English late medieval recipe books – but this is a tentative reading of mine.⁶²

Recipe 8, for “Spanish balles”, printed in 1597, recreates meat-balls with the dimension of “tennis balls” formed from a mixture of some salt, finely chopped (leg of) mutton, beef marrow and eight egg yolks, “stewe[d] softly” for two hours in some salty beef- or mutton-broth and served, no more than three or four servings at a time, in the same broth. Recipe 29, “Forcing in the Spanish fashion in balls”, given in May’s cookbook from 1660 up to 1685, although presenting a clearly different text from recipe 8 nonetheless, appears to be a simple revisiting of recipe 8 in different words: the only small difference lies in the request for nutmeg among the main mixture to form up the balls which are served, moreover, thus on toasts of “wheaten bread of the finest quality” (“tostes of fine manchet” says the recipe), instead of broth.⁶³

Motino’s *Arte* contains several recipes to make meat-balls, called *Albondiguillas*, the first set of which are of mutton; Maceras’s *Arte*, much shorter than Motino’s, still

⁵⁹ Cfr. Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 68-69 and 206. Cfr. Luigi Ballerini, *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book – The Eminent Maestro Martino of Como*, translated and annotated by Jeremy Parzen (University of California Press, 2005).

⁶⁰ Cfr. web-page “Libro de Arte Coquinaria de Maestro Martino” within “Old cook- Gastronomie médiévale - Histoire de la cuisine” which furnishes the texts of both the Italian versions of recipe 9 online at: <https://bit.ly/2Nla4jU>.

⁶¹ Cfr. Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 347.

⁶² Cfr. Constance B. Hieatt, and Sharon Butler, ed., *Curye On Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century (Including The Forme Of Cury)*, (Early English Text Society, 1985); and also Samuel Pegge, ed., *The Form of Cury: A Roll of Ancient English Cookery, Compiled, about A.D. 1390, By the Master-Cooks of King Richard II* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). The original work was published in 1780 but remains a valuable approach to the text. Cfr. also Thomas Austin ed., *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books* (Early English Text Society, 1888) who edits instead British Library, Harleian MSS 279 and 4016.

⁶³ OED, s.v. “Manchet”.

nonetheless opens its first book with a recipe to make mutton meat-balls; Granado gives two main versions of meat-balls, called *Albondiguillas* as well as *Pulpetas*, in both cases commencing with mutton.⁶⁴ All these recipes regularly require egg yolks, salt as well as a fat component (butter or suet); however, they are richer in taste, with the minced meat always seasoned with a number of herbs, including nutmeg, and sometimes spices. Moreover, bread crumbles invariably represent a key component of Spanish meat-balls, which can be served in broth or within slices of bread.

The next two meat-based dishes given as Spanish and analysed here are pies. Recipe 25, “to make small pies”, printed for the first time in 1656 in Mounseur Marnettè’s *The Perfect Cook*, describes “little Spanish” pies filled with a variety of finely minced meats, namely: capons, pork, mutton and (fat) bacon. All these meats are mingled together with “good marrow and beef suet”, and also with “leeks or onions”, a large quantity of mushrooms, and “salt and sweet spices” at discretion. This latter is a unique wording in English recipe books. While the recipe only at its end recommends a pie “well and thoroughly baked” the attention towards the pastry, made solely of egg yolks and flour, is notable from the beginning, and the reader is taught to craft pie lids “not above two sheets of paper in thickness”.

Recipe 27, “to make Capon pyes”, found inside the 1658 *Archimagirus Anglo-Gallicus*, significantly diverges from the previous recipe. Here, the pastry of the seemingly crustless pie is obtained by working together butter, melted marrow, and sugar; the filling is a mixture of minced capons and beef suet, marrow, “a little cloves & mace, a little pepper, and a few currans”. Once cooked in the oven, the dish is not yet ready: it has to be seasoned with “clarret wine, juice of Orange, and sugar and beaten Amber”.

Meat pies, called “*tortas*” or “*costrada*” in Spanish, appear several times in Granado’s as well as Motiño’s cookbooks.⁶⁵ While no Spanish recipe details how the pastry is made – as this knowledge was evidently considered basic – several other conclusions can be drawn. The first is that Spanish sources describe pies exclusively filled with one type of meat: beef, or mutton, or chicken, or veal or kid, and contain no vegetables of any sort, like leeks or mushrooms. The second point is that these pies were always of finely minced meat, seasoned with herbs and spices, sometimes including sugar. The third observation worth making is the ubiquitous quest for fat, suet or marrow, with which to mix the filling. The fourth is that Ambergris, or rose-water, never features in these recipes, though the reader can find, on some occasions, orange juice poured over the pie before the serving. Raisins, occasionally topped the fish just before serving.

⁶⁴ Motiño, *Arte de Cozina*, 57-59; Maceras, *Arte de Cozina*, 12-13; Granado, *Arte de Cozina*, esp. 114-117.

⁶⁵ Granado, *Arte de Cozina*, 93-101; Motiño, *Arte de Cozina*, 78-80.

May's *The Accomplisht Cook* is the source of recipe 30. "To dress oxe cheeks in stofadoe, or the Spanish fashion" is, like recipe 25, a crusted pie. However, the recipe fundamentally teaches, and is mostly concerned with, how to dress, or, more precisely, how to "marinate", ox cheeks (technically speaking, oxes are castrated bulls). The recipe says that these pieces of meat, deprived of bones and cleaned, have to be placed in "an earthen pot or pan" for five or six hours in "claret or white wine, and wine vinegar, whole cloves, mace, beaten pepper, salt, slic't nutmegs, slic't ginger, and six or seven cloves of garlick" first; and later closed up with some pastry and gently baked overnight. The pie, for dinner the day after, is presented along with boiled carrots, "toasts of fine manchets fried" as well as some slices of oranges and lemons and some bay leaves as a garnish.

Recipe 30 is most intriguing. There is nothing which fully matches it within Spanish sources; however, beyond the ingredients used, it is the preliminary technique of preparing the meat to be "stewed", rendered into English as "*Stofadoe*", which possibly constitutes a concrete transmission of culinary knowledge from Spain to England. De Maceras' 1607 "how to make stewed ram/mutton" [*De como se ha de hazer carnero estofado*] represents the closest recipe in this sense.⁶⁶ There, the meat is "very well dressed" [*muy bien picada*] with animal fat, spices, and onions, and immediately placed in an earthen pot and cooked gently [*sera mejor en rescaldo que no en lubre*] for several hours. Maceras' recipe is possibly the sole description of how to prepare the meat which will subsequently be "*estofado*"; all the other Spanish recipes of this kind, in effect, always imply this technique through the use of adjectives like "*picado/a*" or the verb "*picar*". Considering that the "soaking" of the meat is, equally, always implied to be known and expected in Spanish recipes via expressions like "*remojo*", recipe 30 acquires even more significance in its attentiveness to Spanish techniques.

Recipe 31 is also from May's cookbook. "To souce or jelly a pig in the Spanish fashion" concerns the production of some slices of pork collar in jelly. This recipe (see the text in Appendix I to appreciate how difficult the recipe is to follow) appears to instruct the user to season some pork collars with "pepper, salt, and minced sage" and to boil them with "wine, water, salt, slic't ginger, and mace" together with (already boiled) tongues. It specifies, moreover, how to "make jelly of the liquor wherein it was boild, adding to it juyce of lemon, isinglass, spices" whilst also adding, extremely significantly in the light of the use of eggs in 'Spanish' sweet dishes described above, "sugar, clarified with eggs".

This case is truly fascinating. On one hand, recipe 31 provides the reader with directions which could easily belong to the Spanish tradition not only thanks to the employment of pork but also, and most crucially, because of the specification of the precise way to clarify sugar (as discussed above). On the other hand, it must be registered that

⁶⁶ Maceras, *Arte de Cozina*, 21.

there is absolutely no trace of anything similar to recipe 31 within Spanish collections while this kind of sauce is common all through the Germanic speaking countries.

In these pages I have described the meat-based dishes overtly associated with Spain; table 2.2 reminds us that most of them appeared in print in the last part of the seventeenth century. Table 2.2 also effectively shows the longevity of *Olla Podrida*: the Spanish dish which existed in print much longer, for almost a century, and that unfailingly requires meat. Since some of these recipes feature a very long list of ingredients, and given that Appendix I furnishes the texts of the recipes, I shall refrain from describing all of them. Please also note: potatoes, which feature some of these recipes, will be discussed separately below.

Any account of Spanish recipes in English printed recipe books would be grossly incomplete without an analysis of the different recipes which indicate how to make *Olla podrida*: in English sources also referred to as “Olepotrige”, “Olio” “Hodge potge” and variations.⁶⁷ Described in 1559 as a “a hotchpotch made of diuers meates put in one pot, as beefe, veale, mutton, kid, goate, hens, birdes, &c”, as well as in 1611 as “a kind of Spanish meate or dish of many meates together”, the established, literal translation of *Olla podrida* is “rotten pot”.⁶⁸ To explain the evident oddity of the name it has been tentatively argued, as early as 1737, that its semantic origin lies in the old Catalan *Olla poderida*, which means “potent pot”: thus either a rich dish, or maybe a dish for the rich, an explanation available only to readers of Spanish.⁶⁹

More than via the aforementioned dictionary entries, English people were possibly acquainted with the notion of *Olla* through Miguel de Cervantes’s masterpiece, *Don Quijote*, either enjoyed in the original, first printed in 1605 or in its English translation, available since 1612. Nothing less than the second sentence of the entire narrative mentions a daily pot made of “more beef than mutton”, to describe the dietary regimen of the famous knight – and indeed the knight himself.⁷⁰ Beyond this first important, yet still generic mention of a “Spanish pot”, an overt reference to *Olla podrida* occurs in the second volume of the book, published in 1615 and rendered in English in 1620: there Sancho, finally and newly appointed as governor of the island called Barataria, while dealing with his personal physician’s exhausting care for his diet, suggests that:

⁶⁷ Julian Walker, *Discovering Words in the Kitchen* (Bloomsbury, 2013), 63, s.v. “Hodge-Podge”.

⁶⁸ John Minshew, *A Dictionary in Spanish and English* (1599), s.v. “Olla Podrida”. John Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words* (1611), s.v. “podrida”.

⁶⁹ *Diccionario De La Lengua Castellana* (1737), s.v. “olla podrida”.

⁷⁰ *The History of the Valorous and Vvittie Knight-Errant, Don-Quixote of the Mancha Translated out of the Spanish.... The first parte* (London: Printed by William Stansby, for Ed. Blount and W. Barret, 1612), 1, Chapter 1: “There liued not long since in a certaine vilage of the Mancha, the name wherof I purposely omit, a Yeoman [...] His pot consisted daily of somewhat more Beeffe then Mutton, a little minced meate euery night, griefes and complaints the Saturdayes, Lentils on Fridayes, and now and then a Pigeon of respect on Sundayes...”.

...that great dish that stands fuming there before me, me thinks 'tid an Olla Podrida, and by reason of the diuersities of things it hath in it, I cannot but meet with something that will doe mee good.⁷¹

It was within Gervase Markham's bestseller *The English Husvwife*, printed in 1615, that the first recipe to make "Olepotrige" was available in England, and recipe 12 continued in print until 1695. Showing a rare vernacularisation of a foreign word, this long recipe opens with the claim that the dish "is the onely principall dish of boild meate which is esteemed in all Spaine": comments of this kind were not only exceptional in recipe books, but were also rare in Markham's texts so, very likely, this line caught the English imagination.

Markham's *olepotrige*, defined as a broth, even if only between the lines of the recipe, is much more than "a dish of boiled meats" progressively added to a "very large vessell" of boiling water, according to their texture and cooking time, commencing with "well-fed beefe" which is the sole type of meat which requires, after its first boiling in the water, to have the latter skimmed. Not only is the variety of the types of meat requested striking – as well as beef, some pieces of mutton, pork, venison, lamb, partridges, chicken, quails, rails, blackbirds, larks, sparrows "and other small birds" are called for – but the array of vegetables requested is also impressive, namely: "Potato roots, Turneps, and Skirrets", followed by "Spinage, Endiue, Succory, Marigold leaues & flowers, Lettice, Violet leaues, Strawberry leaues, Buglosse and Scallions" – please note: added "all whole and vnchoot". According to the recipe, moreover, when all of the ingredients were amalgamated and "tenderly boiled" they were to be seasoned with "a good store of Sugar, Cloues, Mace, Cinamon, Ginger and Nutmegge mixt together in a good quantity of Veriuiice and salt". The serving technique is also acknowledged: the meat, according to this recipe, was presented on plates in between small pieces of bread and the (whole and uncut) vegetables which were, in turn, covered "all over" with boiled "Prunes, Raisins, Currants, and blaunch't Almonds" previously boiled in another pot with "slices of Orenge and Lemmons" and "good store of sugar" topping it all off. Uniquely, Markham's recipe also indicates that the dish should be served "upon great Chargers, or long Spanish dishes made in the fashion of our English wodden trayes".

"To make an Olio Podrida", recipe 28, made its entrance into the world of English recipes in 1660 in Robert May's cookbook. Grammatically speaking, "olio

⁷¹ *The Second Part of the History of the Valorous and Witty Knight-Errant, Don Quixote of the Mancha. Written in Spanish by Michael Ceruantes: And Now Translated into English* (London: printed for Edward Blount, 1620), 307, Chapter 47.

podrida” is a mistake: yet, it is unlikely that the average reader would have been upset by, or even conscious of, such inaccuracy. On the contrary, the position of the recipe, which opens the entire *The Accomplisht Cook* (see figure 4.4) must have been noticed, even if it impossible to say what reactions this privileged position elicited in English minds.

Looking carefully, there is no overt reference to Spain here. However, the very name, even if wrong, certainly rang some “Spanish bells”. Moreover, the second verse epistle at the start of the book had already furnished an assurance of May’s appreciation of the foreign, if not precisely Spanish, origins of the dish. Speaking about May himself, the epistle says that: “Italian, Spaniard, French, he all out-goes, / Refines their Kickshaws, and their Olio’s”.⁷² Markham’s travels and experiences abroad, stressed in the preface of his work, must have contributed to readers’ recognition of the dish as ‘foreign’.⁷³ Considering the popularity of Markham’s *The English Husvife*, it is safe to say that this “olio podrida” was very likely associated with *olepotrige* and, thus, with Spain: this recipe is, in fact, completely aligned to the triumph of ingredients described by Markham.

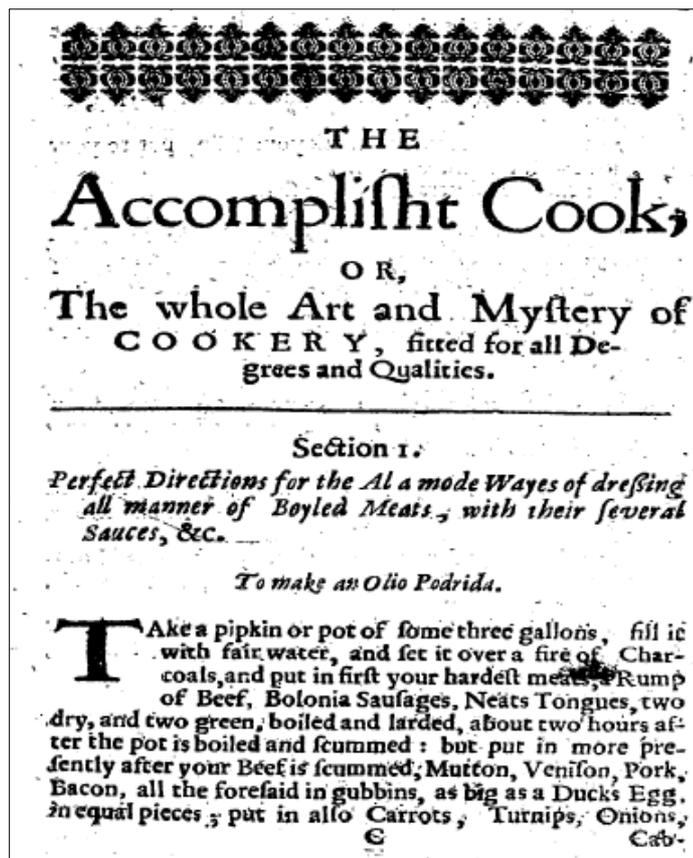


Figure 4.4 – Robert May, *The Accomplisht Cook*, 1660, page 1.

⁷² May, *The Accomplisht Cook*, Sig. [B1], “To the Reader of (my very loving Friend) Mr. ROBERT MAY his incomparable Book of Cookery”.

⁷³ See Chapter 2, 37.

In comparison to Markham's, May's recipe asks readers for even more ingredients and in bigger quantities. The procedure is also more sophisticated: three separate pots, each placed over "a fire of Charcoals", contain different cooked products which only at the very end are served together as a dish with a topping of sliced lemons as well as lemon peels, and beaten butter. The first pot boils the "hardest meats", i.e. of animals (as in Markham's recipe, only the beef has to be skimmed before the addition of the remaining ingredients), and the vegetables which are "Carrots, Turpins, Onions, Cabbage"; "a faggot of sweet herbs well bound up" and "good pothearbs little chopped". This first pot is also flavoured with "Clove, mace, saffron &c." just before its entrance at the table. The second pot boils birds in water and salt: noticeably, they are listed according to their size, from the bigger to the littlest: the lark, of which 48 are required. The third and final pot does not boil, but rather stews "Bread, Marrow, Bottoms of Artichocks, Yolks of hard eggs, Large Mace, Chesnuts boil'd and blanch Collyflowers, Saffron" within "some good sweet butter, a little white wine and strong broth". Furthermore, with reference to this last pot, the recipe makes it clear that "some other times for variety you may use Beets, Potato's, Skirrets, Pistaches, Pine Apple seed, or almonds, Pougarnet, and lemons". This is not all. The last third of the recipe directs the reader how to serve the dish, suggesting selecting and placing the pieces of meat by type, commencing with "beef, veal or Pork; then your venison, mutton and tongues...", and keeping on going this way until all the possible sorts of meats, lastly the birds, were layered on the plate. This would be quite an achievement given the number of meats in the first place, but also considering that once cut and boiled, these pieces tended to resemble each other much more than when raw. Furthermore, it is worth making clear that May's *Olla podrida* coexisted, within *The Accomplisht Cook*, with other sorts of *ollas* (of meat, vegetables and flavours). For instance, May's "extraordinary Olla" – which I shall let my reader imagine in its ingredients and grandeur – follows just few pages after this opening recipe.⁷⁴

Together with Markham's *olepotrige* and some five years before May's directions, English readers could have learnt another method for "A Spanish Olio", within the anonymous *The Compleat Cook*, first printed in 1655. Recipe 24 represents a rich but, in contrast to both Markham's and May's directions, an evidently much more "down to earth" version of *olla podrida*. The types of meat employed are fewer and the cuts of a poorer quality: bacon, beef, "a couple of hoggs Eares" or sheep's, several parts of mutton, a hen and a dozen of pigeons. When it comes to vegetables, the recipe calls only for leeks. Herbs are present but strikingly few in number: "a bundle of Parsley, and Mint, a clove of Garlick". As for spices, only "a small quantity of Pepper, Cloves, and Saffron" is required.

⁷⁴ May, *The Accomplisht Cook*, 6. Cfr. Gilly Lehmann, "Foreign or English? A Tale of Two Dishes: Olios and Fricasses," in Eileen White ed, *The English Kitchen: Historical Essays* (Blackatown: Prospect Books, 2007), 57-79. This article only touches upon *Olla* in the period discussed by this thesis.

Most notably, “a pottle of hard dry pease” and a pint of boiled chestnuts complete the ingredients.

More than the ingredients themselves what is truly remarkable about recipe 24 is its unquestionable attention towards the procedures involved, which takes up most of the recipe. According to these directions, the spices were to be carefully balanced in terms of flavour and also finely beaten just before being added to the pot, shortly before the serving of the dish; the peas needed to be soaked in water before being used; the sauce, which accompanied the dish, had to be prepared with finely beaten sugar and mustard, and not with “mace, or Rosmary, or tyme”. Special attention is also paid to the selection of the pot itself, which should not only be earthenware but must also be capable of containing the right amount of water, so that “the Broth may grow afterwards to be neither too much nor too little, nor too grosse, nor too thin”. In effect, the recipe appreciates the dish as a type of broth “rather to be drunk out of a Porringer then to be eaten with a spoon”. Interestingly, the anonymous author of the recipe, whose voice is particularly resonant, declares to be “utterly against those confused Olios” created with almost all varieties of meats and roots, and to be especially horrified by those prepared with “oyle”.

The remaining and last *Olla* within English print recipe collections acknowledges the Spanish origin of the dish from its very title. “A plain but good Spanish oglia”, recipe 46, was gathered within Digby’s *Closet*, in print from 1669 to 1677. Though entitled “To make a good Spanish olio”, recipe 55 copies recipe 46 (with very minor variations in wording). Here, the dish which “must boil in all for five or six hours gently, like stewing after it is well boiled” requires, as essential ingredients beef and mutton first, and later veal, bacon, and onions. Fifteen or thirty minutes before the serving, some pre-prepared broth flavoured with “pepper, and 5 or 6 cloves, and a nutmeg, and some saffron” must also be added to the Olla, together with an optional bundle of sweet herbs. If the user had them at their disposal, a few other ingredients could have enriched the dish, namely: capons and pigeons to be added to the pot only little time before the serving, “garavanzas” (see below), “cabbage, or roots, or leeks” as well as crusts of bread.

Recipe 46 (and 55) shows, like recipe 24, a particular attention to procedures. It indicates the order to follow when adding meats to the pot, and concludes by saying “salt must be put in as soon as the water is skimmed”. The reference to “garavanzas” no doubt refers to *garbanzos*, meaning “chickpeas” in English, a deduction substantiated by the explanation that these are to be soaked in water overnight before making the dish. Or rather the chickpeas were to be placed not just in water, but in water and ashes: a similar technique to that for preserving citron peels, discussed above. Were English readers able to appreciate the meaning of “garavanzas” given the complete absence of this word from English dictionaries and other recipes? The prolonged soaking might have well provided an important clue as to the nature of the product. More likely, though, given that “garavanzas”

were listed as optional, not many people worried too much about the ingredient; an ingredient that, in turn, must have sounded Spanish to English ears, reinforcing the notion of the dish as Spanish.

But what about the dish within Spanish sources? The very first *Olla podrida* can be found in Vallés' *Regalo de la Vida Humana*. The instructions, which are unbelievably short considering Vallés' standards of detail (and verbiage at times), consist of fewer than four full lines; apart from a strict listing of the ingredients – meat of good mutton and fat beef, capons, doves, pigs ears, a chunk of a pig's head and legs, fine chopped pork, pork sausages and, if wanted, cabbages and turnips – the remaining words are: “and let it cook slowly” [“y cueza despacio”].⁷⁵ Possibly, this last specification meant that the dish was understood more as a stew than as a broth but this is an open question.

At least half a century after Vallés, Diego Granado's cookbook, published in 1599, explained, silently borrowing from Scappi's masterpiece, how “To make an olla podrida” [“para hazer una olla podrida”]; Domingos Hernandez de Macera's recipe entitled “how to make a Olla podrida” [“Como se ha de hazer una olla podrida”] followed in 1607.⁷⁶ Both recipes, in line with each other, suggest a remarkable variety of meats to be boiled in salty water: cattle as well as birds, in several different cuts, such as cow's tongue, but also the poorest parts of pigs. Both recipes also add spices in quantity before serving the dish, which is to be presented at the table with some broth running onto the plate. While Macera's only further requests is to garnish the meats with some parsley “because it looks nice and it is very good” [“perexil...porque parece bien y es muy bueno”], Granado's way requires users to also add some soaked chickpeas, garlic, onions, chestnuts, legumes [“legumbres”], cabbages and turnips.

As for Francisco Martinez Motiño, his 1611 *Arte de Cozina* lacks a recipe to make *Olla podrida*; however the special bill of service for Christmas celebrations which ends the volume include it as the second main dish of the event – the omission of the recipe here speaks, in turn, for its own popularity.⁷⁷ Not by chance, Motiño suggests what looks like an interesting advancement of the recipe, by furnishing instructions for “A Olla Podrida in Pie” [“Una Olla Podrida en Pastel”]. This is, essentially, an *Olla podrida* made with the habitual variety of meats – cattle and birds; onions, parsley, herbs and “the vegetables” [“las verduras”], which are to then be placed in a crusty flour-based pie, baked and, finally, served at the table with some broth. Moreover, Motiño also gives other sorts of *Ollas*, namely: an “Olla of hare” [“Olla de liebre”] and an “Olla of tuna” [“Olla de atun”]; tuna

⁷⁵ Vallés, *Regalo*, 223.

⁷⁶ Granado, *Arte de Cozina*, 48-9; Maceras, *Arte de Cozina*, 55.

⁷⁷ Motiño, *Arte De Cozina*, 100-1.

,he insists, is “...after having being salted, very good to make an Olla which has the taste of the Olla podrida of meat”.⁷⁸

Granado’s and Maceres’ acknowledgement of *Olla Podrida* as a specific dish on the one hand, and Motiño’s inclusion of different *Ollas* on the other, are to be stressed and read together: they elucidate the heterogeneity of the preparation. Early modern *Olla podrida*, as it is visible in Spanish sources, is to be understood as a specific dish whose essential trait is the prolonged stewing of a significant variety of meats together, and the subsequent addition of other ingredients, served in broth. *Olla* (which literally means “pot”) instead, simply defines the procedure of stewing many ingredients together in the same pot for many hours. The final results can be, for instance, a meat-based or a fish-based dish, thus very different preparations.

Looking back at table 4.1 one recipe remains to be analysed: recipe 18, for “Cardons of Spain”, which is given in La Varenne’s *The French Cook*, first published into English in 1653. All that this thought-provoking recipe says is: “after they are whitened, take off the skin very neatly, and set them a steeping into fresh water, then serve them with pepper and salt”. The original French text gives no additional detail. What are “cardons” first of all? Given the instructions, they can only be *Cynara cardunculus*, a kind of thistle, local to Spain, which looks like a long celery. Their inner, white “heart” can be eaten raw or cooked, after having cleansed them very well of their exterior, green leafy part.

Three recipes, one after another, to prepare cardoons feature in Motiño’s *Arte de Cozina*: “Little dish of cardoons” [“*Platillo de Cardo*”]; “Other dish of cardoons” [“*Otro platillo de Cardo*”]; and “Battered Cardoons” [“*Pastel de Cardos*”].⁷⁹ In each, cardoons are first boiled and then cooked in several types of animal fat, together with spices and herbs, and sugar. Granado’s *Arte* also features a “dressed cardon” [“*cardo guisado*”] as well as a recipe for a sort of pie made of cardoons and artichokes [“*Escudilla de Cardo y Alcachofos*”].⁸⁰ Even without describing these last two recipes the point here is quite straightforward: cardoons are visible within Spanish sources but their consumption when raw (indeed the consumption of anything raw) is not discussed within Spanish cookbooks.

Artichokes belong to the same family as cardoons, and possess a similar taste: Granado’s pie mentioned earlier very probably serves them together precisely for their similarity.⁸¹ Artichokes are never described as a Spanish product in English recipe books, though they do grow spontaneously in Spain but also in some other parts of the Mediterranean area. Possibly for this last reason artichokes are never exclusively associated to Spain in any other English printed source I have consulted.⁸²

⁷⁸ Ibid., 56-7; 176 “*Este atun despues de salado es muy bueno para hazer una Olla que tēga el gusto dela olla podrida de carne*”.

⁷⁹ Motiño, *Arte de Cozina*, 182-184.

⁸⁰ Granado, *Arte De Cozina*, 24 and 69 respectively.

⁸¹ Cfr. Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe*, 30.

⁸² Cfr. EEBO results for “artichokes” (and variant forms).

Within Rabisha's *The Whole Body of Cookery Dissected*, first printed in 1661, and the source of recipes 36, 38 and 39 in table 4.1, the reader could find a recipe to fry artichokes, battered with yolks of eggs and some grated nutmeg. The recipe does not say what substance is used for frying: most likely butter (or maybe a suet-like substance), which was also used to cover the fried artichokes before the serving. This recipe is given in Appendix I, after recipe 40: it is especially significant because it details, as expressed in its title, not only how "to fry artichokes..." but also "...or Spanish Potatoes". "Spanish potatoes" are fried precisely like the artichokes, but served with "Vinegar, Sugar and Rose-water" and not simply melted butter.

At the risk of stating the obvious, potatoes, like cacao, reached the Old Continent from the New World. According to Albala, potatoes were "first sent to Europe from Peru in the later sixteenth century."⁸³ Early modern Spanish recipe books ignore the potato; but evidently other sources, or traces, exist, given Campbell's claim that "Spaniards seemed to have consumed it as early as the mid-sixteenth century".⁸⁴ Maybe less known, but important here, is that the story of potato – by which I mean the yellowish, rounded tuber (*Solanum Tuberosum*) most immediately associated with the term "potatoes" nowadays – in the early modern period was invariably linked to that of the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) – a more red and long tuber, and that the two were confused for centuries in both Spain and England.⁸⁵

Rabisha's text details seven other recipes in which "Spanish Potatoes" are requested among many other ingredients, and with no particular emphasis, including: "To make white broth"; "Another way to boyl Pulletts and Chickens for the Winter"; and "To make a kid pie".⁸⁶ Having said that, it is equally true that within Rabisha's collection the reader could have not only found directions "To make a Pota[?] Pie" from "Spanish Potatoes", but also that such recipe unquestionably aligns with the cookery tradition as expressed within Spanish recipe books. Figure 4.5 shows its entire text.

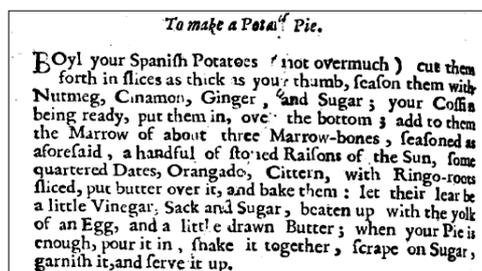


Figure 4.5 – William Rabisha, *The Whole Body of Cookery*, 1661, detail of page 150.

⁸³ Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe*, 35-36.

⁸⁴ Campbell, *At the First Table*, 110.

⁸⁵ See footnote 84. Cfr. Joan Thirsk. *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500-1760* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 102. See also Redcliffe Salaman, *The History and Social Influence of the Potato*, revised by J.G. Hawkes, (Cambridge University Press, 1985), esp. 130.

⁸⁶ Rabisha, *The Whole Body of Cookery Dissected*, 41, 55, and 156 respectively.

Another recipe “To make a Potato Pie” was given in Woolley’s 1664 *The Cooks Guide* (see figure 4.6). It will not be a huge surprise to know that the recipe was also copied, word by word, into Woolley’s more popular *The Queen-like Closet*, first printed in 1670.⁸⁷ Woolley’s potato pie offers no overt associations with Spain. Few mentions of potatoes appear in Woolley’s text overall.⁸⁸

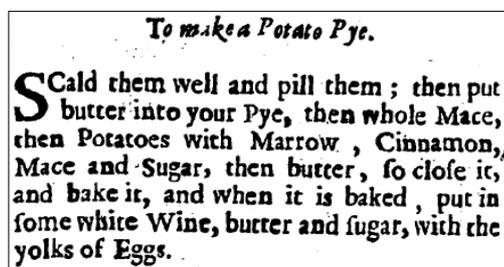


Figure 4.6 – Hannah Woolley, *The Cooks Guide*, 1664, detail of page 86.

Is this lack of geographical specificity an exception or is it rather that Rabisha’s “Spanish potatoes” are unusual? The answer is easy: generic potatoes, not associated with Spain, prevail in English recipes. *A choice Manual*, associated with Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Kent, speaks of potatoes, not of Spanish ones.⁸⁹ It will not have passed unnoticed that Markham’s as well as May’s versions of *Olla Podrida*, previously discussed, include potatoes – identified as optional by May. May’s case is challenging. Beyond his *Olio Podrida*, several other recipes list generic “potatoes”.⁹⁰ May’s cookbook moreover, and uniquely within the world of recipes, also explicitly asks for “Virginia potatoes” three times, deliberately linking them to the English colony in North America.⁹¹ I have found very few mentions of “Virginia potatoes” in other printed sources, the first of which appeared in 1629.⁹²

“Spanish potatoes” nonetheless probably represent the most significant reference to Spain in English recipe collections to be found within the texts of the recipes, rather than their titles. Rabisha’s “To fry artichokes, or Spanish Potatoes”, is not completely focused

⁸⁷ Woolley, *The Queen-Like Closet*, 324.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 72-73 “To Candy Eryngo Roots”; 287-288 “To boil a capon”.

⁸⁹ Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Kent, *A Choice Manual*, 117-118, “A potato pie for supper”.

⁹⁰ May, *The Accomplisht Cook*, for instance: 3, “Marrow Pies”; 71, “To boil a Capon or Chicken with divers Compositions”; 88, “To stew Pallets, Lips, and Noses”; 91, “Oxe Pallets in Jellies”; 105, “Olines of Beef stewed and roste”; 401, “To bake Frogs”; 409, “Soops of Artichocks, Potatoes, Skirrets, or Parsnips”.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, XV, “To make a grand Sallet of minced Capon, Veal, roast Mutton, Chicken, or Neats Tongue”; 144, “To make a grand Sallet of divers Compounds”; 409, “Soops of Carrots”.

⁹² As far as “word-searching tools” permit us to see, it seems that the term ‘Virginia potatoes’ was first used in 1629: the date of the first edition of John Parkinson’s *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*. The second time in which the word was used was in 1640 within *Theatrum Botanicum*, also by Parkinson. The main user of the word however, was John Forster, in his *Englands Happiness Increased. Or, A sure and Easie Remedy Against all Succeeding Dear Years by a Plantation of the Roots Called Potatoes*, printed in 1664. Please note that the expression “Potatoes of Virginia” appears in 1633 within John Gerard’s *The herball or Generall Historie of Plantes*.

on this product, and all other references to potatoes in English cookbooks were not marked out in any significant way. The same observation can be applied to the other few invocations detailed from below, namely “Spanish chestnuts” and “Malaga resins”.

Monsieur Marnett’s *The Perfect Cook* as well as May’s *The Accomplisht Cook* ask for “Spanish chestnuts” within a few recipes, never with any particular emphasis. They are simply listed among the ingredients needed.⁹³ Chestnuts feature extremely rarely in English recipe books: it speaks volumes that Gervase Markham did not even mention them within *The English Huswifery* and that May, among hundreds of recipes, calls for chestnuts no more than a handful of times. Chestnuts were, however, regularly employed in Spanish dishes: they appear, for instance, in Diego Granado *Olla podrida* and also in the very last recipe of Montino’s *Arte de Cozina*, entitled “chestnuts pottage” [“*potaje de castanas*”].⁹⁴ That chestnut trees had been growing spontaneously for centuries in Spain (and also in Italy, Turkey and Portugal and indeed in mountainous regions including Switzerland) furnishing nourishment, especially to the poorest, is well attested from the late Medieval period.⁹⁵ As for England, it is unclear when the cultivation of Chestnuts started; there were probably already some of these trees in the early modern period; but equally probably they were never enough – or their fruits not enough in demand – to be mentioned frequently in recipe books. The association with Spain, even if most minor, makes perfect sense.

References to “Malago/a raisins”, also spelt “Malligo raisins”, also make perfect sense. Raisins prominently informed Spanish (and Portuguese) recipes, but also, and since the late Middle Ages, English, Italian and French sources. There is little doubt that raisins reached England from Spain in quantity, and indeed that the best and most esteemed sort were proper to the Malaga area.⁹⁶ Direct references to raisins from Malaga are unusual within English recipe books: *A Choice Manual*, *The Queen-Like Closet*, and *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened*, are among the few sources to list them. In these three texts, in particular, “Malaga raisins” appear in order to recreate “black Tart stuffe”, a sugar-free tart of prunes and raisins; a fruity wine called “Damsion wine”; and “An excellent artificial Wine like Claret”, respectively.⁹⁷ As difficult as it is to say why overt references to “Malaga raisins” are so few while, on the contrary, raisins are almost ubiquitous, a tentative

⁹³ Mousnier Marnetté, *The Perfect Cook*, 281, “The seventeenth manner, being an omelette according to the Turkish mode”; May, *The Accomplisht Cook*, 192, “to make a pasty according to the Sweissen Fashion”; and 205, “To make a pie of Cockney oval minced pie”.

⁹⁴ Motiño, *Arte de Cozina*, 317.

⁹⁵ Paolo Squatriti, *Landscape and Change in Early Medieval Italy: Chestnuts, Economy and Culture* (2013). Cfr. also Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe*, 55; Massimo Montanari, *Medieval Taste: Food, Cooking and the Table*, translated by Beth Archer Bromert (Columbia University Press, 2015), 111.

⁹⁶ Castañer De Coca, and Jose Enrique Lopez, “Granada Y la Ruta de Poniente: El Trafico de Frutos Secos (Siglo XiV y XV),” in *Navegación Marítima del Mediterráneo al Atlántico*, ed. Antonio Malpica Quello (Granada: La Nao, 2001), 149-177. Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 298.

⁹⁷ Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Kent, *A Choice Manual*, 13; Woolley, *The Queen-Like Closet*, 56; Anon., *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened*, 67.

answer might also recognise that “raisins of the sun”, an expression which accounts for more than one-third of all invocations of raisins in English recipe books (they are visible within figure 4.5) could have evoked the warmth of the Spanish climate, thus making that “Malaga” less needed; “of the sun” could well disclose here, moreover, the process of outdoor exsiccation which turned little grapes into raisins, simply by drying them at the sun.

“Malaga raisins” were also required to correctly reproduce “Artificial Malago VVine”, given in 1654 in *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened*, authored by an unidentifiable “M.B” – this is the recipe which closes the chapter.⁹⁸ “To make an Artificial Malago VVine” is a long and dense set of instructions which ultimately teaches users how to recreate a sort of fermented wine by filling a barrel with clean water, “Malaga Raisins”, and a “handfull of *Calx vive*”, leaving the compound to set for up to three months, but taking care to check, every four of five days, that the raisins stay at the bottom of the barrel. When the liquid “taste[s] like wine”, says the recipe, it must be transferred into a wine vessel, mixed with some “*Aqua vitae*, two new laid Henegs, and a quart of Alligant [Alicant wine]” beaten together. Moreover, the recipe makes it clear that the wine barrel has to be “well hooped and dressed, with one end being open, to which a close cover must be well fitted... Set it in a warm place, winter or summer”.

In the seventh and final section of Vallés’ *Regalo de la Vida Humana*, which is concerned with wines, including the consumption and preservation thereof, but also beverages made of wine together with other ingredients, especially sugar or honey, citrus fruits, raisins and spices, we find interesting similarities to the recipe just discussed, both in terms of the ingredients used but also in terms of procedures and tools. In particular, the opening remark of the seven-page long recipe to make “*raspadas*” unequivocally says:

Four things are necessary to make a good *raspada*: the first is that the raisins have to be of very good grapes; the second [to have] very good wine; the third [to have] very good vessels in which to make it; the fourth is that while *raspada* is boiling and making, but also after when you drink it, the vessel has to be very well corked and locked, so that it has nowhere to breath [evaporate].⁹⁹

⁹⁸ M.B., *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened*, (1664), 66-67.

⁹⁹ Vallés, *Regalo*, 709, “*cuatro cosas son necessarias para hazer muy buena raspada: la primera es granos que sean de muy buenas ubas; la segunda muy buen vino; la tercera buenas vasijas en que se haga; la quarta es que mientras la raspada buliere y se hiziere, y tambien despues quando se beviere, la vasija esté muy bien tapada y cerrada de manera que no tenga por donde respirar*”.

This passage essentially summarises the main points of the second half of the English recipe “To make an Artificial Malago VVine”. Very good raisins are “Malaga raisings”; very good wine is Alicante wine; good, resistant and sealed vessels, yet with a hole from which to pour the wine, are those just described. If we go backwards a few pages in Vallés’ recipe collection, we reach his instructions “how to make raisins” [“*como se hazen las ubas passas*”], and find something very close, this time, to the first half of the English recipe: water, raisins and lye (*lexia*) are put together and boiled in a vessel, until everything is cooled.¹⁰⁰ So, even if *calx viva* is quicklime and not lye (it is indeed difficult to fully comprehend how these substances would not be caustic used in the way described by both recipes); even if the Spanish mixture is slowly boiled while in the English recipe the compound is fermented for much longer in the barrel; even if there is no trace of eggs in the Spanish version; the similarities between the English “Malago VVine” and Vallés’ *raspada* remain unquestionable. Ultimately, I personally believe that the employment of “Malago raisins” played a key role towards the English re-nomination of this wine as “Malago VVine”; however, it must be clear that it resembles Spanish *raspada*, rather than a specific (and unidentifiable) wine from Malaga.

* * *

What conclusions can we then make about the English perception of the Spanish culinary tradition as visible within printed recipe books after a precise study of the texts of the recipes and transmission thereof, also in comparison with Spanish equivalents, both printed and manuscripts? The starting point is that, throughout the seventeenth-century, English readers must have certainly perceived a clear co-existence of: confectionary techniques, with sugar as key element, on one hand; and a very rich dish, called *Olepotrige*, or something similar, on the other, as typical of the Spanish gastronomic heritage. The preservation of fruits and flowers, at times characterised by distinctive scents, like those of rose-, orange-water, musk, or ambergris, was indeed visible since the second half of the sixteenth-century.

As for fruits, in particular, these were quinces, peaches and citrons. While quinces were easily available in England, peaches and citrons, in contrast, must have spoken of Spanish ways to preserve what in England would have been considered rare delicacies at that time, cultivated in orchards with great care together with other “exotic fruits”.¹⁰¹ Most interesting, the recipe about peaches – taken from the Italian *Secretes* by Ruscelli and

¹⁰⁰ Vallés, *Regalo*, 704.

¹⁰¹ Cfr. Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 296. See also Jennifer Munroe, Edward J. Geisweidt and Lynne Bruckner, *Ecological Approaches to Early Modern English Texts: A Field Guide to Reading and Teaching* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 114.

translated from the French version thereof – is fully aligned to the Spanish tradition. Particularly noteworthy is the reference to that process of purification of sugar via eggs and consequential removal of the froth which, as detailed, ubiquitously featured Spanish sources. On the contrary, my solid impression is that within the instructions to preserve quinces this technique was grossly misunderstood; there, the egg whites were placed with the boiling quinces in sugar, and not into the boiling sugar only – at the best of my readings no Spanish recipe asks for quinces and egg whites to be boiled together, and neither do other English recipes. Significant is also the case of preserved citrons preliminary washed in ashes, given within *The Queens Closet Opened*, which clearly reflects the Spanish tradition of lye (*lexia*) used within food practises, even if we cannot be certain how far the connection would have resonated to English readers.

The consistent use of gold which distinguishes the number of recipes to candy flowers, instead, likely pushed the collective imagination towards Spanish preparations as lavish ones, in this case substantiated in little confits of nonetheless remarkable value, which own shape also symbolically reinforced purchasing and other powers, possibly also associated to the amount of bullion reaching Iberia from the New World. As anticipated in the previous chapter, moreover, gold in English recipe books was generally used medicinally only.¹⁰² How far are these recipes aligned to Spanish equivalents is impossible to say: while jams and conserves characterised every pre-modern Spanish source we still possess, it is only within Vallés's text that we find how to make candied roses. However, given that the gilding of any sort of sugar delicacy was not only envisaged by Vallés but also explained in very precise terms, the point here is that these English recipes given as Spanish, insofar as aspirational, transfer knowledge effectively present in Spanish kitchens. *The Compleat Cook's* request to use blossom of flowers feels particularly synchronised with the Spanish habitual request thereof, moreover.

As for *Olla podrida*, the first point worth making is that Markham's recipe, in print for eighty years and for the first forty of them being the only recipe available of this kind, likely induced English readers to appreciate *olepotrige* as the signature dish of Spain, made by an absolutely striking variety of meats, spices, roots and vegetables, especially some of which were not common in English recipe books, most notably potatoes, together with extremely opulent garnishing and serving. May's recipe, by keeping with Markham's abundance, actually increasing it, must have reinforced such idea. Both Markham and May, in comparison with Spanish equivalents, markedly exaggerate *Ollas podridas*, not only for their spectacular serving of the dish but especially in terms of the vegetable ingredients required. Markham's clear indication to add them to the pot "all whole and vnchoot" feels, moreover, in strong conflict with Spanish ways, always more refined. On the contrary, the anonymous *The Compleat Cook* as well as Digby's posthumously *Closet*,

¹⁰² See *Chapter 3*, 52-53.

were much more aligned to Spanish recipes, promoting, but only from the 1660s onwards, the awareness of less extraordinary preparations, made by meat and legumes especially; legumes in both cases soaked before their use, and according to Digby soaked in water and ashes. As for the notion of *olla* as a technique, this was clearly implied in May's cookbook, alike in some Spanish sources. Possibly, such a notion was already grasped by some much devoted English hispanophiles who compared Don Quijote's daily pot to the *olla podrida* eyed up by governor Sancho. Furthermore, Spanish picaresque compositions, frequently informed by the theme of hunger and offering descriptions of *ollas* characterised by an extreme simplicity and misery of cuts and ingredients, like those described in the *Lazarillo de Tormes*, must have made their English readers well aware of the striking disparity which the dish could have undergone.¹⁰³

Significantly, what English recipe books did not transfer at all was that *Olla podrida* not only belonged to the Spanish gastronomic tradition but also, as I would argue, to the Portuguese. Domingos Rodriguez's 1680 *Arte de Cozihna*, in fact, offers the entire chapter XVIII devoted to *Ollas* ["*De Ohlas*"].¹⁰⁴ "*Ohla podrida*", the very first recipe therein, instructs to boil together different types of bovine and birds together with turnips, radishes, garlic and also chestnuts.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the second and third type of *Olha*, called respectively "French Olla" ["*Ohla Franceza*"] and "Fine Moorish Olla" ["*Defina* (sic) *Ohla Moura*"], are especially meaningfully because they indirectly reinforce the idea of a local *Ohla Podrida*: otherwise, precisely as their foreign status was marked out, also *Ohla Podrida* should have been equally stressed as Spanish.¹⁰⁶ This understanding was evidently not available in early modern England via recipe books – nor other sources.

Beyond preservation of fruits and flowers on one side and *olla podrida* on the other, English readers, from around the 1660s, kept on imagining Spanish kitchens in which perfumed sugar treats, like creams and paps on one hand, and rich meats on the other, abounded. Moreover, the users of May's *The Accomplisht Cook*, could have learnt about sweet and perfumed omelettes, not at all dissimilar from a type of "Portuguese eggs" given by May himself (recipe 35) as well as particularly detailed ways to make pork jelly, stewed ox cheeks, beef and mutton balls. Certainly May's Spanish ways to marinate meats and to finely mince and season them must have also conveyed the idea of herbs and spices used in quantity, together with a soaking into white wine.

¹⁰³ Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes A Spaniarde Wherein Is Contained His Marueilous Deedes and Life. With The Straunge Aduentures Happened to Him in The Seruice of Sundrie Masters. Drawen Out of Spanish by Dauid Rouland of Anglesey* (1586).

¹⁰⁴ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozihna*, 81-86.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁰⁶ The presence of the "French Olla" possibly speaks, in this instance, of the popularity of French cuisine in those years more than anything markedly French. The "Fine Moorish Olla" was, instead, certainly defined as such for its lack of pork.

Recipes resembling the two “Spanish paps” given in *The Compleat Cook* as well as Woolley’s *The Queen-like Closet* are invisible in Spanish sources: however, I make sense of them as precursors of the now universally known “Catalan Cream”, thus certainly belonging to the Spanish culinary heritage. The case of the creams given, again, in *The Compleat Cook* and in Digby’s *Closet* is harder to assess in consideration of the shortage of Spanish recipes on the topic, with the exception of Vallés’ words; yet their plausibility, especially of recipe 21 with its technique at the milking, is hard to refute. As for preliminary techniques addressed to the preparation of meats before their cooking, Spanish cookbooks never truly explain them even if traces and hints are consistent – especially via adjectives: but I would not doubt much that May’s meat-based recipes disclose culinary techniques followed in Spain, even if probably May’s recipes were somehow more complex. More sophisticated were, for instance, May’s “wivos me quidos”: while the recipe phonetically evoked existing Spanish equivalents these were, in turn, strikingly simpler.

The situation of vegetables is singular. Their abundance in Markham’s and May’s *Olla podridas* had been already pointed out several times. In contrast, this chapter has also shown that “Cardons of Spain” were the only type of vegetable openly associated to the country. However, before pondering about the meaning of such association, the question “what are cardoons?”, which I asked while discussing La Varenne’s directions, most likely crossed the minds of the early modern readers as well considering how (extremely) rarely the word was used in the period.¹⁰⁷ In this respect, my sense is that recipe 18 could hardly have informed about original Spanish ways to prepare cardoons or, by analogy, other sorts of raw vegetables, since the simple preparation with “salt and pepper” must have been perceived as a dramatic sensorial misery to Spaniards. In contrast, La Varenne possessed a culinary vision which exalted original flavours over particularly rich sophistications: so, while cardoons were certainly employed in Spanish kitchens, my understanding is that the recipe itself had little to do with Spanish gastronomy. Unfortunately, the extent to which such speculation was shared by English readers is not possible to investigate.

Equally, no recipes existed about “Spanish potatoes” and only Rabisha’s cookbook refers to them. As seen, references to generic potatoes were extremely rare in English recipe books in the first. However, it is true, and certainly more meaningful considering the popularity of the volume, that Markham’s 1615 *olepotrige*, although not calling for specific “Spanish potatoes”, still nonetheless evoked this product within the principal dish of boiled meats “which is esteemed in all Spaine”, thus offering a strong link between this New World item and Spain – this invocation is actually the very first reference to potatoes within English recipe books *tout court*. The same conclusion can be made for May’s first page *Olio Podrida*: remembering, also, that May’s preface stressed his knowledge of the cuisine of the Continent, and indeed of Spain. But again, alike in the case

¹⁰⁷ Cfr. OED, s.v. “Cardoons”. Cfr. EEBO results for “Cardoons” (and variant forms).

of cardoons, it remains a certainly open question what English people actually understood with the term “potato” or even if they had some sense of the different varieties of the root.

Similar, but nonetheless more composite is the case of chocolate. If it much safer to say that English people, at least those learned enough to read Wadsworth’s or Stubbe’s works certainly appreciated chocolate as imported from the New World with the key intermediation of the Spanish colonial experience, it is equally true that Woolley’s “Spanish chaculata” unquestionably associated the drink to Spain. However, as noted, she neither detailed the recipe to make chocolate in paste nor transmitted the Spanish way to drink it: her “thick” chocolate with eggs was already an Anglicised way to drink it.

The case of chocolate fascinates also because, while early modern Spanish cookbooks fail to detail how to make chocolate (as a drink or paste), Rodriguez’s 1680 Portuguese cookbook, in turn, offers the first Iberian recipe for chocolate in paste. Acknowledged to be for cakes [“*bolos*”] the recipe speaks of chocolate made from some well-roasted cacao, crushed into a mortar with sugar and very finely beaten cinnamon, which has to be soaked in water (“*moer*” says the text) and, when all has reached a paste-like consistency, must be enriched by some grounded vanilla (“*Baynicas*”).¹⁰⁸ So, to look with some attention, Rodriguez’s 1680 directions anticipated those given in the 1747 Spanish *Arte de Reposteria* which, worth remembering, is the the very first recipe within Spanish cookbooks to describe chocolate in paste. Obviously enough, English readers ignored that Woolley’s recipe was the very first recipe to make “Spanish chaculate” in print in early modern Europe on the whole.

Other remarks are worth making. In regard to “Spanish chestnuts” and “Malago/a Raisins”, thus the other “invocations” to Spain which this chapter has detailed, the main point is that these references were absolutely exceptional so it extremely unlikely that they impacted in any substantial way the English imagination of Spanish kitchens; in the case of the raisins, moreover, whether “Malago”/“Malligo”/“Malaga” was appreciated to the English reader of the time as an unquestionably Spanish town is extremely hard to determine – after all, it was only in 1704 that the English navy had a major naval fight there. The same applies to the case of “Malgo VVine”. Most likely overlooked by English readers “Malago VVine” represents, I would argue, a truly fascinating example of a clear transmission of Spanish food knowledge in early modern England via recipe books: the comparison with Vallés’ instructions leaves little room for doubt in this sense.

Offering further food for thought: while English readers could have probably perceived the meat-based dish enigmatically called “Mirus of Spain” (recipe 9) in print within the translation of *Epulario, or the Italian Banquet* as somewhat dated in 1598 – as shown, the recipe was more than a century older; they could have hardly imagined that the

¹⁰⁸ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozihna*, 150, recipe 11, “Chocolate”.

recipe for Spanish meat-balls given within May's 1660 cookbook (recipe 29) was almost identical "To make Spanish balls" first in print in 1597.

Moreover, it is likely that English readers perceived some recipes as particularly concerned to not simply offer directions following the conventions of the genre; rather to transmit knowledge describing the process(es) in quite visual ways, offering, at times, what must have felt like much personal suggestions and advice; this is, at least, my very strong impression by reading the recipes discussed within this chapter as well as the previous one belonging to: *The Queens Closet Opened* "by M.W."; the anonymous *The Compleat Cook* as well as *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digbie Kt. Opened*. To look carefully, these are texts which offer recipes remarkably in line with Iberian culinary traditions. The same can be said, but with partial reservations, for Woolley's *The Queen-like Closet*; there I strongly feel a component of re-invention.

* * *

"Part II: Manuscript Sources", although still studying English recipe collections and the Iberian recipes therein contained, ultimately engages with a different world, offering much-needed "thick descriptions" of recipe books and the people who, in different roles, gravitated around them. In Part II, after having carefully read the texts of the recipes and provided key summaries, I also explore the variety of people, of hands, of situations which contributed to these texts, most notably in the act of translation, in ways in which printed sources do not allow us to see. In other words, Part II leaves some aspects of the complexity proper to printed texts behind and embraces, in turn, new ones specific to manuscript sources, vividly testifying to the challenges of researching handwritten recipes. Part II, in other words, presents four case-studies, four microhistories which do not connect to each other, at least immediately. Yet, their common trait is that they are exceptional sources for the study of recipe culture from an Anglo-Iberian perspective. Unless new archival discoveries emerge, these four recipe collections gather Iberian recipe knowledge in ways absolutely incomparable to other manuscripts.

PART II:
MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

5.

Recipes “...as be made in Spaine & Portugall translated forth of a written Spanish booke...”

British Library Add MS 34212, in-folio format, does not have any remarkable aesthetic or material qualities.¹ No additions or missing pages are perceptible, nor is any indication of ownership and page numeration visible. The volume constitutes, in feel, a private ‘professional recipe book’, a ‘reference fair copy’. It is a single, clean, composed English secretary hand which entirely writes the collection, organising the layout of the recipes throughout the book with care. The same hand shows a highly personalised habit of writing some words, the majority of which are in Latin, in enlarged block lowercase letters.² Although some pages present, at times, erasures and corrections, these are, overall, very minor.³ There is clear evidence that some recipes were copied: given the *genre* as well as the nature of the book as I am describing it now, most certainly all of them were.⁴ Significantly, no paratextual comments or marginal annotations liven up the text, nor are there names of donors – save for a most notable exception, which will be discussed shortly.

Add MS 34212 gathers together several hundred recipes, operating in line with the early modern humoral understanding of health and illness. It can be thematically divided into four sections. The first section is entitled *The Poore Mans Talent* and, arranged into fourteen chapters, offers remedies for the discomforts which can affect the human body, descending from the head down the body, inclusive of final “certaine particuler noats”.⁵ Beyond any reasonable doubt, *The Poore Mans Talent* was composed by Thomas Lodge for Lady Anne (Dacre) Howard, Countess of Arundel. It opens, in fact, with a dedicatory epistle, which appears given as “holograph”, hence fully written and signed, by Thomas Lodge.⁶ In this respect, it is worth noting that Folger Shakespeare

¹ British Library Add MS 34212, fol. 63v. and fol. 94v. contain the names (given in a much later hand) of John and Frances Wymshurst and of Thomas Twyford respectively; nothing can be said of these three individuals.

² Ibid., for instance, fols: 4r. “*Diapranis Laxative*”; 7r. “St. Domincke”; 17v. “*Diacathalicon*”; 25v. “*Cardus Benedictus*”; 47v. “*Valentia*”; 56r. “*Philippendula*”, etc.

³ Ibid., for instance, fols: 6r., 19r., 24v., 37v., 47v., 52r., 60r., 67v. and 86r. The longest effacement appears in fol. 41r – see figure 5.2, page 123.

⁴ Ibid., for instance, fol. 10r., in which the title of the recipe “Against Deafnes” appears twice. The first time it is erased and replaced by a different title and recipe. The following recipe is precisely “Against Deafnes”.

⁵ Ibid., fols. 1v-31v, with notes from f.32r-35r.

⁶ The British Library description of Add MS 34212 suggests that the manuscript is penned by a single, unidentified hand, implicitly making sense of this dedicatory letter as an (authentic) copy of Lodge’s original epistle produced by a professional scribe. Walter Wilson Greg, ed., *English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650* (Oxford University Press:1932), plate XIX, attributed the letter given in British Library, Stowe MS 171, fols. 352r-3v., to Lodge’s hand. Greg’s scholarship is not

Library MS V.a.136 represents the presentation copy of *The Poore Mans Talent*, inclusive of the same dedicatory letter to Lady Anne Arundel given again as a holograph of Lodge.⁷ The letter, whose truthfulness I see no reason to doubt once its rhetorical conventions are accepted, addresses “the Right Honorable my Very good Lady the Lady Ann Mother Countesse of Arundell”, declaring:

...I have (to satisfie your expectations) finished the book I promised...The medcines are familiar, and such as everie Apothecarie hath in a redines; or your garden and the Feildes will afford them whereby your Charitie (which is unconfined) maie the more easelie and with lesse chardge be imparted to all, both riche and poore, that have recourse unto you in theare necessities.⁸

Just after *The Poore Mans Talent*, some other recipes are assembled, forming the second section of the manuscript. This section, which lies at the centre of this chapter, claims to be a translation of a recipe collection of Lady Jane (Dormer) Suárez de Figueroa, Duchess of Feria – hence our most notable donor. To my knowledge, no manuscript copies of the Iberian section exist.⁹ Within the section there is no indication of who

currently acknowledged by the British Library cataloguers, probably because it is overtly wrong. As far as I can see, the letter is an example of late italic hand (with correspondingly later spelling); it appears, moreover, in a folio volume assembled to contain several papers of William Trumbull, so it may well have been transcribed by an archivist or librarian at a much later time.

⁷ The *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450–1700 online*, from now on “CELM”, available at: <https://bit.ly/2K7TBOK>, convincingly speculates that MS V.a.136 represents the presentation copy of Lodge’s medical handbook to the Countess of Arundel, written by a professional scribe. In fact, MS V.a.136 presents remarkable aesthetic conditions. Beyond displaying a neat, professional secretary hand, black and red ink (for the titles, headlines and indexes), it is also offered in covers which bear the Norfolk coat-of-arms in gilt, being those of the mother of the Countess – the third wife of the 4th Duke of Norfolk. The binding covers and the apparently oleograph dedicatory letter of MS V.a.136 have been digitised and they are available at: <https://bit.ly/2wtFp0s>. The rest of the manuscript, however, is not accessible online nor will be available for consultation until the end of 2018. My sincere thanks, in this sense, to Abbie Weinberg, from the Folger Shakespeare Library, for having checked for me that MS V.a.136 is the exact copy of *The Poore Mans Talent* as given in Add MS 34212. Please note that *The Poore Mans Talent* as it appears in MS V.a.136 has been published by Edmund W. Gosse in *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge*, 4 volumes (Glasgow: The Hunterian Club, 1883), 4th volume. The pages of the volumes, with the exception of the introduction, are not numbered. Interestingly, Gosse believed the dedicatory letter given in MS V.a.136 to be Lodge’s authentic hand; hence, he provided it in the only facsimile of his work on Lodge. I believe that that Gosse was not aware of the existence of *The Poore Mans Talent* available in Add MS 34212. The scholar indicated the locations of all the extant copies of a given text. If known, therefore, he would have listed Add. MS 34212 as “possession of the British Museum” – which he does not.

⁸ Add Ms 34212, fol. 3v. I have modernised “u” in “v”, when applicable.

⁹ My sincere thanks to Juan Carlos Rubio Masa, Director of the “Museo Santa Clara de Zafra” since 2007 and co-editor of the journal *Cuadernos de Çafra. Estudios sobre la Historia de Zafra y el Estado de Feria* since 2003, for having checked the holdings of the archive in Zafra, main village of the Duke and Duchess of Feria’s estate.

translated the recipes, nor if they were rendered in English for someone in particular. The section, unlike the rest of the manuscript, ends with an index.¹⁰ It is entitled:

How to perfume gloves, to make perfumes and
sweete Waters with Divers other Sundry
preservatives as be made in Spaine & Portugall
translated forth of a written Spanish booke of the
Dutches of Ferias.¹¹

After this Iberian section, a large number of other recipes follow. By looking at their content but also their page setting/layout, they have been coherently gathered into two other main sections. The third section of the manuscript deals with the preservation of fruits through sugar in particular, among which the reader finds the recipe “To make Biskett of Spaine”.¹²

The fourth section indicates more ways to restore the health of the body, again according to its main parts, concluding nonetheless with some generic recipes for times of plague. Here, notably, the twenty-two line long recipe for “a good purginge Pill” made with aloes and acknowledged as given by the Duchess of Feria can also be found.¹³ Extremely significantly for this chapter, we possess two other recipe collections, clearly identical copies in origin, which display exactly all the recipes which form the fourth part of Add MS 34212, given in the same exact order moreover. These manuscripts, which also include more recipes after those for the plague, are Wellcome Library MS 213 and Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.388.¹⁴

This chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part I read in dialogue some key biographical information of Thomas Lodge (c.1558-1625), Lady Anne Dacre Howard, Countess of Arundel (1557-1630), and Lady Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria (1538-1612) on the one hand, and the results of my exploration of the complex occurrence of Add MS 34212 on the other – the copies of its fourth part in particular.¹⁵ Ultimately, I claim that, despite the fact that neither Add MS 34212 nor any other source

¹⁰ BL Add MS 34212., fols. 50r.-51v.

¹¹ Ibid, fol. 36r.

¹² Ibid., fol. 52v.

¹³ Ibid., fol. 86r., “The Duchesse of Ferarus Washing of Allownies a good purginge Pill”. The recipe speaks of “allowes” and “aloes” so, in the absence of any other specification, I assume these words to stand for the modern “aloes”. Cf. OED, s.v. “aloe”.

¹⁴ Wellcome Library MS 213, available on line at: <https://bit.ly/2x8Vjha>; Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.388 available online at: <https://bit.ly/2IJbiUs>. That these two recipe collections are identical has been originally noted by Jennifer K. Stine, “Opening Closets: The Discovery of Household Medicine in Early Modern England” (unpublished PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1996), 23-38. See also Leong, “Medical Recipe Collections”, 132. It appears, instead, that I am the first person to note the similarities between these two recipe collections and BL Add 34212.

¹⁵ When not expressed otherwise, all the biographical details of these three individuals given in this chapter are taken from ODNB, s.v. “Lodge, Thomas”; “Howard [née Dacre], Anne, Countess of Arundel” and “Suarez de Figueroa [née Dormer], Jane, Duchess of Feria in the Spanish nobility”.

can definitively prove the direct connections between these three Roman Catholics, altogether they likely constituted the core group of English people at the very heart of the transmission, translation and reception of the “Spanish written book”.¹⁶ By doing so, these pages indirectly correct the only and brief commentary which, to the best of my knowledge, has ever been produced on it.¹⁷ I also tangentially suggest that the entirety of Add MS 34212 can be attributed to Thomas Lodge himself.¹⁸

In the second part of this chapter I thus illustrate the Iberian domestic knowledge visible in the second section of Add MS 34212 by first listing all the recipes it contains. The second section of MS 34212 discloses culinary as well as cosmetic, beautifying and perfume-making Iberian knowledge. As outlined in the introduction of this thesis, the non-culinary recipes will be at the centre of the next chapter. Here, thus, I focus on edible preparations. Rather than giving a detailed analysis of every single recipe, I highlight significant variations on the standardised procedures. For this section I have selected, as illuminating case studies, what I believe to be the most revealing and thought-provoking recipes or parts thereof which allow me to speak about the culinary content of this Iberian section, focusing on procedures and ingredients, in Anglo-Iberian perspective. Here, I also discuss “To make Biskett of Spaine”, the only recipe overtly acknowledged as Spanish given in the third section of Add. MS 34212.

In the third and last part of this chapter, by contrast, I discuss the few yet meaningful glimpses into the fascinating world of early modern translations which the second section of Add MS 34212 offers. There cannot be any doubt that these recipes were, in fact, translated, as the title-page asserts. This translation, evidently strictly literal, also reveals *ad hoc* Anglo-Iberian comments. They are only two in number and short: but absolutely exceptional and meaningful within recipe books and for this very thesis, as they are concerned with climatic differences between Spain and England and strategies

¹⁶ It should be clear by now that Add MS 34212 does not link the three individuals together but exclusively connects Thomas Lodge with the Countess of Arundel via *The Poore Mans Talent*, failing, in particular, to connect Lodge with Lady Jane and, in turn, Lady Jane with Lady Anne. There is no indication, moreover, that the Iberian recipes of the Duchess of Feria ever actually reached Anne Howard, Countess of Arundel, nor that they were translated by Thomas Lodge.

¹⁷ Hannah Leah Crummé, “Jane Dormer’s Recipe for Politics: A Refuge Household in Spain for Mary Tudor’s Ladies-in-Waiting,” in *The Politics of Female Household*, ed. Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 68-70. The scholar claims, providing no supporting evidence, that: “A manuscript copy of Jane’s guide to household management and cookery [...] eventually came into the ownership of Lady Anne Howard (née Dacre, Countess of Arundel)” and that “Anne’s ownership of the manual testifies to the continuity of the English Catholic network in which Jane participated through her correspondence. Anne was only two years old at the time of Jane’s permanent emigration, but she still came to know the Duchess and hold her book of household management in the highest regard, comparing it favourably with *The Poor Man’s Talent* (c.1623?), a medical treatise by Sir Thomas Lodge, with which the manuscript was bound [in footnote BL, Add. MS 34212, fo.32v.]”. For the sake of correctness, Thomas Lodge was not “Sir”; Sir Thomas Lodge was Thomas Lodge’s father, once mayor of London. From the same author, *The Life and Papers of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria (1538-1612)* (University of Toronto Press, forthcoming).

¹⁸ The BL catalogue indicates that Add MS 34212 could “possibly be of the same author”, referring to Thomas Lodge. No explanation is given.

to overcome them. These will close the section and the chapter as a whole. That the “written Spanish booke” of the Duchess of Feria, in translation, has to be added to the limited number of early modern Iberian manuscript recipe collections we still possess is possibly the biggest point of the chapter.

* * *

Thomas Lodge is well-known to early modern scholars for his astonishingly prolific literary career, which concluded in 1596.¹⁹ At around forty years old, and after a number of sea voyages to the Canaries as well as to Brazil (following Sir Thomas Cavendish’s expedition of 1591), Lodge started his new and long-lasting career as a doctor of medicine. In 1598 he gained, from the University of Avignon in France, his degree in Medicine (recognised by Oxford in 1602) and, some years later, he apparently “established a viable medical practice in London, in part because he attracted Catholic patients.”²⁰ In 1602 he also sent his recipe collection *A Treatise of the Plague* to the press. Remarkably, he also intermittently worked as a doctor in the Spanish Low Countries, from around 1606 to 1610, plausibly “to escape the persecution then directed against the Catholics” in England.²¹ Less known, yet equally importantly here, is that Lodge, alongside his medical profession, until up to 1614, was as a polyglot and prolific translator. He translated contemporary prose and in-verse texts composed by Italian and French authors.²² He also, already in 1601, translated devotional texts by Luis de Granada (1504-1588), a Spanish Dominican friar whose preaching (and works) spread across Iberia and beyond.²³ He also gave English form to some of the Latin writings of Seneca and Josephus. In between Lodge’s (printed) words the reader could learn about his ability to read the Spanish language too.²⁴ Though there is no conclusive evidence to confirm this, it is natural to assume that his exceptionally high translating competencies in Latin (and in the Latinate languages of Italian and French) would have enabled him to read and translate Spanish, even if perhaps with a lower degree of mastery. For the same

¹⁹ Cfr. Charles Walters Withworth, Jr., “The literary Career of Thomas Lodge, 1579-1596: Studies of the Plays, Prose Fiction and Verse” (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 1978).

²⁰ ODNB, s.v. “Lodge, Thomas”.

²¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. “Thomas Lodge”.

²² See Donald Beecher and Henry D. Janzen, ed., *Thomas Lodge: A Margarite of America (1596)*, (Toronto: Barnabe Riche Society Publications, 2005), 38-41.

²³ Thomas Lodge, *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado. The First Part. In which is Handled the Conuersion of a Sinner. Translated out of Latine into English, by T.L. Doctor of Phisicke* (London, 1601). See also: Miriam Castillo, “Catholic Translation and Protestant Translation: The Reception of Luis de Granada’s Devotional Prose in Early Modern England,” *Translation and Literature* no. 26 (2017): 145-161.

²⁴ Lodge claimed to have drawn the story for his tragedy *A Margarite of America* from a “Spanish manuscript found in a Jesuit library in Brasil”. This claim, which could be considered a marketing device, is, however, most likely rooted in Lodge’s real ability to engage with the Spanish language. Cfr: Beecher and Janzen, ed, *A Margarite of America*, 58.

reason, he could have also very possibly been able to understand the Portuguese lines contained in the extraordinary text for catechesis composed in the Tupi-Guarini language of Brazil which he obtained during his travels there.²⁵ Acknowledged by specialists only, I suspect, is that Thomas Lodge, not long after his “medical turn”, married his second wife Joan Aldred, herself a widow, who served in the very Catholic household of Lady Anne, Countess of Arundel, for a number of years.

As for Lady Anne and Lady Jane, they were much more than just two of the wealthiest and most important English ladies and most notable Catholic ones born in the sixteenth-century: they were also powerful patrons of Catholic writers.²⁶ Moreover, it is no exaggeration to say that both these ladies represented lighthouses in the night for English and Irish recusants: the Duchess of Feria on Spanish soil, and the Countess of Arundel in England. Lady Jane, whose beauty was commonly praised, in 1559 left England – to be precise, the royal household of Mary I – to reside permanently in Spain (at court in Madrid and, especially in the later part of her life, in Zafra, Andalusia) as wife of the Spanish Duke of Feria (one of King Philip II’s favourites). Significantly, although fully adapted to Spanish culture, Lady Jane never truly ceased to consider herself an English subject, and became a powerful medium between the Spanish and the English courts for many years. As an English, “thus” (as she would say) Catholic subject, not by chance she regularly opened her house to English recusants. After the Duke’s early death in 1571, she not only engaged daily with devotional works, including those of Granada, but she also “took the habit of the third order of St. Francis, and wore it and the scapulary” until her death in Zafra in 1612.²⁷ Lady Anne, who in 1612 was fifty-five, never left England, not even occasionally. She hosted Catholic priests, especially Jesuits, and recusants too, in her household in which “religious austerity was the key-note” – this

²⁵ Lodge owned a *Doutrina Christãa na Lingoa Brasilica* [“Christian doctrine in the Brazilian language”] which he then left to Oxford University. This text is mostly composed in the Tupi-Guarini language of Brazil in order to teach the rudiments of the Catholic catechism to the locals, but presents rubrics written in Portuguese. Such rubrics, I believe, were the key to Lodge’s textual understanding of the book, however partial. In fact, even if the story of this ownership reflects Lodge’s uncommon, semi-ethnographical immersion and passion for languages other than English, I find it hard to believe that Lodge owned the manuscript without being able to access, at least very partially, its textual meaning. Cf: CELM, “Books and Manuscripts Owned by Lodge”, available online at: <https://bit.ly/2K7TBOK>.

²⁶ Susannah Brietz Monta, “Anne Dacre Howard, Countess of Arundel, and Catholic Patronage,” in *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500–1625*, ed. Micheline White (Ashgate: Farnham, 2011), 59–81. Ann E. Wiltout, *A Patron and a Playwright in Renaissance Spain: The House of Feria and Diego Sanchez de Badajoz* (London/Madrid: Tamesis Book Limited, 1987). Juan Carlos Rubio Masa, “El Mecenazgo Artístico de Lady Jane Dormer, Primera Duquesa de Feria,” paper given at *Anglo-Iberian Relations Conference*, 21 October 2017, Zafra, Spain.

²⁷ This section is based on ODNB, s.v. “Suarez de Figueroa [née Dormer], Jane, Duchess of Feria in the Spanish nobility”, written by M.J. Rodriguez-Salgado (2006) who uses the older entry previously authored by Alsager Richard Vian (before 1901), here consulted as well, and from which the last quotation is taken. Both of these entries substantially rely on Henry Clifford, *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria: Transcribed from the Ancient Manuscript in the Possession of the Lord Dormer*, published several times from 1887. Clifford personally knew the Duchess of Feria.

regardless, or maybe due to the fact that both her father and husband died faithful to their religious beliefs.²⁸ To be sure, Lady Anne's own life was marred by years of imposed, severe poverty (in contrast with what should have been her rightful possessions) and confinement.

Crucially for the sake of this chapter, both Lady Anne and Lady Jane seem to have been avid recipe collectors. In this sense, it is Add MS 34212 itself which represents key evidence of their engagement with recipes. On one side, the quoted dedicatory epistle of *The Poore Mans Talent* conveys the desire of the Countess of Arundel to have from Lodge (and, in turn, the efforts of Lodge to produce for her) the recipe collection – beyond confirming the extraordinary compassion and generosity of this woman, possibly performing the Catholic models which influenced her.²⁹ On the other side, the very “Spanish written book” of the Duchess of Feria which made it into an English translation, here proves in no uncertain terms her interest for local (Iberian) recipes, also powerfully evoking the extent of Lady Jane's connections to, and influence in her native country.

All that has been written so far, beyond illuminating the origin of Thomas Lodge and Lady Anne's connection and thus of *The Poore Mans Talent*, if looked at carefully supports the idea that Lodge could have entered into contact with the Duchess of Feria too, directly or indirectly, during one of his sojourns on the Continent, especially in the Low Countries. No historical biographies, in this sense, would really be able to detail the number of contacts and acquaintances whom two individuals like these most certainly had in their lives. Crucially, the possibility that Lodge himself translated the Spanish recipes of the Duchess of Feria, thanks to an exceptionally powerful combination of recipe expertise and linguistic skills, is also strongly supported. Perhaps – but this is a tentative reading – Lodge's translations of Luis de Granada who was, in turn, one of Lady Jane Dormer's favourite devotional readings (and thus adopted by many English recusants in the Continent), could testify to an attempt to curry favour with Lady Jane or her network.³⁰ These biographical details also suggest the sense of profound admiration that Lady Anne must have felt for the elder, inspiring figure of Lady Jane and her commitment to the Catholic cause. Together with the dedicatory letter of *The Poore*

²⁸ Mary F.S. Hervey, *The Life Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge University Press, 1921), 13.

²⁹ The ODNB does not doubt Lady Anne's most Christian qualities nor acknowledge that, in this case, Lady Anne's main biographer was with all likelihood her last Jesuit confessor from whose work all the modern biographies directly descend or, in any case, heavily rely on. Cfr. Henry Granville Fitzalan-Howard, *The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857).

³⁰ Lodge, *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado*, 1601, in the opening letter “To the Christian Reader” writes: “I Doe heere present vnto thy fauorable viewe (most curteous and gentle Reader) thys little Pamphlet, which wanting a particular Patron...”. This certainly means that the book did not have any patron. It seems to me that this is a conventional phrase in its most literal sense, which ultimately reveals that Lodge was one of those authors who made sense of literary patronage as the norm (or goal) and thus, that he was constantly looking for a patron.

Mans Talent, per implicit extension, we can easily imagine the great value which Lady Anne would have placed on a manuscript containing recipes belonging to Lady Jane. In turn, we do no wrong in thinking that Lady Jane too would have particularly rejoiced to know that her recipes were safe with Lady Anne, or with any other Catholic of such moral character.

Wellcome Library MS 213 and Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.388 display all the recipes visible in the fourth part of Add MS 34212. Among the most conspicuous, ordered and neatly given early modern recipe collections these sources are without doubt, the work of two scribes: they in fact present titles penned in red ink, thematically arranged indexes, preparatory ruling lines as well as a plenitude of blank pages, appearing inbetween the sections in which the recipes were arranged.³¹

MS 213 declares itself from its title-page to be “experienced and tryed by the speciall practize of Mrs Corlyon”, in 1606; MS V.a.388, slightly differently, reads as “A book of such medicines as have been approved by the special practice of Mrs. Carlyon” – Corlyon/Carlyon must be accepted as variants of the same, not identifiable, English “Mrs”.³² However, the main point here is that WL MS 213 was most certainly originally owned by Lady Anne Arundel who, at the time of her death only, passed it to her daughter-in law, Aletheia (Talbot) Howard, next Countess of Arundel (1585-1654). The conclusive evidence of Lady Arundel’s possession of MS 213 does not come from MS 213, though; rather from a later seventeenth-century “exact Coppie” of MS 213, now in the archive of Arundel Castle.³³ This later copy, commissioned by Charles Howard, a descendant of the family, for one of his nieces, provides an inscription penned by the man, dated March, 1st, 1679, which reads:

My Deare Lady Marques
This is an exact Coppie of your greate greate
Grandmother Ann Cowntesse of Arondell her
booke bownd in red velvet shee lefte it at her death
with my Grandmother Alatheia of Arondel who kept
it as long as she lived as a great treasure. I hope you
will doe the like especialy when you have fownde
by experience the excelente virtues of the receipts
herein contained.³⁴

³¹ A number of recipes were added to these texts after their creation, especially into V.a.388.

³² WL MS 213, fol.1r, "A Booke of diuers Medecines, Broothes, Salues, Waters, Syropes and Oyntementes of which many or the most part haue been experienced and tryed by the speciall practize of Mrs Corlyon. Anno Domini 1606"; MS V.a.388, preliminary leaf 3, "A book of such medicines as have been approved by the special practice of Mrs. Carlyon".

³³ To be noted that MS 213 presents in its front page, fol.1r., "*Liber Comitissa Arundelia[e?]*", so "book of the Countess of Arundell", just before the inscription relative to "Mrs Corlyon" quoted in note 32. Moreover, the central arabesque ornament stamped over the calf binding of MS 213 displays two capitals "A" appearing at both its sides (thus: "A [ornament] A").

³⁴ Quotation taken from Leong, "Medical Recipe Collections", 132. Cfr. Stine, "Opening Closets": 23-38. Cfr also: Elisabeth Spiller, "Printed Recipe Books", 524, which relies on Stine's work.

This inscription, fascinating in its own right, is included here in consideration of the remarkable confusion which characterises the scholarly understanding of MS 213.³⁵

MS 213, as owned by Lady Anne Arundel, contains the recipe “The Duchesse of Feria her washinge of Alloes: A good purging Pyll” – as does MS v.a.388.³⁶ It takes only this recipe to infer that at least some relation of recipe transmission, direct or indirect, existed between these two women. More accurately, thanks to this recipe we can assume Lady Anne Arundel’s awareness of the Duchess of Feria’s personal engagement with recipes and remedies, by having an example of such a commitment materialised precisely into a recipe. This inference is even more convincing given that this recipe, quite decisively, was placed within Lady Anne’s own, much cherished, manuscript collection. That the Duchess of Feria’s interest was Iberia-centric must have also been quite clear from the main ingredient of the remedy, i.e. aloes, a plant intolerant of cold climates like that of England.

Thus, so far we know that the first part of Add MS 34212 contains recipes explicitly authored by Lodge for the Countess of Arundel: *The Poore Mans Talent*. We also know that the fourth part of Add MS 34212 resembles to a significant extent two other identical manuscript recipe collections, one of which was certainly owned by the same Lady Anne Arundel and both approved by the experience of another woman. Moreover, we also know that the same fourth part of Add MS 34212 offers recipes against the plague which was, in turn, a topic dear to Lodge – I mentioned earlier Lodge’s *Treatise of the Plague*.³⁷ Finally, we are also aware of the strong possibility that the second section of Add MS 34212, that of the recipes “as be made in Spaine &

³⁵ First: the cataloguers of the Wellcome Library have tentatively attributed the ownership of MS 213 to Aletheia Howard only. Beyond the ambivalence of the clues discussed in note 33, Aletheia’s full-size portrait appearing in the inside of the front cover page of the recipe collection entitled *Natura Exenterata*, in print since 1655, has led them to believe that *Natura Exenterata* “may possibly be based on the contents” of MS 213: this is not correct though. Second: the manuscript has, at times, also ended and being known as “Mrs Corlyon’s recipe book”. Ultimately, my reading, in line with the unpublished doctoral works of Leong and Stine, corrects a number of studies, namely: Jennifer Rabe, “Mediating between Art and Nature: The Countess of Arundell at Tart Hall,” in *Sites of Mediation: Connected Histories of Places, Processes, and Objects*, ed. Susanna Burghartz, Lucas Burkart, and Christine Göttler (Brill, 2016): 183-210; Leigh Whaley, in *Women and the Practice of Medical Care in Early Modern Europe, 1400-1800* (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2011), 16; and also DiMeo, “Authorship and Medical Networks: Reading Attributions in Early Modern Manuscript Recipe Books,” in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, ed. eadem and Pennell, 40. Please note that even if MS 213 is not a “red velvet” book as the quotation by Charles Howard suggests it ought to have been, this does not constitute an issue. On the contrary, I personally imagine that, at a certain point, MS 213 was re-bound and, whoever had the book rebound, on that occasion, purposefully decided that the new cover would have shown two letters “A” as initials of both Lady Anne and Lady Alethea: a tangible, physical mark of dual, transmitted ownership, which bound the two ladies together in an immediate, elegant and yet subtly concealed way, which no inscription could have paralleled.

³⁶ WL MS 213, fol. 72r-73v [142-143], “The Duchesse of Feria her washinge of Alloes: A good purging Pyll”; Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.388, fol. 98v, “The Duchesse of Feraras washinge of Allowaies: A good purging Pill”.

³⁷ The British Library item description notes that the recipes against the plague are “of a simpler character” than those contained in the printed text.

Portugall”, was translated by Lodge himself. Moreover, I must point out that, among the significant number of English manuscript books which I have analysed for this thesis, I have not noted the recipe of the Duchess of Feria anywhere else.

On the basis of the pieces of evidence presented, I am deeply inclined to believe that Add MS 34212 is Thomas Lodge’s collection of recipes, the surviving one of a possible several that he owned. Some of these recipes were authored by him; some were externally received and collected by him; and others, most obviously the Iberian ones, were translated into English by him. Some recipes were also shared, ultimately to an inscrutable extent, with his “Catholic acquaintances” committed to recipe-making like Lady Arundel and, very probably, Mrs. Carlyon. Therefore, it is my view that the presentation copy of *The Poore Mans Talent*, Folger MS. V.a.136, could well descend from Add MS 34212. I also believe that the aforementioned recipes surviving in Wellcome MS 213 and Folger MS V.a.388, including that of the Duchess of Feria, could equally descend from Add MS 34212 – or, in any case, from another recipe book of Thomas Lodge, which contained the same recipes. In this sense, *The Poore Mans Talent* already proves that Lady Anne Arundel’s literary patronage was not strictly confined to devotional material but rather extended to her tangible interest in recipes and remedies which, even if not further investigable, is very probably at the base of this proliferation of multiply copied, and thus transmitted, recipes.

Ultimately, in consideration of all that has been written so far, I hypothesise that Lodge translated the recipes of the Duchess of Feria for the benefit of one or more of his Catholic patients, patrons or acquaintances, best represented by the Countess of Arundel. The Countess, in this respect, by having within her manuscript collection an obvious Iberia-centric recipe acknowledging the Duchess of Feria as donor, seems truly the ideal recipient of the “Spanish written book” of the Duchess. Equally, I propose Lodge’s connection with the Duchess of Feria, either directly or indirectly through shared networks of acquaintances, thus explaining how such a collection of recipes “as be made in Spaine & Portugall” reached England.

* * *

As said in the introduction of this thesis, the most distinctive element of Iberian manuscript recipe compilations is that they gather together, unlike their English equivalents, not only culinary (especially fruit preservation via sugar) recipes, but also cosmetic, beautifying, and medical/personal hygiene-focused recipes, often in overall similar numbers. As a consequence, it can be asserted that any expert in these late medieval and early modern recipe collections, just by casting a quick eye over the titles of the eighty-seven recipes given in Add MS 34212 “...as be made in Spaine & Portugall

translated forth of a written Spanish booke of the Dutches of Ferias”, i.e. the content of this section, would be well disposed to believe these translations to be of authentic Iberian recipes. This impression is strengthened by the presence of a few Spanish words (and names of ladies) not translated, including “*rosado*” [“rosy”; “of roses”].

As far as I can deduce working through the mediation of the English language, the recipes written in Spanish, originally gathered within the manuscript owned by the Duchess of Feria, are unique exemplars. In other words: the English recipes do not translate any recipe available within the Spanish recipe collections which have survived the centuries. So, very likely, they represent lost copies, in translation, of circulating Spanish recipes at the time of the Duchess of Feria. It is possible, but unlikely, that this set of Spanish recipes was composed for the Duchess only, or indeed originally generated from her household.

As is the case with the majority of pre-modern manuscript recipe collections, it is impossible to date these recipes with great precision. Jane Dormer died in 1612, so this year constitutes the most certain *terminus ante quem* of the Spanish book from which this Iberian section is translated. Moreover, Lady Jane’s possibly ostentatious, but certainly minimal clothing style embraced after 1571, a style utterly informed by her adhesion to the Franciscan spirit, could suggest that the collection was assembled earlier than 1571. As difficult as it is to reconcile her later *persona* with the recipes of her book, it is much easier, in turn, to imagine the Duchess making good use of it until her 30s. A renowned beauty of such means and in such position, Lady Jane very likely bonded with the Spanish ladies of the court of Madrid through their religious devotion and recipes. Unfortunately, the two ladies mentioned as donors, *Doña Maria de Lyrna* and *Doña Castellana* (recipes 22 and 33 respectively), are impossible to identify: this could have made the time frame clearer.³⁸ In any case in both scenarios – recipes pre-1612 or pre-1571 – the bigger implication is that this collection, in translation, must be added to the list of the earliest, few surviving Spanish manuscripts of this kind. To be sure, recipes in which honey abounds are also included, so parts of the collection may well be late medieval (as for the knowledge it gathers).

Table 5.1 lists all the recipes.³⁹ It counts the recipes not only for utility, but also to reflect their original numeration.⁴⁰ For an immediate reading, I label each thematic category of preparations by quoting the original title just before the relevant section it

³⁸ To add imprecision, “*Castellana*”, beyond a proper surname, is also the generic noun by which a Lady/Mistress of a castle/court was addressed. In this last sense, the word is used in BNE, Mss/2019 fol. 151v., which contains the recipe “*receta de una Castellana para una caçoleta*”.

³⁹ Add MS 34212, fols. 36r-49r. “Finis” closes these pages and appears also at the end of the index. The index, written in the same hand as the entire manuscript, suggests a clear pagination of the recipes from page 1 to 22 which is not evident within the text. At times, there are differences with the titles given in the main text and those in the index. I show these differences in note.

⁴⁰ The recipes are given as “chapter/capitulum” (in line with Spanish ways) abbreviated in several different, inconsistent ways, appearing after the title, as the first ten recipes listed exemplify.

refers to: in other words, the bold headings are not mine, but given in Add MS 34212.⁴¹ I also give in bold the “note” which opens the last effective part of this Iberian segment: this note, which is graphically rendered as a proper heading in the manuscript, is arranged at the top centre of the recto page, after some there is some white space purposefully left after recipe fifty-five, on the correspondent verso page, which closes the previous subsection.⁴² Moreover, I highlight recipe 74, “Marmelate as it is made in Portugall”, since it represents the only recipe overtly associated with either Spain or Portugal; in this case described as Portuguese. To be sure, the existence of recipe 74 by no means signifies that all the rest were exclusively Spanish: I read this distinctiveness in the light of the title of the entire section, which invokes both “Spaine & Portugall”.

| NO | RECIPE |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>How to perfume gloves,</i> | |
| 1. | To perfume gloves Chap:1: |
| 2. | Kiddes sewett [suet of kid] chap:2: |
| 3. | Amber for gloves Chap:3: |
| 4. | To amoint [anooint] gloves: Cap:4 |
| 5. | Another way to dresse gloves Cap:5 |
| 6. | One other way chap:6: |
| 7. | To perfume the arye gloves and they are the best that be made. Cha:7 th . |
| 8. | How to dresse gloves when they be white:Cap:8. th |
| 9. | Another way to dresse gloves for sommer Ca:9: |
| 10. | To make the inside of gloves yellow cap:10 th |
| <i>To make perfumes</i> | |
| 11. | A receipt to make perfumes |
| 12. | Another speciall good perfume |
| 13. | Another way to make perfumes |
| 14. | How to make coales of Sans [sic.] |
| 15. | Perfumes |
| 16. | Another of Roses |
| 17. | Another perfume |
| 18. | To make Paste of Amber |
| 19. | Another perfume |
| 20. | Another perfume |
| 21. | Another fyne perfume |
| 22. | Donia Castellanas skellett |
| 23. | To make sweete bagges of Roses |
| <i>And Sweete Waters</i> | |
| 24. | To make sweete water |
| 25. | Sweet mixt waters |
| 26. | Another sweete water |
| 27. | An excellent sweet water |
| 28. | Another mixt sweete water |
| 29. | Sweete water to sprinkle of cloths ⁴³ |
| 30. | The water of perfumes |
| 31. | A Sweete Water |
| 32. | A water of Domia [<i>domina?</i> ; <i>Doña?</i>] Maria de Lyrna ^{44*} |

⁴¹ Cfr. full title given at page 105. A few recipes do not fit the categories.

⁴² Add MS 34212, fol. 45r.

⁴³ “Gloves” undescribed in the index: a mistake.

| | |
|--|---|
| 33. | To make a little water of a sweete smell* |
| <i>with divers other Sundry preservatives...</i> | |
| 34. | A perfume for a Chamber |
| 35. | To make water of gummes |
| 36. | Oyle of Amber |
| 37. | One other oyle of Amber |
| 38. | Oyle of Storicke/ storax |
| 39. | Oyle of Roses |
| 40. | To make sweete sope |
| 41. | To make Bischochas of Alexu |
| 42. | To incorporate Amber for pomander or beads |
| 43. | Perfumes for the Rheume |
| 44. | To make a pomander which is comonly used when <i>they</i> make perfumes & named by the name of the powder |
| 45. | The confection of Amber & muske Together |
| 46. | For pomanders |
| 47. | Powders of Alexandria |
| 48. | Perfumes of Roses |
| 49. | Sweete baggs |
| 50. | Lectuary of Roses |
| 51. | Lectuary of Wallnutts |
| 52. | Lectuary of Orenge Pilles in conserve |
| 53. | Past Reall |
| 54. | Marchpanes |
| 55. | Alcorais |
| 56. | <i>Note that this Marmelet here following or in any other other you must put thus much Sugar as is here named But proportionably as the sweetnes or the tartness of the quinces requireth⁴⁵ [recipe to make marmalade of quinces with no title]⁴⁶</i> |
| 57. | Sugar Rosado |
| 58. | Sugar Rosado dried |
| 59. | Cakes of sugar Rosado |
| 60. | Sugar Cakes |
| 61. | Quinces with Sugar |
| 62. | Paest Reall |
| 63. | Mellicas |
| 64. | Whole orenges preserved |
| 65. | To preserve gordes [gourds] |
| 66. | Marmelate |
| 67. | Rosquillas another way |
| 68. | Orenge covered with Sugar ⁴⁷ |
| 69. | To make marmalete that is very good |
| 70. | Rosquillas another way |
| 71. | To perfume quinces in one daye |
| 72. | To preserve Buglase [bugloss] which is very comfortable for the stomacke |
| 73. | Sugar Rosada |
| 74. | Marmelate as it is made in Portugall |
| 75. | To preserve quinces |
| 76. | Another way to preserve quinces |
| 77. | To make Wafers |

⁴⁴ “Domia” which appears with “~” superscripted. See figure 3. “Dimia De lima” with “~” superscripted in the appendix.

⁴⁵ Within the index, this long sentence is not given.

⁴⁶ Within the index, recipe 56 is listed as: “marmolett with thannotacion befor goinge” [sic].

⁴⁷ Within the index is written “coullored” instead of “covered”.

| | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 78. | A sugar tart | |
| 79. | Gelly of quinces | |
| 80. | Paest reall | |
| 81. | Marchpanes | |
| 82. | Sugar plate | |
| 83. | Miel rosada | |
| 84. | Gelly of quinces | |
| 85. | Marmelate another Way | |
| 86. | To preserve the face & make it smooth | |
| 87. | For the hands | <i>Finis</i> |

Table 5.1 – Iberian recipes given in British Library, MS Add 34212.

Table 5.1 shows that the first half of this Iberian section is concerned with non-edible preparations: perfumes (for the house and for gloves especially), oils, and a few, cream-like preparations for the care of the skin. Table 5.1 also shows a number of “sweet waters”. In order to cast away any legitimate doubt, let me highlight that, as Gervase Markham put it in 1616, “Sweet Waters serve to wash the hands, face, hair of the head, and beard: as also to make Linens, Garments, Gloves, and such other things, to smell sweet”.⁴⁸ In short, they are perfumed waters not produced to be ingested. This sort of product, as said, will be discussed in the next chapter.

To recreate edible preparations was instead the ultimate purpose of all the other recipes of the book of the Duchess of Feria: these recipes concerned the preservation of flowers, roses in particular, and fruits, via sugar and honey, as well as other sweet edible products, like cakes, biscuits, marzipan, and some sort of nougats, among which are those called “paste reals”. Some of the culinary recipes in this Iberian section were overtly acknowledged as “edible medical goods”.⁴⁹ The arguably older preparations of this kind are, as the name implies, the three electuaries, respectively of roses, walnuts and “orange pills in conserve” (recipes 50, 51 and 52), which all call for the addition of honey as a sweet, semi-liquid substance, to be amalgamated and placed on a gentle heat, following the standard way of making this sort of preparation, which we see within the *Vergel de señores* and also the *Regalo de la vida umana*, even if, being a later source, the *Regalo* at times swaps honey for syrup of sugar. Moreover, the Iberian section also tells the reader how to “preserve Buglase which is very comfortable for the stomake” (recipe 72): its text simply indicates to take the roots of bugloss “in May for then they be best in season”, remove their exterior part (“stripp away the blacke of them that is on the outside”), wash them, boil them with clarified sugar and finally place the product in glasses.⁵⁰

No direct reference to any medical property, specific or generic, is given in the remaining edible recipes (in the titles or in the texts). However, the humoral framework

⁴⁸ Gervase Markham, *The Countrey Farme* (1616), 464.

⁴⁹ “Presidio medico di tipo alimentare”, in Italian.

⁵⁰ MS Add 34212, fols. 47r-47v.

clearly underpins those recipes which, in line with the long-established Iberian tradition of preserving fruits and flowers with sugar, offer the reader a good number of possible choices to create jellies and marmalades, which might also be used to dress cakes. The oversize note which warns the user of the collection that regardless of the type of flower or fruit chosen, the amount of sugar has to be proportional to their sweetness or their “tartnes”, i.e. their sourness/bitterness, possibly also aims to balance the final, humoral quality of the preparations, beyond their “flavour”. Quinces, but also oranges, in pieces or whole, as well as roses, either white or red, are the main, and only, ingredients here. To be sure: only jams produced by quinces were called “marmelate”.

Overall, nothing particularly distinctive emerges from these recipes regarding the preliminary conditions of the ingredients or the procedures to which they are subjected. So, beyond the time needed to recreate them, the variations, as in any other Spanish recipe of this sort, consist in the number of times which the ingredients have to be washed and boiled via sugar; the ways in which they have to be cut up (before or after the washing/boiling), if not used whole, and the shape and dimension of their eventual pieces; the ways the subsequent pap can eventually be refined, via linen cloths, mortars or sieves; and the number of days the preparation needs to be placed outdoors, in the sun or shadow to dry, if any.

In this sense the Portuguese marmalade of quinces, although long and detailed, is distinctive only in that the pap of whole boiled quinces (washed and passed several times through a sieve) has to be added not just to clarified sugar but to a mixture of clarified sugar and orange water. Moreover, the recipe, like others, instructs that in order to determine if the marmalade is ready, the maker has to “take a little of it in a spoone, and sett it to coole, and if it part well from the spoone. . .it is ready”. It is not ready to be consumed, however: but to be boiled again and finally set to “dry in the sunne, turning them in two or three days.”⁵¹

As anticipated, there are nonetheless some remarkable aspects worth highlighting from the culinary part of this Iberian section. Sugar is the first. Recipe 73, for “sugar *rosado*” calls for half a pound of sugar “of *valentia*”; recipe 53, for “Past Real”, instead calls for “two pound of ffyne Sugar *valenciano*” – with “*valentia*” and “*valentiano*” written in enlarged, lowercase letters.⁵² So, this recipe shows clear attention to this specific type of sugar and the consensus, most notably expressed in Miguel de Baeza’s *Los cuatro libros del arte de la confiteria* (1592), that the best local sugar available in Spain was that of the area of Valencia.⁵³ Also the enlarged writing style could support this idea, as I will demonstrate shortly.

⁵¹ Add MS 34212, fol. 47v.

⁵² Ibid., fol. 47v. and fol. 44r. respectively.

⁵³ Baeza, *Arte De La Confiteria*, Preface, mentions “Gandia”, a town close to Valencia, for its sugar of great quality.

The second meaningful aspect appears in recipe 64, for “whole oranges preserved”, in which the first concern of the recipe is the initial washing of the whole fruits. It says: “take wholle oranges and with a bodkin make many holes with the topp of the orange and put them in water, and salt, and put them in a pan to seeth”.⁵⁴ Water and salt here seem to be used to reduce the bitterness of the peel as well as to render it soft and tender. This is reminiscent of the ‘*lexia*’ wash of salt and ashes used for the preservation of whole citrons, discussed in Chapter 4. Water and salt – thus brine – differs from water and ashes; nonetheless, they were both used to take away the bitterness of the fruit.

Salt is an eye-catching feature of recipe 65 as well. In fact, “to preserve gordes” instructs the reader to take some big gourds, cut them in slices, wash them well, and later to “put in a handful of salt”.⁵⁵ The recipe does not say it explicitly, but this initial process certainly aimed to draw the water from the gourds, extracting their natural bitterness as a result. A couple of lines later, it is made clear that the sliced gourds have then to be “put in faire water, until they have no savour of the salt”. The recipe continues by indicating that, at this point, the slices should be placed “into some pipkin, or such like” (I imagine thus over the fire within a three-legged pot) adding sugar and water, and gently boiling them together until the sugar is clarified. Further clarified sugar must be added at the top of the compound, every day, for eight days.

Recipe 65 deserves attention not only because of the presence of salt but also the gourds themselves. Like melons and cucumbers, gourds are plants which belong to the family *Cucurbitaceae* and need hot climates to thrive: unlike melons and cucumbers, which every now and then appear in English recipe books, gourds never do.⁵⁶ Early modern English printed recipe books only seldom provide their readers with recipes to preserve this type of vegetable: there are no more than a handful of instances in total, starting with Hugh Platt’s 1602 two-line long “to preserve cowcubmers all the year” where “to preserve” stands, in fact, for “to pickle”.⁵⁷ More importantly, among this handful of recipes there is none which contains instructions with the aim and procedure aligned with recipe 65. Equally, I cannot recall any manuscript recipe which offers a recipe similar to this one here discussed. In other words, recipe 65, in all likelihood, represents an *unicum* in the world of English early modern recipes.

⁵⁴ Add MS 34212, fol. 46r.

⁵⁵ Add MS 34212, fol. 44r.

⁵⁶ Cucumbers appear in Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife*, within the section on “Salads”. “Gourd-seeds” appear in *The Perfect Cook* and *The Queen Closet Opened*. For a medical use of melons and cucumbers see: *The Treasury of Healthe Conteynyng Many Profitable Medicines Gathered Out Of Hypocrates, Galen and Auycen, by One Petrus Hyspanus [and] Translated Into Englysh By Humfre Lloyd* (1553). This text is an early modern adaptation of the *Thesaurus Pauperum* from the 13th century.

⁵⁷ Platt, *Delights for Ladies*, C4.

Certainly though, recipe 65 describes a type of preservation of vegetables through salt first and honey or sugar later, well-known in Iberia, and in Catalonia put into words already in the late Middle Ages. The splendid Catalan, mid-fifteenth-century *Libre de Totes Maners de Confits* [“Book of All Kinds of Confits”] offers a recipe which very much resembles recipe 65, entitled “to confit gourds or melons”; it is the second recipe of the book.⁵⁸ Significantly, and in line with the richness which characterised the world of early modern recipe books, it is worth noting that the English translation of *Epulario, or The Italian banquet*, printed once in 1598, actually gives a recipe concerned with the preservation of gourds: no salt is acknowledged and the gourds are, in fact, reduced to their juice. However, I found remarkable similarities with our recipe 65, cemented in the title of the recipe itself, “To seeth Gourdes after the Catalonian fashion”.⁵⁹

Beyond the preservation of fruits and flowers, this Iberian section of Add MS 34212 presents recipes for “paste real” (recipes 53, 62 and 80) and “marchpanes” (recipe 54 and 81). The first is a sort of soft nougat prepared with almonds cut into small pieces, perfumed waters, sometimes several egg whites, and the ubiquitous sugar, all mixed on the fire and served in cold pieces. The second is a variation of marzipan as we know it: very finely beaten almonds, sugar and eggs with the optional addition of some perfumed waters. However, these two recipes suggest placing the marzipan in “the oven to bake” making sure “the oven be not too hott”, thus indicating that the final product was not eaten raw, as we do now, but was prepared like a biscuit.⁶⁰ Recipes 77, 78 and 82 are not marmalades, pastes or nougats, but instead a sort of basic almond-based sugary tart – they are detailed, but not particularly distinctive recipes in any sense.

Not at all surprisingly, we also find a recipe for a “white dish”, called “*Manjar Blanco*” in Spanish, here included under the very unusual name of “*Mellicas*” (recipe 63), a name that probably derives from the Latin noun *melliculum* which means “little honey/sweet thing”.⁶¹ The preparation is very much in line with older versions of this sort of dish, discussed in chapter 4. Here twenty “very fatt” hens are first boiled “without salt or any thinge else”, and reduced to pap in order to be amalgamated with blanched almonds and “many pounds of sugar”.⁶² When the compound is still very much liquid, given that the broth deriving from the first boiling is used too, “as much of ginger and cloves as it may take” can be added, stirring “with a faire wooden ladle

⁵⁸ Library of the University of Barcelona, MS 86, “*Para confagir carabatat o sindriat*”.

⁵⁹ Rosselli, *Epulario*, D4, the text of the recipe is given within *Appendix I*, 215.

⁶⁰ Add MS 34212, fol. 44r and fol. 48v.

⁶¹ Luigi Castiglioni and Scevola Mariotti, ed., *Vocabolario della Lingua Latina* (Roma: Loescher Editore, 2007), s.v. “*Melliculum,li*”. Cfr. Thomas Elyot, *The Dictionary of Sir Thomas Elyot* (1538), s.v. “Mellica,” “Mellica, a kynde of poulse, of the coloure of redde, of the fourme of Mylle”. Elyot’s linking of the word to a kind of lentil or sweetcorn kernel (Portuguese: “*milho*”) is interesting.

⁶² Add MS 43212, fol. 45v.

continually...until it have drunke up all the broth and [is] very drie.”⁶³ Splendidly, and uniquely to my knowledge, the recipe concludes by adding: “and you may topp off this meate (if you will) in some sheeps belly, but if the hennes be fatt it needeth not.”⁶⁴

Among the edible, sweet preparations given in this Iberian section of Add MS 34212, the reader also learns how to make *bischochas of Alexu*, recipe 41, as well as *rosquillas*, recipes 67 and 70.

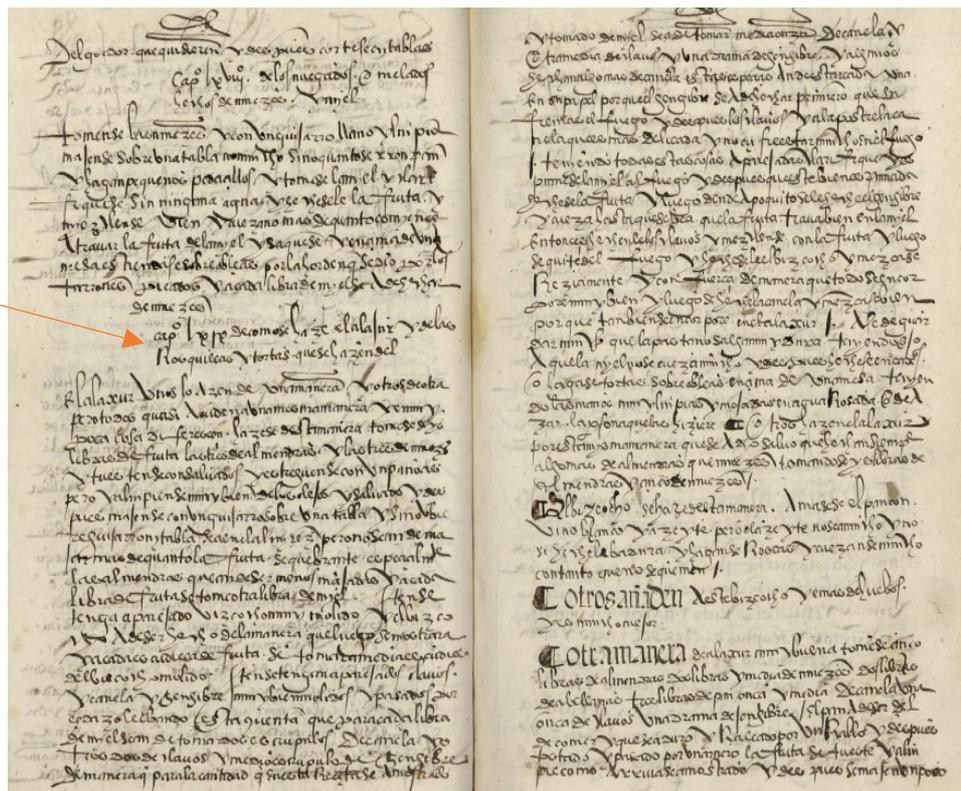


Figure 5.1 – Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, MSS 8565, *Vergel de señores*, folios 69v-70r.

Within the first book of the *Vergel de Señores*, recipe sixty-nine is entitled “*De como se haze el alaxur y de las Rosquillas y tortas que se hazen del*”; figure 5.1 shows the first two pages of the recipe, which continues for three pages.⁶⁵ We can translate this Spanish title as “How to make *Alaxur* and the little rolls and the cakes you make from it”. *Rosquillas* are thus, very simply, little baked rolls made with *Alaxur* (which is the name of the composition as explained later). According to the first line of this recipe, “someone makes *alaxur* in one way and someone else in another one”, hence the provision of several variations, the “*otra manera*” well visible at the bottom of the recto page.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ibid., 46r.

⁶⁴ Ivi.

⁶⁵ BNE, MSS 8565, *Vergel de Señores*, fols. 69v-70r.

⁶⁶ Ibid., “*El alaxur unos lo azen de una manera y otros de otra*”.

However, in order to make biscuits of *Alaxur*, almonds, honey, walnuts, cinnamon, and rose water are always required. Essentially, all these ingredients form a sort of dense paste, to be placed for some time on the fire in order to softly melt, and later cooled down on a table, ready to take the desired shape. As for the little rools (*rosquillas*) of *Alaxur*, it is also safe to say that some kind of flour, most likely deriving from ground almonds, must have been employed in their preparation; nonetheless there is no explicit trace of this within the Spanish recipe.

Bischochas of Alexu, as well as *rosquillas*, not only appear within the Duchess of Feria's collection, but the translator also decided to retain their "original" names. The way to make biscuits of *Alaxur* is given in recipe 41 as follows:

Take a part of walnutts, two pound and a halfe of Almonds, a quarter of pine aples one ounce and a halfe of Cinnamon one ounce of Cloves two porringers full of ffyne ? three pints of honey: the paest that is made full for this is a pound of Sugar, a porringer full of Rosewater, halfe a pound of Sweete butter and twenty eggs.⁶⁷

The concluding note (graphically separated from the main body of the text and justified), which closes recipe 70 for "*Rosquillas* another way", defines them as "a kind of hard sweete buton" to be eaten after Christmas "made in little rounde rolles of the ffashion".⁶⁸ Its text indicates that, analogous to the ordinary doughnuts given in recipe 67, a high number of egg yolks, half a pound of sugar, and some egg whites as well as aniseeds have to be amalgamated in a "soft paste" to be placed twice in the oven; so that, ultimately, the distinctiveness of the Christmas *rosquillas* seems to lie in their shape.

Only a very devoted Hispanophile reader could have been aware of *Alaxur*. In *The rogue: or The life of Guzman de Alfarache* (1623), some printed notes in the margin indicate that "*Alaxur* or...*Alfaxor*, as they call it in Castile" is "A Bisket made with honey, Almonds, Small Nuts, Walnuts, Kernels of Pine-Apples, &c." and that "*Alfaxor* is a Moorish word; and is a kind of conserve, made of Hony, Spices, and crummes of bread".⁶⁹ As for *Rosquillas*, the only available definition was that of John Minsheu's *A Dictionary in Spanish and English* (1599), which identifies them as "a little roll of bread".⁷⁰ No other trace is to be found in any other English printed source, including recipe books; and I found no references to *Alaxur* and *rosquillas* in English manuscript recipe collections either.

⁶⁷ MS Add 34212, fol. 44v.

⁶⁸ Ibid., fol. 47r.

⁶⁹ Mateo Alemán, *The Rogue: Or the Life of Guzman de Alfarache* (1623), 192.

⁷⁰ John Minsheu, *A Dictionary in Spanish and English*, 1599, s.v. "Rosquillas".

It seems appropriate to detail here the recipe “To make Biskett of Spaine” which, as said at the very start of this chapter, does not appear in this Iberian section, but rather within the third section of MS Add 34212. The recipe instructs readers to mingle together flour, sugar, “six yolks of eggs, and two whites” and rose water together with “a little quantity” of anise seeds, coriander seeds, and caraway seeds, put them “into coffins of Plate” and bake them “in oven well heate”. It concludes by specifying that: “when they be almost baked take them out of the coffins, and cut them in slices and so dry them in the oven till they are hard”.⁷¹ In terms of their consistency, these biscuits must have resembled modern Italian *Cantuccini*.

The last preparation which I would like to consider is recipe 71, “To perfume quinces in one daye”. Recipe 71 represents a unique set of instructions within this collection: its elaborate, seventeen-line process calls for honey and also sugar, although only as syrup (called “liquor”), to preserve quinces cut in quarters which, being first well washed, are later boiled, for a number of times, in honey and syrup. As the title makes clear, the recipe is to be followed by those who wish to give (extra) perfume to their quinces in a day. The perfume consists of some musk in orange water. It should also be noted that the recipe says: “and if you will putt in Muske lett it be the last time, when you parte the quinces and the liquor and blend the muske in a little oringe water...and let it boyle”.⁷² So, despite what the recipe promises to be from its own title, it turns out that the perfuming of these quinces is actually optional, non-compulsory; a last-minute decision of the maker, to be taken just before the last boiling of the fruits.

* * *

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, Add MS 34212 feels like a ‘professional reference recipe book’, a fair copy. It is worth making clear that the Iberian section of the manuscript, just discussed in terms of content, is no exception to this: these pages maintain, overall, the same cleanness and order which characterise the entire manuscript. Also this section, to be sure, presents one firm piece of evidence that these recipes were copied; the page which shows it constitutes, by far, the least polished page of the entire manuscript – figure 5.2 below.⁷³

⁷¹ Ms Add 34212, 52r.

⁷² Ibid., 47r.

⁷³ The substantial effacement of text visible in the first line of recipe 31, given in figure 5.2, is the longest of the manuscript. The words deleted are: “and half as much as Rosewater and a pint” which, in turn, are then given in the following recipe 32.

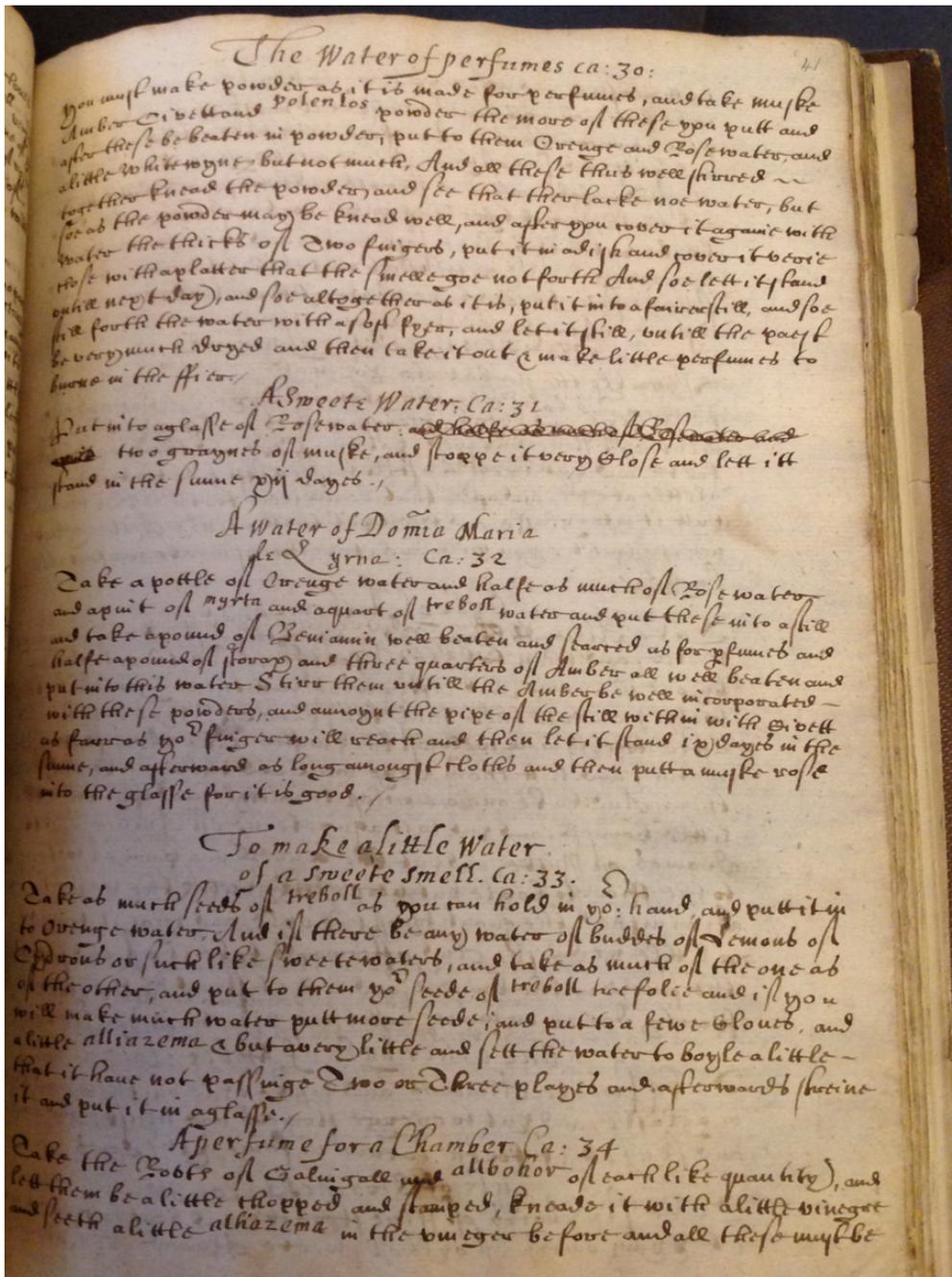


Figure 5.2 – British Library, Add MS 34212, folio 41r.

This same page, which will be discussed shortly, leaves no doubt that these recipes “as be made in Spaine & Portugall” were translated from “a written Spanish booke”, as the title-page declares. In consideration of what has just been said, it is safe to infer that they were copied from a previous work of translation. Nothing can be said about this prior source: it was simply Lodge’s “working translation”, Lodge’s draft, or drafts, here nicely transcribed.

Upon close examination of the recipes written in English discussed in the previous section, it is clear that they were translations of Iberian ones. However, even without a proper reading of the texts, there are several instances through which this act of

translation is visible. To say it more correctly, it is actually the act of *not* providing English words which is visible and which, in turn, indicates that in all the other instances the opposite happens. Whoever translated these recipes – whether Lodge or someone else – seems to have done so in a literal way, working through the translation word by word. In a small handful of occasions, in fact, the translator gives the original word, superscripted, written in block lowercase letters, also leaving a space where the corresponding English translation should have appeared – see again figure 5.2

Table 5.2 lists all these occurrences: out of ten recipes, only two were for edible products, hence “E.” I also place a question mark in correspondence with the words which, not being able to deduce the meaning/transcription thereof in the first place, are particularly challenging for me (recipes 7 and 34).

| NO. | WORD SUPERSCRIBED + SENTENCE IN WHICH IT APPEARS |
|-----------|---|
| 5 (37r) | “...lay upon the ^{Rana} of the kernills [kernels] of quences...”; “...and this ^{Rana} of the kermells of quinces must be done in sweete water.”; “...lay the paste upon your gloves before the ^{Rana} of the kermells be very drye.” |
| 7 (37v) | “...hold the oyle of ^{uinc(?)} is the best for it smelleth of nothinge.”; |
| 23 (40r) | “...and sprinkle them with the ^{Rana} water...”; |
| 29 (40v) | “Take ^{espliego} and put it in white wyne and so let it stand all anight, and that the ^{espliego} be covered with ?, the next day gett water fourth of it, and sprinkle the clothes as you will” [full recipe]. |
| 30 (41r) | “you must make powder as it is made for perfumes, and take muske, Amber, Civet and ^{polenios} powder...”; |
| 32 (41r) | “ Take a pottle of Orenge water and halfe as much of Rose water and a pint of ^{myrta} and a quart of ^{treboll} water and put these into a fire...”; |
| 33 (41r) | “Take as much seeds of ^{treboll} as you can hold in your hand”; “and put to them your seeds of ^{Treboll} ”; “and a little ^{alliazema} ”; |
| 34 (41v) | “Take the roots of Galingall and ^{albohor(?)} ”; “and seeth a little ^{alliazema} ”; “you may ^{cenarle} with that water”; |
| 58. (45r) | E. “and after it begins to ^{raxa} ”; |
| 66. (46r) | E. “and they ^{quararan} well weighted” . |

Table 5.2 – Un-translated words within British Library, MS Add 34212.

The words superscripted in recipes 5, 7, 23, 29, 30, 32, 33 as well as the first two given in recipe 34 must be, grammatically speaking, either nouns or adjectives. Those which instead appear in recipe 58, 66 and in the last case of recipe 34 are verbal forms. The English translation of the Spanish “*Espliego*” (recipe 29) is “lavender”; “*myrta*” (recipe 32) could be “myrtle” and “*treboll*” (recipes 32 and 33) should be “clover”. Probably “*Alliazema*” (recipe 33) stands here for “lavender” again, in this case deriving from the Portuguese “*Alfazema*”. As for the remaining nouns – “*Rana*” and “*Allbohov*” (?) – I cannot provide any translation. As for the verbs, “*quararan*” very likely stands here for

“*quedaran*”, thus “and they will become well weighted/will end up being well weighted”. “*Cenarle*” could be translated in a number of ways, none of which, however, are appropriate here. “*Raxa*” comes perhaps from the Portuguese “*rachar*” meaning “to split” or “crack” (the “*x*” and the “*ch*” are often interchangeable in Iberian languages). The word “*polentos*” is not a verb, despite looking like one. This, which could be a variation of “*poner*” + “*los*” [“to place them”] works here as an adjective, and has nothing to do with the verb “to place”. It appears at least one other time, within recipe 25, as “*poludaes*” (?) powder. This could simply be a reference to some kind of generic perfumed powder, but this cannot be said for certain.

Out of all these words only “*espliega*” and “*trebol*” could have been found, from 1599, by an English reader in the bi-lingual Spanish-English dictionary as a “kinde of sweete herbe called spikenard” and “an herbe called Trifoly, or three leafed grasse” respectively.⁷⁴ In this last respect, it will not have passed unnoticed that it has been suggested that “*Alliazema*” and “*Raxa*” may come from the Portuguese “*alfazema*” and “*rachar*”, “lavender” and “to split” or “crack” correspondingly. *Ductor in Linguas*, published in 1617, is the first multi-lingual dictionary ever published in English. Among its Portuguese entries there is no trace of these last two words or their derivatives. To be sure, within the dictionary there is no trace of lavender at all. More significant still, however, is that these two words entered and stayed within the vocabulary of this “Spanish written book”. Should these words really be of Portuguese origin, this occurrence would certainly reinforce the idea of “Iberian expertise”, of recipes equally known and reproducible in both Spain and Portugal, “as be made in Spaine & Portugall”. I will discuss this point further in the conclusion.

These words given in block lowercase letters, which here I ultimately use as proof of translation, are actually the very few to have not been translated. What does this mean? The most natural assumption is that the translator simply did not know their meaning. While introducing Add MS 34212 in its entirety, I wrote that some words, especially those given in Latin, appear within the text in enlarged block lowercase letters. I also detailed that, within recipes 53 and 73, “*valentiano*” and “*valentia*” respectively were graphically given in this way. The cases which this last part of the chapter discusses differ: as the image above shows, even if the words are given in block lowercase letters, they appear superscripted in correspondence with a blank space; not, thus, perfectly aligned with the rest of the text.

These are not details: in cases like those of Latin words as well as that of “*Valentia*”, the strongest impression is that the scribe highlighted them precisely because they were not given in English but that, in any case, their meaning was fully understood. Probably they were also appreciated, for some reason, as particularly meaningful. Given

⁷⁴ Minsheu, *A Dictionary in Spanish and English*, 1599, s.v. “*Espliega*” and “*Trebol*”.

the *genre*, most of them were ingredients listed within recipes.⁷⁵ In turn, the blank spaces left within the second section of Add MS 34212 only make it apparent beyond any reasonable doubt that the meaning of the relative words was not clear to the translator.

Consequently, the possibility that the maintenance of the original words, in some instances at least, rather than reflecting the translator's limited skills, was in fact a conscious decision, seems here not applicable. In theory, it could be speculated that the translator was aware that some ingredients, very possibly local to Iberia or in any case available via neighbouring areas, were not easily accessible and generally known in England; hence the choice to keep their original name, due to the lack of effective English equivalents. One could also argue, in this sense, that the cases of the previously discussed *Bischochas of Alexu* and *rosquillas* would certainly agree with this reading. However, while in these two cases it is true that the original name is maintained, it is also true that it is through the very recipe, thus the ingredients and procedure, that the *Alaxur* preparation was ultimately (supposedly) understood. Of *rosquillas*, not by chance, a definition was provided.

Indirectly, this comparison makes it also reasonably certain that all the other sections of Add MS 43212, by not presenting any superscripted word together with corresponding blank space, were not translations, rather recipes originally composed in English. Furthermore, in line with the feeling that Add MS 34212 represents a reference-copy – to consult but not to improve – the later addition of the original words superscripted seem to occur “for information only”, rather than envisaging a new work of translation. This was not a “work in progress”. More importantly, table 5.2 has to be read in dialogue with table 5.1. What really matters here is that out of eighty-seven recipes, only ten appear to have been not fully translated. Of these ten, only a handful of words were not rendered. In this sense, it is worth making it clear that, while reading these recipes, no syntactically confused or unclear passages emerged within the eighty-seven Iberian recipes of Add Ms 34212.

I would like to conclude this third part, hence the entire chapter, by pointing out something most notable. Reading closely the recipes “translated forth of a written Spanish booke” of the Duchess of Feria, some few remarks, embedded within the body of the recipe, enliven the texts. The vast majority of these resemble the personal judgement given within recipe 3, in which the line “the oyle of Jesamins (I thinke to be very good)” appears.⁷⁶ While we might assume that these represent remarks of the Duchess of Feria, two highly revealing observations complicate this reading, disclosing

⁷⁵ A few English generic words were subjected to the same calligraphic treatment, like the passage “Accept yt noble Maddam” within the dedicatory letter addressed to Lady Arundel by Thomas Lodge. Ultimately, this case cannot but reinforce the last impression: the graphical emphasis clearly aims to stress the meaningfulness of the words highlighted – here the offering and, in turn, acceptance of the recipe collection as well as the dignity of the patron.

⁷⁶ MS Add 34212, fol. 36v.

the almost certain “intrusion” of the translator. The first of these comments is taken from recipe 25, for “sweet mixt Waters”. In the middle of the recipe we read, as figure 5.3 below shows:

...and sett in the Sunne in a fine thinne glasse by
the space of six dayes, and in winter Nynce
dayes, but itt must be a longer tyme in England
because the sunne is nothinge soe hott at it is in
Spaine....⁷⁷

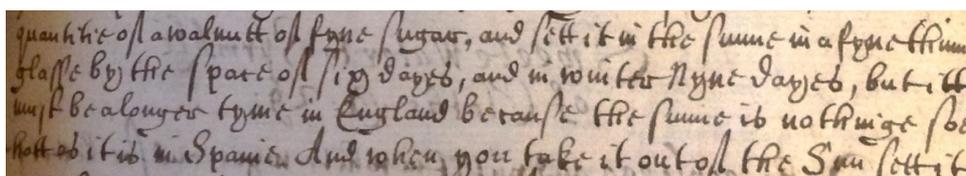


Figure 5.3 - British Library, Add MS 34212, detail of folio 40r.

The other notable remark comes instead from recipe 73, “Sugar Rosada”, and says, at the very end of the recipe: “I thinke all these things that are to be sett in the Sunne must have a longer time here in England then in Spaine, for the heat there...exceedes ours here.”⁷⁸

A twenty-one-year-old Duchess of Feria left England permanently in 1559. Could the second quoted comment, composed in England, have been written by the Duchess before her departure for Spain? Possibly: she married the Duke of Feria in 1558 but for months she did not move to Spain. However, I find this scenario extremely unlikely. As far as we know, the Duchess learnt the Spanish language when in Spain, not before, so it is particularly hard to imagine that, within her books, a Spanish text of this kind already appeared at that date and that she also commented upon it. In all likelihood, the last quoted remark discloses the presence of the translator. As a consequence, the remark given in recipe 25, which is of the same nature, should also be understood as originating with the translator. As noted, these comments are embedded in the text of the recipes, not given separately from the main text, as in the case of *rosquillas*. In this sense, then, the very long note penned before recipe 56 (please see table) acquires even more significance.

These observations, moreover, for the sake of this thesis, are extraordinary. They, in fact, reveal *ad hoc*, Anglo-Iberian concerns, determined by the most natural, and maybe significant difference between Spain and England: climate. Here, the overall suggestion is clear: in order to compensate the lower temperatures of the English weather the period of sun-drying indicated within recipes 25 and 73 must be prolonged. The suggestion, although clear, is nonetheless vague: I am tempted to read such vagueness –

⁷⁷ Ibid., fol. 40r.

⁷⁸ Ibid., fol. 47v.

“a longer time” – as an indication that whoever translated these recipes did not reproduce them first. This, to be sure, does not mean that the opposite practice was the norm: however, it is interesting that compared to very specific indications given for Spain, equally specific advice for England does not follow. Finally, it has to be pointed out that the conclusive remark given in recipe 73, by referring to “all these things that are to be sett in the Sunne” could likely refer, per implicit extension, to that number of preparations in which some sun is required, not simply to recipe 73.

* * *

Comments regarding climate never appear in recipe collections; those two just discussed, given within recipes as “be made in Spaine & Portugall” translated for the benefit of English readers, ultimately prove the extent to which climatic differences between England and Iberia matter. In this respect, I must highlight that the sun, the heat thereof, is always implied, is a given, within these recipes – and not simply a short bliss of fortuitous warmth as these recipes can take for granted up to fifteen days of persistent sun. The very existence of these comments, moreover, reveal something about this English experience of translating recipes in early modern times, with particular regard to the behaviour of the translator.

Indeed, it is the fact that these sets of recipes were evidently translated which is itself exceptional. We do not possess the “original” Spanish texts; however, reading the Iberian section of Add MS 34212, the most solid impression is of an extremely high work of translation, an effective one, which ultimately enables the comprehension of these recipes, not compromising their meaning and enabling, thus, their eventual reproducibility. Only very few times, in fact, are these translations marred by moments of visible, substantial uncertainty and, to look carefully, only recipe 29 is impossible to recreate without knowing that the meaning of the Spanish “*espliego*” is “lavender”. Particularly thought-provoking, should the suggestion that “*Alliazema*” and “*Raxa*” are variations of Portuguese words be accepted, is the existence of precisely Portuguese words within recipes written in Spanish. These two cases make me wonder how many other Portuguese words could have possibly informed the recipe collection of the Duchess of Feria. How many could our translator have been able to effectively render in English; how many were misread; how many were simply “lost in translation”? Endless speculations could be adduced here, and certainly in regard to Spanish words too.

For the sake of this thesis, the inclusion of Portuguese words within these pages originally written in Spanish, would further prove the Iberianness of the recipe knowledge visible in Add MS 34212, here substantiated in 87 recipes. Unquestionably, these recipes are authentic early modern Iberian recipes. Indeed, the collection was

appreciated in these very terms: recipes “as be made in Spaine & Portugall” even if their texts were exclusively transmitted in Spanish. In short: the second section of BL Add MS 34212 represents a “new” source which, in turn, even if in English, must be added to the scarce list of Iberian collections we possess to study early modern Iberian recipe knowledge *tout court*.

For the sake of this thesis, above all, the second section of BL Add MS 34212 testifies when and how some Iberian recipes reached early modern England. To stress that while in this chapter I have focused on the culinary preparations contained in the Duchess of Feria’s Spanish book, for the first half of its extent the book concerns non-edible preparations, like sweet waters and perfumes, for the house and for gloves especially. In extreme synthesis, it can be said that marmalades, sweet treats, and biscuits, in which sugar (and honey) play an almost fundamental part, formed up the culinary section of the collection. One particular case is that of the *Alaxur* mix. The gastronomic story of the *Alfajor*, one of the several turrón-like specialities associated with the name *Alaxur*, has already been written, from its Moorish origins up to its very contemporary, quintessential association with the Andalusian town of Medina Sidonia, and taking in the constant popularity and many versions of this product in South America as well. The shapes that this product can take, like that of a doughnut, *Rosquilla* in Spanish, have also been considered.⁷⁹ For the sake of this thesis, the case of *Rosquillas* and the so-called *Alaxur* mix testify that, unlike other recipes commonly prepared in Spain and popular to English readers, this remained known to a tiny group of people, since this preparation is missing from any other recipe book, manuscript and print, which I have analysed, making a quick appearance in just one English literary source of the time. The same is most certainly true for preparations like that of gourdes given in recipe 65.

A final consideration: this chapter has opened up a list of reasons which ultimately support the validity of the “Lodge-Feria-Arundel” hypothesis, with Lodge understood as the translator of the Iberian recipes of the Duchess of Feria for the benefit of Lady Arundel. Lodge could have actually been the material writer of Add MS 34212 – hence the dedicatory epistle appearing therein (within *The Poore Mans Talent*) to be his authentic, original holograph.⁸⁰ A handful of meaningful clues support this claim. However, as this last scenario is plausible but still very much empirical, I discuss it in this note only.⁸¹

⁷⁹ See Mariano Pardo de Figueroa, *La Mesa Moderna: Cartas Sobre el Comedor y la Cocina*, esp: 275-316, “Los alfajores de Medina Sidonia” (Madrid, 1888) given in the modern edition by Editorial Maxtor (Valladolid, 2010).

⁸⁰ See notes 6 and 7.

⁸¹ In his preface to *A Margarite of America* (London:1596) Lodge apologised to the reader “For those faults (gentlemen) escaped by the Printer, in not being acquainted with my hand, and the booke printed in my absence”. Beecher and Janzen, ed, *Thomas Lodge: A Margarite of America (1596)*, “textual note” number 116, conjectured that the printed word “sinilan”, contained in the passage “...and they that sleepe vnder Sinilan at such time as the plant sweleth...” is precisely a

In other words, I have so far purposefully left my narrative free from such a point which, if correct, would be decisive here in attributing the translation of the Spanish recipes to Lodge. In this way, I have ultimately allowed the validity of my “Lodge-Arundel-Feria” conjecture, which is what matters here, to manifest itself in full, regardless of my tentative material attribution. In this respect, even if only partially correct, I believe, nonetheless, that my tentative reading remains valuable as certainly illustrative of a plausible collective: a good example of what an Anglo-Iberian recipe network could have looked like. It is worth stressing that the suggestion that these three Roman Catholic English devotees constitute the human group at the base of the “Spanish written book” does not simply descend from the analysis of the second section of Add MS 34212; rather from my engagement with the entire manuscript and others still, together with some key, biographical details of these individuals.

fault of the early modern compositor, as the correct name of the plant is “smilax”. The editors add that “evidently the compositor misread Lodge’s “smi” as “sini”... and his “x” as “n””. Hence, they claim, Lodge “was one of those “writers who made their x’s of the addorsed curves sometimes...[trying] to make them without a pen-lift, giving us such x’s...easily mistaken for n””. Add MS 34212 shows a highly individualised, challenging trait, which one needs to “be acquainted to”, as Thomas Lodge would put it, before transcribing it. Significantly for my hypothesis, the way the “x” is made in MS 43212 is perfectly described by the editors of Lodge’s *Margarite* [cf. f.7v., “opoponax”] though Lodge’s letterform could be easily mistaken for a number of also other letters, most notably “y”. In effect, throughout the recipe collection, the tendency to not lift the pen (between letters and, at times, words), which distinguishes secretary hands tout-court, is here especially marked, and particularly visible in letters such as “y”. Even more meaningfully, the difficulties which the early modern compositor seems to have had in interpreting Lodge’s writing style resemble some of those which I myself experienced while engaging with Add MS 34212. This scribe has a most distinctive way to write “in”, which looks like “ni”, especially because of the position of the dot placed at the extreme right in conjunction with the end of the “n”. When followed by another “i”, that “in” can easily look like an “m” – and vice versa. If I am correct, slightly adjusting the editors’ guess, the early modern compositor did not misread “smi” for “sini”; rather interpreted that “m” of *smilax* as “in”. Please use figure 5.3 to see how “six dayes”, in the middle of the text, is written. The figure also contains several “in”. I also suggest looking at figure 5.2 to see how the word “Galingall” is written in the third line from the bottom of the page; or the “into” given at the start of recipe 31. Further evidence of the real difficulty of reading this hand comes from Crummé, “Jane Dormer’s Recipe for Politics”, 69, who transcribed recipe 68 as: “Take a pair of pigeons and difeather them, then take Venus [Venice] terpeutine, fill it over with new laid eggs thoroughly beaten, pour and sthir; when all things incorporated together, put in to the pigeons and so distill them in alembic of glass”. I read instead: “Take a paire of pigions and dismember them, then take Venus Turpentine dillit [dill] flowers, new laid eggs, honey beaten pearle, and sthir; all which things incorporated together, put in to the pigeons and soe distill them in a limbecke [alembic] of glasse”. The OED, s.v. “limbeck” quotes precisely Thomas Lodge for his use of the term.

6.

“LIBRO de recetas de Portugal” in translation

Wellcome Library MS 363, in folio format, is a modern, disordered *collatio* of several complete and incomplete early modern recipe collections.¹ Crucially for this thesis, it features 167 recipes for perfumes and related knowledge written in Spanish.² These recipes are gathered together within the volume under the title “*LIBRO de Recetas de Portugal para haçer peuetes y pastillas y adreçar guantes perfumados*”, from now on called *LIBRO de recetas de Portugal* or, simply, *LIBRO*.³ While the title-page appears thoughtfully designed, in black and red capital and lowercase words, contained within double-line red framing, the recipes are penned by a strikingly graceless hand, here called Hand A, which is sharp and quick in calligraphy (considering the nature of MS 363, very probably the recipes did not originally follow this elegant title-page). Hand A also writes few of the French and even fewer of the Italian recipes visible in MS 363; however, is most certainly that of an English individual.⁴

Equally vitally for this thesis, MS 363 also includes an untitled section containing 76 English recipes which are translations of Spanish texts.⁵ This is explicitly indicated in the opening page of the section – folio 81v. This is also made manifest in several marginal annotations running alongside the recipes as well as underlined words and sentences. This section seems complete, from ‘opening page’ to ‘index’; it looks like a ‘private, working draft’. This section is not written by Hand A but by a professional, late secretary hand, here called Hand E.⁶

Hand E also and exclusively composed what is now British Library MS 22566: a short folio manuscript with modern binding.⁷ It includes 27 numbered recipes written in English and penned in a very orderly style, with just some few words and lines underlined as well as one marginal comment. MS 22566 is evidently incomplete, with some blank pages following recipe 27 and no closing comments, like “finis”, nor index.

¹ Wellcome Library MS 363. The manuscript, which until a few months ago was not on-line, it is now available at: <https://bit.ly/2KQubWJ>. Table 6.2, at the end of this chapter, is my tentative textual division of MS 363 – I encourage the reader to look at it while reading these first pages of the chapter.

² MS 363, fols. 9r-42r. Recipes 165-167 are written in English, with recipes 165 and 166 showing Spanish titles. All the recipes are listed in the relative closing index.

³ *Ibid.*, fol. 8r.

⁴ Hand A is visible in figure 6.2. The Italian and the Spanish texts are marred by mistakes which a native speaker would not make and, in turn, the English employed is certainly that of a native speaker of English. Please note that Hand A also lists, in two columns, key Spanish words and their English equivalents (1r).

⁵ MS 363, fols. 82r.-98v.

⁶ Hand E is visible in figures 6.1 and 6.3.

⁷ BL MS 22566, fols. 1r-8r., originally numbered 1-13.

MS 22566 feels like it was intended to be a ‘fair copy’. Perhaps Hand E planned to re-write together, in a more orderly way, onto MS 22566, the Spanish translated recipes visible in MS 363. This could well explain why MS 22566 furnishes not only numbered recipes, but also the English title “*A booke of Receipts, brought from Portugall; showing how to make small Perfumes, and muskballs, and how to dress and prepare, perfumed gloves*”.

This English title renders the Spanish “*LIBRO de recetas de Portugal para haçer peuetes y pastillas y adreçar guantes perfumados*” given in MS 363. In this sense, after a very attentive cross-comparison, I have been able to conclude that the 76 English recipes given by Hand E and now contained within MS 363 translate the texts of the Spanish recipes which are visible within the *LIBRO*, segments 88-164 to be precise. Moreover, the 27 recipes still penned by Hand E in MS 22566 also translate some texts visible in the *LIBRO*, recipes 1-27 in particular. We do not possess the translation of recipes 28-87; that they were translated at all is only a plausible assumption.

We cannot say anything certain with regard to who translated the Spanish recipes, nor the scope of the source(s) used. However, as a *working hypothesis*, applying here the logic according to which simplicity is to be preferred to complexity, I suggest that with all likelihood Hand E was the translator, probably using for reference some recipes given by Hand A.⁸ So, at least some of these reference-recipes are those (written by Hand A) visible within MS 363.⁹ Certainly, the fact which remains is that someone translated into English the texts of 104 (27+76) recipes written in Spanish whose texts are contained within MS 363.

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part one contextualises the *LIBRO*, describing it as a miscellany of authentically Iberian recipes. Many pieces of evidence can be adduced to support this claim: the ultimate proof lies in the fact that, even if for the vast majority of them no “Iberian original” can be found, for some of these recipes this is actually possible. Part one also summarises the main technical aspects of perfume-making knowledge, taking in the non-culinary recipes “*How to perfume gloves, to make perfumes*

⁸ This is not a given. In theory, Hand E could be that of a copyist, who simply transcribed recipes already translated, inclusive of annotations by, for instance, Hand A. In fact, Hand A furnishes a list of Spanish words with corresponding English equivalents, which reveals some engagement with Spanish-English translations – see note 4. Indeed, Hand E could have transcribed translations by an unknown hand; and as such we do not have any further study on this matter to use. Conclusively, evidence to support this point is missing; Hand E defines the “Spanish copy” used as the point of comparison to be characterised by particularly poor standards of orthography, punctuation and spelling: such description applies well to the Spanish recipes of Hand A.

⁹ This point seems to be suggested by another significant remark written by Hand E. At the very start of the content-page relative to the 76 recipes translated into Spanish visible in MS 363, fol.99r., Hand E writes: “whereas the Spanish copy hath an Index of a greate deale more, than is contained in it, I thought good only to set down much and so much as is translated in a catalogue”. The index which closes the *LIBRO* gives all the 167 recipes thereof, not simply 76, so this quoted comment could refer, precisely, to the *LIBRO*; but, not only to it.

and sweet Waters...as being made in Spain and Portugal” from the recipe book of the Duchess of Feria, discussed in the previous chapter. This summary, to be read with the table given in appendix II which lists all the recipes and their eventual translations – to be found in MS 363 as well as MS 22566 – not only fills a significant gap in early modern recipe studies, but is also propaedeutic to part two.

Part two explores the English translations of the allegedly Portuguese recipes written in Spanish, focusing on those given in MS 363, folios 82r.-98v. These pages, in fact, show the remarkably attentive and detailed process of interpretation and annotation of these recipes but also disclose the challenges and limits thereof; limits which are especially visible within the names of some of the Iberian preparations, most notably that of “*peuetas*”. Part two cannot but start with the analysis of folio 81v. This beautiful page not only explains the ways in which the translation has been conducted but also offers significantly insightful observations on the writing of recipes and, in turn, their translation from Spanish to English.

* * *

The *LIBRO de recetas de Portugal para haçer peuetes y pastillas y adreçar guantes perfumados* as given in MS 363 is much more than an impressive array of perfume-making recipes for gloves, the air and the body as well as some few other instructions for the care of the body and face (lips, teeth and mouth included). The *LIBRO*, which, it is worth stressing, was compiled by the English Hand A, is an absolutely extraordinary example of recipe collection from an Anglo-Iberian viewpoint. Some of these “recipes of Portugal” are, in fact, nothing less than either copies of Spanish recipes, or Spanish translations of Portuguese recipes, still visible today within at least two Iberian early modern manuscript recipe collections, namely: the *Livro de receitas de pivetes, pastilhas e luvas perfumadas*, held at the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*, reference number BNE Mss/1462 – see figures 6.7 and 6.8 at the end of the chapter – and the *Recetas experimentadas para diversas cosas*, now BNE Mss/2019.

BNE Mss/1462 is an in-quarto volume, containing more than a hundred recipes, some of which are culinary (for sweet treats) but mostly for the preparations of perfumes.¹⁰

¹⁰ BNE Mss/1462, also called *Livro de receitas de pivetes, pastilhas e luvas perfumadas y conserbas*, is available at: <https://bit.ly/2u8hU8K>. That “*y conserbas*” is a most evident later Spanish addition to the original Portuguese title which ends with “*perfumadas*”. Despite its notable historical value, of BNE Mss/1462 no studies exist. All we have are very few, quick references a number of acknowledgments of its existence, and a brief listing of its culinary recipes only in María Del Carmen Simón Palmer, *La dulcería en la Biblioteca Nacional de España*, 76. This latter text, originally part of an exhibition, is available at: <https://bit.ly/2J57eNP>. Most unfortunately, the old Portuguese word “*luvas*” which means “*gloves*” is invariably read as “*uvas*”, thus “*grapes*” but this a clear mistake.

The vast majority of these recipes are written in Spanish by several different hands.¹¹ However, as the title clearly indicates, the first part of this manuscript was originally compiled in Portuguese, possibly by an early sixteenth-century scribe who composed the first twenty-five recipes in a neat hand, inclusive of red rubrics (up to recipe twenty-two).¹² A few of these initial recipes, all about perfumes, are lost or incomplete, there being some pages missing. So, Mss/1462 constitutes the only, albeit small, collection of non-culinary early modern Portuguese recipes which have survived the centuries – and a significant contribution to the small number of pre-modern Portuguese recipes we possess *tout court*. The extraordinary occurrence is that recipes 1-18 of our *LIBRO de recetas de Portugal* at the centre of this chapter are Spanish translations of the oldest Portuguese recipes given in Mss/1462. They are literal, word-for-word translations which, in turn, also integrate, in Spanish, the texts of those “lost” or “partially lost” recipes. Moreover, a few other recipes, namely 142, 144 and 145, are copies of three Spanish recipes written in very disorderly fashion, and visible after the Portuguese initial set.¹³

BNE Mss/2019 is a much more conspicuous recipe collection, entirely written in Spanish by a number of hands, which gathers together ca. 700 recipes for edible preparations, including many jams and preserves, as well as numerous recipes of a cosmetic and beautifying nature, together with some for perfumes for gloves and “*peuetes y pastillas*”.¹⁴ The “water who thought me Doña Ysabel Centellas” (unidentified Lady) contained in *LIBRO*, recipe 68, is also found in this recipe book.¹⁵ Moreover, although the size of BNE Mss/2019 does not allow a strict textual comparison, I can tell that very probably some other recipes given in *LIBRO* are copies of recipes from this last source.

The donors acknowledged in *LIBRO*, beyond Doña Ysabel Centellas, include: “Don Fedrique” (recipe 149), the “Marquesa de Denia” (recipe 88), the “Condesa de Miranda” (recipe 151), “Doña Ysabel de Quinones” (recipe 69) and “Doña Giomar de Mello” (recipe 43). I cannot precisely identify the first four, but their styling and titles attest to their privileged positions. A certain Conde de Miranda, moreover, was the “*Mayordomo*

¹¹ Some of them are very disordered hands - early seventeenth-century, possibly. Some others, instead, are quite beautiful and ordered hands.

¹² BNE, Mss/1496, modern pagination 1-15.

¹³ BNE, Mss/1462, 1. *Reçeita pera fazir pivetes*; 2. *Outra Manera de pivetes* – partially lost; 3. lost; 4. *Pera fazer pastilhas Muito perffitas*; 5. *Caçoletas* – partially lost; 6. *Pera aguas de misturas*; 7. lost; 8. *Pera pasta de Luvas*; 9. *Lomçerto? de luvas de fogo*; 10. *Pera luvas de polvillos*; 11. *Otra Manera de adobar luvas*; 12. *Pomo que m. a. dona emperatriz ha Rainha*; 13. *Pera ffazer pastilhas de Rosas*; 14. *Pera almofadinhas de Rosas*; 15. *Receta de pivetes*; 16. *Otra receita de pivetes*; 17. *Pera pastillas de rosas*; 18. *Reçeita pa comçeritar Polvillos*; 142. *El modo que se a de tener para haçer Pastillas de rosas es el siguiente*; 144. *Violetas boscanas*; 145. *el modo que sea de tener para acer pastillas de alehey amarillos*.

¹⁴ BNE Mss/2019, also called *Recetas experimentadas para diversas cosas*, is available at: <https://bit.ly/2ITFQZV>. No studies exist for this source either. Brief mentions are in Nadeau, *Food Matters*, 19; Campbell, *At the First Table*, 65, from which I take the indication of the number of recipes - the number seems plausible to me as the last numbered page of the manuscript reads 262.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 153v. “*aqua q[ue] enseño doña Ysabel centellas*”.

Mayor” of the household of Isabel of Portugal (1503-1539): she was the only, much-beloved, wife, who died young, of the Emperor Charles V (1500-1558). Doña Guiomar de Melo was Isabel’s “*camarera mayor*” in the same years.¹⁶

De Melo also appears together with Doña Ysabel de Quinones within a fascinating corpus of documents. In a letter dated 18th of December 1555, sent to the Emperor from his son King Philip II of Spain (1527-1598), Philip noted that his sister, Doña Joana of Austria (1535-1573), at that time Princess of Portugal, was pleased with Ysabel de Quinones, who would have soon started replacing an old Doña Guiomar de Melo in the role of “*camarera mayor*”.¹⁷ Philip too was pleased with Ysabel: he added that “she brings a thousand *meravedis* as ladies-in-waiting; and, beyond being who she is, is very honourable and *bastante muger*...”.¹⁸ According to our *LIBRO*, Doña Guiomar de Melo had quite a number and variety of different recipes up her sleeve: in fact, recipe 43, instead of opening with an ordinary title, reads: “From here on follow all the ways to perfumes, perfuming pots, incenses and perfumes of Benjamin of Doña Giomar de Mello”.¹⁹ Within the formality of the written letter, all concerned with the running of Doña Joana’s royal household, I interpret that “*bastante muger*” of Philip II – literally “enough woman” – as his own appreciation that Ysabel was not just an economic and social asset, but also a working asset, a “quite skilful” lady-in-waiting, capable of assisting the Princess in her private spaces, thus engaging, among many other things, with perfumes of all sorts, just like her predecessor.

The “*Licenziado Cornesco*” (recipe 160) as well as “Juan Moreno” (165-7) are also acknowledged as donors. In an environment like that of the Portuguese court, which here exemplifies any royal or noble household, maybe Cornero was an apothecary or a physician. Or a “*licenziado*” in the ambivalent sense of a person graduated in Arts or in Law: pre-modern history is full of male professionals gravitating around courts and noble

¹⁶ Maria del Carmen Mazario Coletto, *Isabel de Portugal: Emperatriz y Reina de España* (Escuela de Historia Moderna, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951), 81-84. The Marquises of Denia, in particular, had a significant role in the reign of both Philip II and Philip III (1578-1621). To be sure, this Marquisate was created in 1478 and upgraded to the highest rank within the Spanish nobility by Charles V in 1520. Cfr: Bernardo José García García, “Los Marqueses De Denia En La Corte De Felipe Ii: Linaje, Servicio Y Virtud”, *Congreso Internacional "Felipe II (1598-1998), Europa dividida, la monarquía católica de Felipe II* (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 20-23 abril 1998), 305-311.

¹⁷ Manuel Fernández Álvarez, ed., *Corpus Documental de Carlos V* (Salamaca: Graficas EUROPA, 1977), vol. III, 398.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, “Doña Ysabel de Quinones està, como V. Mg. sabe, en servicio y acompañamiento de mi hermana, y lleva cient mill maravedis, por duena de acompañamiento; la qual demàs de ser quien es, es muy honorada y bastante muger, y assi visto que Dona Guiomar de Melo se va acabando, segun su vejez y indispucciones, parasce que en ésta sucederia bien su cargo de camarera mayor.”

¹⁹ It is improbable that Doña Guiomar de Melo could be the donor of all the recipes given in the *LIBRO* which follows number 43. After all, all it takes is to place that particular title somewhere else in the text, and its (textual) implications dramatically change.

households who we now study for their non-professional endeavours.²⁰ The presence of Juan Moreno could actually be a trace of a micro-history in itself too: “*Moreno*” is among the most common Spanish surnames; but it is worth noting that Juan Moreno’s recipes resemble those (which will be explored in chapter 7) attributed by Lady Fanshawe, who was a habitu e of the Spanish court during the 1660s, precisely to a certain Francisco Moreno, apparently a renowned perfume-maker. Family businesses, especially if successful, moved through generations in these centuries, so maybe Juan was an ancestor of Francisco. Equally plausible, though – and still in line with the suggestion that this case records familial, artisanal links in recipe expertise – is the notion that Juan and Francisco may have been contemporaries.

So, like the vast majority of Iberian recipe books, the significance of the *LIBRO* lies in its courtly dimension, and its associations with wealthy and noble ladies at the top of the social hierarchy. In this sense, because of the precise identification of some key members of the royal household, recipe 12, which declares itself to have been given “by the Empress to the Queen”, offers possibly the most striking evidence of the manuscript’s royal context.²¹ Because of specific events regarding both the Spanish and Portuguese courts, especially the Iberian union of 1580-1640, such a dimension was truly Iberian, with the two palaces informing each other; yet the Portuguese element seems to prevail here. This courtly element, obviously, does not prevent us from also appreciating these recipes as aspirations, achievable by upper-class households.

Ultimately, I make sense of the *LIBRO de recetas de Portugal* as an early modern miscellany of Portuguese as well as Spanish recipes, which undoubtedly circulated in more copies, but were here selected specifically for their primary focus on perfumes and related knowledge, with some Portuguese recipes clearly having been translated into Spanish. Originally, the Portuguese element was probably much more substantial. In effect, the title “*LIBRO de recetas de Portugal para hacer peuetes y pastillas y adre ar guantes perfumados*” is the Spanish equivalent of the Portuguese title of BNE Mss/1462, “*Livro de receptas de pivetes, pastilhas e luvas perfumadas,*” with the notable addition of “de Portugal”. Moreover, the very title of BL MS 22556 “*A booke of Receipts, brought from Portuquall; showing how to make small Perfumes, and muskballs, and how to dress and prepare, perfumed gloves*”, supports the idea of a strong Portuguese influence, and predominantly Portuguese sources. Furthermore, pushing this speculation to its extreme,

²⁰ Juan Vall s, the author of the *Regalo de la Vita Umana*, many times acknowledged within this thesis, was a notary.

²¹ It is worth pointing out that the recipe is one of those few Portuguese still existing and visible in Mss/1462. If we follow this trace, the Empress could be Isabel of Portugal herself, or her daughter Mary, Archduchess of Austria, who could have been styled “Empress” from 1564 to 1576. The “queen” could be any number of people, but possibly either Catarina (d. 1578), queen of Portugal, niece of Maria, wife of King Manuel of Portugal; or Anna (d.1580), daughter of Mary, Archduchess of Austria and fourth wife of Philip II of Spain. Interestingly, the English translation of the recipe identifies the queen as “the queen of Spaine” whereas the Spanish recipe does not.

it can be suggested that the first part of our *LIBRO* represents probably the only surviving copy, in Spanish, (and thus MS 22566 its English translation) of a much more substantial Portuguese manuscript recipe book, of which the first part of BNE Mss/1462 is, in turn, a very incomplete copy.

To be precise, while the first group of recipes is certainly of early Portuguese origin (Mss/1462) and those associated with the donors discussed earlier can be tentatively dated to the middle decades of the sixteenth century, it is not possible to accurately date the vast majority of the remaining recipes. In this respect, it is thought-provoking to make sense of the Spanish recipes of MS 363 as given in chronological order: several hints could suggest that the last 30 or so recipes could be, in fact, later additions.²² Ultimately, though, nothing sure can be said, especially at the light of the important commentary visible after recipe 153 which indicates that the following recipes were placed there to repair a lapse.²³

Appendix II provides a summary list of the recipes contained in the *LIBRO*. The first column gives the Spanish titles as taken from MS 363, hence written by Hand A. The second column gives their titles in English translation as written by Hand E: titles 88-164 are taken again from WL MS 363, while the titles of recipes 1-27 derive from BL MS 2256. We possess no English translation for recipes 23-87. So, what is this group of recipes all about? It is certainly all about scented preparations: scent is the common thread here. Moreover, in consideration of the relatively small number of recipes added at the end of the collection – those specifically concerned with the hygiene of the skin of the face, teeth, hair and lips – it can be claimed that within both the *LIBRO* and the non-culinary section of the Duchess of Feria's recipe book, it is all mostly about perfumes, to be understood as different sorts of items, capable of emanating scent, here ultimately for: gloves, the air and the body.

Prior to modern chemistry, scents could only derive from natural substances (which evidently still undergo chemical reactions). Plants, and in particular flowers, constituted, obviously enough, the first source of scent. White and red roses, violets, jasmines, and also oranges and orange flowers, were widely employed in the Iberian perfume-making tradition. Lemons were used too, but seldom.²⁴ Beyond these ingredients, the remaining, ubiquitous elements of perfumes were surprisingly few. Three substances in Iberian perfumes belonged to the animal kingdom: ambergris, musk, and civet – the secretions of whales, musk-deer, and civet-cats respectively.²⁵ From the vegetable kingdom, equally key substances were resins, like Storax and Benjamin (in modern

²² As previously said, Juan and Francisco Moreno could both be contemporaries of Lady Anne Fanshawe.

²³ "Recipes added which were forgotten in the beginning" [*reçetas añadidas, que se olvidaron en el principio*].

²⁴ The most significant recipe in this sense is recipe 135.

²⁵ It is only male deer which produces such secretions. To be precise, the entire musk gland is removed, killing the deer, and the grains of musk remain inside.

Spanish “*benjuí*”). Still at the base of present-day quality perfume-making, one of the main features of these substances is their particularly intense and long-lasting scent. The main property of ambergris (more often than not referred as “amber” in early modern sources but not to be confused with the resin), is to prolong the duration of the overall scent, rather than to impart its pungent odour.

Iberian perfumes could take many forms: waters, oils, semi-liquid or solid pastes, powders and tablets, and, frequently, hybrid forms. Some of these perfumes were effective as they were; some others instead needed to be burned in order to be active; others still had to be dissolved in some sort of liquid (often water, but not always); each type might fall into what nowadays we would call pomanders, essences or incenses, scent balls or tablets (similar to the idea of “vitamin tablets”). A significant number of paste-like preparations were employed on gloves in particular. Iberian early modern perfume-making knowledge, as the title of our *LIBRO* as well as Table 2 show, speaks abundantly of *Peuetes*, *Pastillas*, and *Caçoletas*. While “*pastillas*” can be rendered as “tablets”, the other two words are no longer commonly used in the Spanish or Portuguese language anymore. No explanation of their original meaning is given in scholarly works on Iberian pre-modern manuscript recipe books either, which at best simply list them very quickly, and move on.²⁶ In 1773, “*pivete*” was described in a bi-lingual Portuguese-English dictionary as:

a perfume made in long sticks, like sticks of sealing wax, to perfume the house. When lighted at one end, if they set them up in a candlestick, they will burn down in a coal till to be consumed.²⁷

Immediately afterwards, the word “*pivetero*” is defined as “the candlestick wherein they set up that perfume”. The same dictionary defines “*Cassola, or Caçoula*” as “perfuming pan, or pot” and, interesting, “*cazol*” as “a sort of black water, used by women in painting their eye-lids”.²⁸ As we will see in the next part of the chapter, these definitions are significant.

²⁶ The most notable case is Alica Martínez Crespo, ed., *Manual de Mugerres en el Qual Se Continen Muchas y Diversas Reçeutas Muy Buenas*, 22, “*En el Manual, ademàs de las aguas y aceites olorosos, se ditinguen diefrentes confecciones que, una vez quemadas, desprendian un frangante olor. Estas son la pastillas, los pebetes y las cazoletas. Se da tambien...*” [“within the manual, beyond waters and perfumed oils, several artefacts can be distinguished which, once burned, relise a nice perfume. These are pastillas, pebetes and cazoletas. [In the book] there is, moreover...”]

²⁷ Antonio Vieyra Transtagano, *A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages* (London: 1773) s.v. “Pivete”. Cfr. : RAE, s.v. “Pebete,ta”: “*Pasta hecha con polvos aromáticos, regularmente en forma de varilla, que encendida exhala un humo muy fragante.*” [“paste made with aromatic powders, usually in the shape of a dipstick, which burnt exales a very scented smoke”].

²⁸ *Ibid.*, s.v. “*Cassola, or Caçoula*”. Cfr. RAE, s.v. “*cozoleta*”: “*Especie de perfume*” [“Type of perfume”].

A few primary techniques formed the basis of perfume production. The most preliminary consisted in maceration, exsiccation outdoors (for prolonged days in shade or direct sun) and infusion. Adjectival forms like “very clean” (“*muy limpio*”), “very well beaten” (“*muy mejado*”), and “very ground (in powders)” (“*muy molido*”) feature very frequently in the texts. For the composition of soaps and pastes, the essences thus produced also incorporated animal fat, carbon-like minerals, and ashes (of wood and other substances), usually by heating them over a fire, a process that will be discussed at length at the end of the next section. Recipe 2 of the book of the Duchess of Feria, entitled “kiddes sewett”, which has no equivalent in the *LIBRO*, starts with: “The sewett of a kidd beinge newly taken fourth, putt it in water somewhat bloody, and wash it very well until the water be very cleane which cometh out if itt”.²⁹ Generic suet appears in several instructions to dress gloves, like recipe 6, as a substance which not only helps to perfume them but which also protects and nourishes the hands: “...and after they be perfumed, putt in forth sewett as they use for hands and that itt be very good”.³⁰ Among unscented products that were key in perfume-making, the employment of so-called “gum of dragon” that is *tragacanth*, not to be confused with “dragon’s blood”, in Latin “*sanguinis draconis*”) must be noted. Due to its adhesive properties, gum of dragon was used, in effect, to “glue” together compounds, rather than for its colour or scent. Oils were also frequently employed, deriving from the key, scented substances like “oil of Benjamin” (i.e. *Benzoin*, a resin from *Styrax*), listed earlier, or others, like oil of almonds which, even if scented, were used primarily for their material properties rather than their smell.

A further, yet more refined procedure was that of distillation. In an extreme simplification, distillation produces, on the one hand scented waters; on the other it produces “essential oils” – traditional oils, like that of almonds, were produced by pressing, not via distillation. So, starting with a quantity of water and perfumed items heated together in an alembic glass, this technique is based on the faculty of the vapour to move through the alembic, carrying with it the lightest particles of scent. After this journey, these particles, cooled down, condense into a “concentration of scented particles”, perfectly liquid in state, which we call ‘essential oils’. Those particles which are heavier and either do not make it through the alembic at all or only move through the first part, are defined as scented waters. It was only in 1564 that the professional figure of “*primero distillador*” was created, with the subsequent establishment, in 1588, of the first royal distillery; this latter was built by order of King Philip II to whom, in turn, the first manual on distillation was dedicated in 1592.³¹ However, Juan Valles, in his *Regalo de la Vita Umana* includes distillation, yet seemingly not alcoholic preparations, in its sections on cosmetic and

²⁹ BL Add MS 34212, fol. 36r.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 37r.

³¹ Cfr Mar Rey Bueno, *El Hechizado: Medicina, Alquimia y Supersticion en la Corte de Carlos II* (Ediciones Corona Borealis, 1998), esp. 60-83.

perfume-making knowledge, especially devoting the introductory chapter to the ways “how to distil and obtain scented waters” [*Como se han de destillar and sacar las aguas de olor*]. It is also worth pointing out that the distillation of wine for the production of *acqua vitae* (called “*aqua ardiente*” most of the time) was common in Spain, and had been well-known by Arabs since the eighth century, but that the technique remained unknown to the rest of Europe until at least the twelfth century.

Distillation in alembic glass – or more likely in a small copper alembic – represents a tricky practise to notice while reading Iberian recipes because it is clearly acknowledged as such very seldom. For instance, only three recipes concerning the care of the teeth, overtly mention it within MS 363. Recipe 162, among many other directions, instruct the reader to distil a white wine-based perfumed water a couple of times before use.³² Recipe 163 acknowledges to distil a rich water which also features honey which, in turn, might have rendered the final product a sort of gold-ish colour.³³ Furthermore, a reference to distillation also occurs in recipe 164. However, it was common procedure, especially when making scented waters. The “sweet waters” given in the Duchess of Feria’s Spanish book required a sort of distillation: thus, they were not simply produced by combining clean water and a number of selected ingredients (prepared using the basic techniques of infusion, maceration and outdoor exsiccation); but they were also passed through a glass water, we read with a “close at the top”, after having being boiled for a while. Interestingly, these waters often required to be left outdoors (usually in the shade but, at times, in the sun) for days, but the reason is never for such occurrence explained. Most of these waters, to be sure, were instrumental to the creation of other sorts of perfumes. Some, like the “water of Angels” were used to clean the body. Others formed the “liquid” component of perfumes: they feature in the vast majority of recipes to make perfumes, even if they are not always overtly listed as ingredients. Moreover, recipes to dress gloves almost always requested perfumed waters to wash the gloves before and alongside their preparation.

The highest proportion of recipes, 35 within the *LIBRO* and 10 in the book of the Duchess of Feria, concern the perfuming of gloves. Recipe 3 from the Duchess’s book, entitled “Amber for gloves”, is worth quoting in full not only because of its relevance, given that ambergris was required in almost every recipe in this collection, but also as illustrative of these sort of instructions more generally.

³² MS 363, “*Despues se juntara lo que esta en la otra olla con el vino, y se destilara por alambiques de vidro todo junto guardase en redoma bien tapada*” [“After this, you will add what is contained in the other pot with the wine, and you will distil all via alembic glass having care that the bottle is closed well”].

³³ *Ibid.*, “*Pongase todo junto a destilar en alanvique de vidro*” [“And place everything in alembic glass to be distill”].

Take what quantity of Amber you will and beat it in a mortar, and in beating of itt putt a little oyle to itt, such as the oyle Jesamins (I thinke to be very good) and beate very much: and incorporate the oile in the Amber, and when it is as thicke as you would have it putt it into a pouringer of silver and sett it in a bassin chaffing dish of coles and stirr it round about a while, after it hath boyled a little take Muske finely beaten in powder, and putt them all againe in the mortar. And incorporate them well together you may take what quantity of muske you will and then putt it in that you will keepe it in.³⁴

Gloves were perfumed by rubbing preparations like the above on their external surface but also, as noted, by being washed in scented waters. Those described as “*de polvillos*” were perfumed with powders. Those given as “*de fuego*” were not created over the fire, rather the perfumed paste was gently warmed before being applied. While recipes 100 and 101, for tawny and black gloves respectively, gave details of how to perfume gloves that were already of that colour, recipe 102 actually taught users how to render gloves of a russet colour. The vast majority of these pastes required ambergris; there is, however, at least one recipe within the *LIBRO*, which does not ask for it. It is recipe number 29, “an other to dress gloves without ambergris; and they are very good”. This overt reassurance about the quality of the preparation reveals the importance of ambergris in the first place. Ambergris also represents the only substance which a recipe “explains” how to turn into an oil, possibly understood as a type of essential oil in the case of recipe 71 “to make oil of amber” which, given here in my translation, says:

Take sweet almonds, and take their oil out; add two ounces of oil, half an ounce of ambergris, and four “very small portions” [*adarmes?*] of musk, and two of civet, and [place it all] in a “little funnel-like glass container” [*redoma*] for nine days in the sun, and secure it very well [*mencarlo mucho*], and if you do not want to make it in the sun [*hacerlo al sol*], you can make it in a “little new pan” [*ollica nueva*], which is full of boiling water [*que està llena de agua hirbiendo*], and place the “*redoma*” there, so that the oil is cooked [*que se cueza el aceyte*].³⁵

To look carefully, this recipe also allows me to show the presence of the oil of sweet almonds as well as to show that some products which are nowadays mostly understood in exclusively edible terms, like almonds, appear frequently within these perfumes. Their presence in the *LIBRO* is minor – I did not list them within the main ingredients for this

³⁴ BL MS 34212, fol. 36v.

³⁵ MS 363, fol. 33r.

reason. However, beyond almonds, white wine also appears a few times, especially as a complementary ingredient within the preliminary washing of the gloves. Moreover, vinegar, sugar and eggs appear too: a massive dose of sugar is required for the lemon-based tablets given in recipe 135. Eggs, in particular, feature very seldom these recipes, and were understood as rare by the translator of recipe 23, as we will see in the next section.

Beyond perfumes for gloves, it was the air that was assumed most worthy of being perfumed. Within the *LIBRO* at least 50 recipes are for the air, while among the Duchess of Feria's book at least 12 were. As touched upon the introduction of this thesis, there was a clear association between scents and health in the early modern period. Such association is evident within the *LIBRO* in recipes 3 and 39 which are remedies against specific conditions. Recipe 3, in particular, speaking of "*pastillas*" against rheum and headache, ends by saying: "to fumigate your head with them, put a towel at the top of your head, in order to better benefit from the smoke".³⁶ I imagine here a sort of tablet, possibly to be dissolved in a basin of hot water, very likely placed on a table, and the sick person, seated or not, slightly inclined toward the tablet, with her/his head covered by the towel in ways in which the vapours are ultimately directed towards the head. Equally possible, nonetheless, is that same process was reproduced, in a smaller scale into a glass, with the content to be drunk; or indeed without the employment of hot water at all, just "breathing in" the scent. Still, I prefer the first scenario as the call for the towel seems more in line with a prolonged exposition to vapours.

Perfumes for the air, especially those in the form of liquids and powders, required proper objects in which to be contained, in order to avoid damaging or dangerous exposure to the surrounding motion of the air, but also to be easily carried around. It is worth remembering here the Portuguese dictionary definition of "*Caçoletas*" as perfuming pans, or pots. The necessity to not damage the perfume lead to the creation and usage of splendid objects in early modern times, at least for those wealthy enough to afford them. Pomanders were among the most precious perfume-vessels from the late medieval period onwards. These remarkably beautiful objects, richly decorated, and made out of silver or other metals in the finest cases (or of wood in more ordinary cases), were carefully designed to contain the perfume as well as to allow its dispersal. Little objects of only a few centimetres, at times they constituted simply containers to be placed around the house; other times they were worn as pendants, in collars or attached to girdles. Perfumes were not so ephemeral after all; pomanders, like any perfume-box, were meant to contain something of extraordinary value and were thus themselves valuable. Equally, gloves

³⁶ MS 363, fol. 9v., "*Para profumar con ellas la caueza, pueste una toalla en cima de la caueza, por que el humo se aproveche mexor.*" I personally make this at home when I have sinusitis – I make it with hot water and rosemary. It works better than many de-congestive pills.

scented with perfumes were not ordinary gloves: they were highly valuable pieces of clothing, made with expensive fabrics and displaying tailoring and embroidering techniques at their highest.

Both early modern gloves and pomanders can be seen in art. The Dutch painter Anthonis Mor (1517-1577), one of the most able painters of the period, authored a portrait of a lady whose girdle has a pomander attached: the Lady is said to be the Duchess of Feria; she possibly holds a glove with her right hand – see figure. 6.1.



Figure 6.1 – Anthonis Mor, *Jane Dornier, Duchess of Feria?*, c. 1558, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Mor, who by virtue of his *bravura* painted in many European courts, especially the Spanish one(s), where he probably met the Duchess, also offered a superb interpretation of the severe austerity of Mary I of England which features, among a few other highly symbolic objects, a magnificent pomander attached to her girdle, and a glove – figure 6.2 here below.



Figure 6.2 – Anthonis Mor, *Mary I of England*, 1554, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

I have purposefully passed over – silently until now – one of the most important characteristic of early modern Iberian perfumes: their exorbitant cost. Inexorably linked to the rarity of ambergris, musk and civet, these products were, as the few names of the court ladies mentioned above implicitly indicate, among the most exclusive early modern products. Recipe 31 within our LIBRO is of remarkable historical importance for the study of perfume-making. Entitled “How to take care of/look after the Civet cat” [“*Come se a da curar el gato de algalia*”] it says:

It has to eat cooked meat, or boiled, in the morning; and, at night, little pigeons, and hens, and sometimes partridges or pellets. When you want, once in the week, give [birds] completely plucked without any feathers, and once a week feed them dinner with mashed figs. Also live chickens can be given and, sometimes, plucked.³⁷

This recipe further proves the extreme value of civet and, by analogy, of musk and ambergris.³⁸ These are costly ingredients which imply costly sourcing and, in the case of civet, costly maintenance – even if this was optional, as civet could have been simply purchased and not “grown”. Some civet cats probably reached Europe from West Africa, together with slaves and other commodities, if brought directly by the Portuguese. Apparently, there was a substantial, and constantly increasing, trade in these small mammals from across the Sahara desert from the early middle Ages onwards.³⁹ Any civet cat fed the diet prescribed above would have eaten more and much better than the vast majority of early modern people. Sadly, the extraction of their secretions, which in theory should leave the animal alive, is a brutal act.

Before moving to the next section, I want to stress that in order to really understand early modern Iberian perfumes as detailed within Iberian manuscript recipe books, we need to appreciate their extreme value entangled with their complex manufacturing, as well as the employment of rare ingredients. This is a story of the extent to which ambergris, civet, and musk, in their potentially innumerable combinations with each other, prevailed, or did not prevail, over a number of other scents, most notably perfumed waters but also oils and resins: scents which could be kept in, and emanated

³⁷ MS 363, fol. 17r. “*A de comer carne coçida o assada per la manana, y a la noche palominos, y galinas, alguna vez perlices o perdigones. Las vez que se lo quisieren dar una vez en la semana todos pelados sin ninguna pluma, an le de dar una vez en la semana a cenar higos passados, tambien se pueden dar pollos vivos y palados alguna vez*”.

³⁸ It could also show the interests in exotic animals at royal courts.

³⁹ John Wrigley, “Cats, Musk, Gold and Slaves: Staples of the Northbound Saharan Trade,” in *The Journal of North African Studies* 16, no. 3 (2011), esp. 416. See also: Ivana Elbl, “Slaves Are a Very Risky Business...’Supply and Demand in the Early Atlantic Slave Trade,” in *Enslaving Connections: hanging Cultures of Africa and Brazil During the Era of Slavery*, ed. Jose C. Curto and Paul L. Lovejy, (London: Prometheus Books), 29-55.

from, a number of valuable objects. The Iberian perfume-making described here is an exclusive and refined form of practical knowledge. It seems that, according to our *LIBRO*, “For this all, the principal part is [played by] the skilful/expert apothecary, in whom lies the key of everything”.⁴⁰ I shall leave my reflections on this point for my conclusion.

* * *

It is not possible to identify the author of the English recipes in translation appearing within MS 363 who, at the very beginning of the work, folio 81v., produced an extremely interesting and revealing commentary on the methods and challenges thereof. The commentary starts with:

I have exactly translated this Spanish copy, and perused it over; so that there is nothing wanting in the English saving these words following; which I could not finde in the dictionaries, but I have here left down, and left a[^] space in their proper places, as you shall finde ____ . ____ . ____ .

Immediately after follows the list of these untranslatable words, indicating the page on which they appear as the figure below shows.

| | | | |
|----------------------|----------|------------|----------|
| Zitauen; | Pag: 6:- | Peregris; | Pag: 32; |
| Mozola; | 6:- | Cupatorio; | 32; |
| Descarapoi; | 11:- | Cacoro; | 32; |
| Rupoi; | 17; | Enclado; | 32; |
| Lacnai; | 20; | Ebulos; | 32; |
| Trapilo; | 20; | Capioni; | 32; |
| Aragontia; | 29; | Alciono; | 32; |
| Mueza; | 30; | Araulo; | 33; |
| Pentafilon; | 30; | Equinanto; | 33:- |
| Enjundia; de Galina; | 30; | | |
| Mata; horis; que; | 30; | | |
| Burdano; | 30; | | |
| Dauro; Tolado; | 30; | | |
| Esparajo; | 32; | | |

Figure 6.3 – Wellcome Library, MS 363, Detail of fol. 81v.

Following this, the commentary continues by alerting the reader that: “it is to be noted that this Spanish Copy is very ill poynted, or distinguished; and it hath Diverse false orthographies; and this may bee a[^] cause that these names may not so easily appear in the

⁴⁰ The comment appears just before Juan Moreno’s three recipes, which looks like a closing comment.

Dictionary.” At this point the translator decides to add, at the bottom of the same page, a further two-point “advertisement”:

1. Note that all which is in the Spanish expressed (by the way of speaking unto) in the third person, I have put translated in the second, it being more usuall and familiar in our Idiom;
2. all mariginall notes, and words, and sentences underlined with a ^ line in this manner _____ put are added, for the better explanation; for that the Spanish translated in every particle verbatim sound harsh in English, and not bee so well, or all together intelligible ____ . ____ . ____ .

This textual act of translation, clearly undertaken by an English native speaker (“our Idiom”) is, in the first place, an act of reading and making sense of a syntactically and orthographically challenging Spanish copy. Let us examine a compelling example which also substantiates my working hypothesis that Hand E used (at least some) pages written by Hand A as a direct reference-source. Here I want to show the challenges of the act of translation, understood as the act of reading or decrypting a foreign language.

Figure 6.4 shows Hand A’s Spanish closing remark (which appears just before the three recipes acknowledged as by Juan Moreno) and which I quoted just a few pages ago. Table 6.1, which follows, gives my transcription of the passage, with my emendations in square brackets, as well as my translation. The last line is crucial.

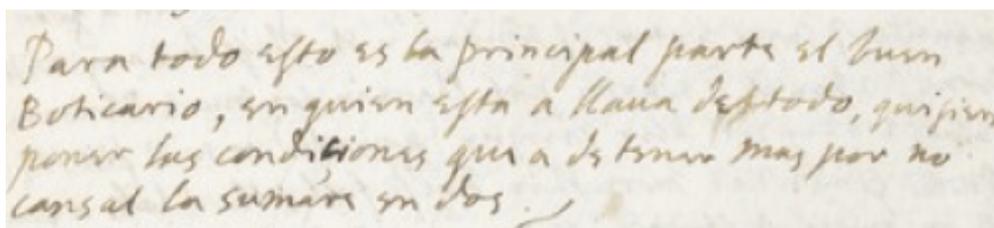


Figure 6.4 — Wellcome Library, MS 363, detail of folio 41r.

| MY TRANSCRIPTION | MY TRANSLATION |
|--|--|
| Para todo esto es la principal parte el buen Boticario, en quien est[à] [l]a llava[e] destoto,[;] quisiera poner las condiçiones que a de tener mas por no cansar la[s] sumar[é] en dos. | For this all, the principal part is [played by] the skilful/expert Apothecary, in whom lies the key of everything; I would like to place [here] the qualities which he should have but, in order to not bore [the reader], I will summarise them in two [points].” |

Table 6.1 – Transcription and translation of Wellcome Library, MS 363, folio 41r., as seen in figure 6.4.

Unfortunately, these two summarising points never appear within MS 363.⁴¹ This absence probably misled the translator, and so must be considered among the first causes of the most peculiar act of deciphering this last sentence, which is visible in the original in figure 6.3 and which reads as:

For all this, the expert Apothecary is the maine
 matter; in whome, or in whose Experience, consists
 the Key of the worke; I would sett downe the conditi-
 ons hee ought to have, but that I will not bee too te-
 dious; or make a[^] little summ divided in to two parts.
cansar la[^] sumare en dos, is a[^] very harsh
 and unusual Spanish phrase⁴²

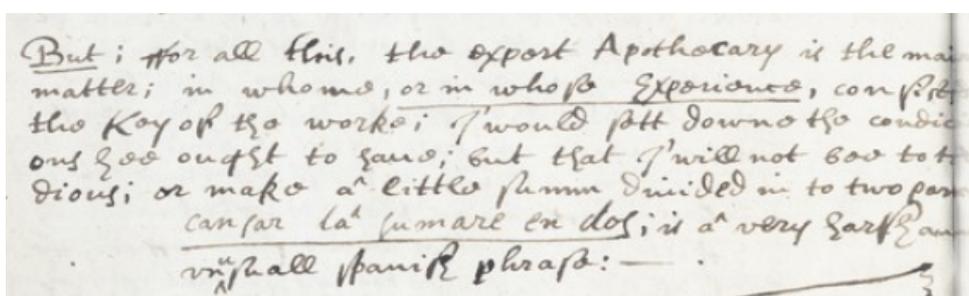


Figure 6.5 – Wellcome Library, MS 363, detail of folio 98v.

The Spanish “sumare” should be “sumaré”. The “é” would immediately alert that this word could be a verb, given in the future tense, first person singular, and not a substantive, here understood as “sum”. Second: “la” of “la sumare” should be “las” to match “condiçiones” (as actually correctly occurs in the text immediately preceding this example); here, after that false substantive and without the key “s”, that “la” is understood as an article. Third: the contiguity in meaning of the Spanish “resumir” [“to summarise”] and “sumar” [“to sum up”] is fatal. Fourth: the presence of the number “dos” [“two”] generates further confusion. To sum up, this represents: “a Spanish Cobby [which] is ill poynted, or distinguished; and it hath Diverse false orthographies”. Moreover, as said at the start, the absence of the description of two main qualities which the skilful apothecary should have, topped by the fact that the translator is English (an Italian or French translator might have

⁴¹ This is unfortunate but does not constitute a problem here; a further suggestion is that the *LIBRO* is a miscellany.

⁴² Cfr. Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 151, “She [Mrs Hughes] concludes with a nod of deference to those with more “expert” knowledge but ultimately chooses to exercise those ruminations from her translation: “But for all this, the expert Apothecary in the main matter, in whome, or in whose Experiments, consists the key of this work; I would sett downe the conditions hee ought to have, but that I will not bee too tedious; or make a little sum divided into this parte.”

avoided this trap by virtue of the proximity of Latinate languages), all come together to render this translation a disaster.

This case is not, however, representative, rather the opposite. This is the only example I have found in which the translator fails to effectively render discursive passages of the Spanish text. Moreover, even though it is wrong, this passage displays the rigorousness of the process, and the translator's commitment to the task. This example, in fact, demonstrates the consistent and persistent standards of transparency which characterise the work. The passage given in fig.6.3 closes the translator's engagement with the text: it appears just after the last translated recipe. At this point, despite the useful preceding translations, the reader is made aware of the possible faults in translation ("very harsh and unusual phrase") as well as of additional text, here represented by "or in whose Experience", offered for a "better explanation" of the text itself, according to the methods of annotation as described in the second point of "the advertisement".

Throughout this section of MS 363, the translator enters the scene to explain to the reader unclear passages, and to point out *verbatim*s, but also, on occasion, to manifest doubts or confess the inability to make sense of the Spanish text. "Colado is *verbatim*, strained"; "Reeped in juice of roses; *is verbatim*; According to the Spanish, is *çumo de rosas* – but whether bee made of rosewater or no, I know not"; "Tallero, in Spanish signifies a chess-table, or the like"; "so it is in the Spanish *verbatim*"; "The Spanish word is *Faldilla*, which signifies properly a peticoate"; "Oyle of *Zitanan* – what this should bee I conceive not"; "I take it to bee three grains, it is in Spanish *Trapizo*, I cannot finde it in any dictionary," exemplify the annotations offered by the translator.⁴³

Looking carefully, "Zitanan" and "Trapizo" represent two of the twenty-three words listed as not known and, apparently, not traceable within early modern dictionaries (fig.6.1).⁴⁴ I have double-checked all twenty-three entries and none appear in any dictionary which could possibly have been consulted – hence those bi- or multi-lingual lexicons produced from the middle of the sixteenth-century onwards.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, the hunch of the translator was correct: by slightly modifying the orthography, a couple of these words can be tracked down. Mostly, these are names of plants growing in Iberia.⁴⁶ While the case of "Zitanan", clearly a substantive, further proves the seriousness of the translator who, not knowing its meaning, does not attempt any rendering, "Trapizo" remarkably documents the self-conscious competencies of this person. The comment "I take it to bee three grains" in regard to "Trapizo", correct or not, shows initiative within an

⁴³ MS 363, fol. 82v; fol. 89v; fol. 94r and fol. 90v.

⁴⁴ In the text, Hand E writes "dictionaries", given in the plural form, a couple of times.

⁴⁵ Via search engines like LEME, *Lexicons of Early Modern English*.

⁴⁶ The website of the *Real Academia Española* offers an excellent system of word-searching which can also show similar words. "Alciono" is "Alcino", a plant. "Cupatorio" is "Eupatorio", a plant. "Nueza" is correct this way and is a plant. "Lacena" is "Alacena" and is a piece of furniture.

incredibly specific “vocabulary of measurements in translation” which recurs, in this case, every time the word appears.

Our translator did not simply passively translate recipes; whoever this individual was, there are traces within MS 363 of an active engagement with the recipes and their meanings. In exceptionally obscure cases, the translator personally provides the reader with possible, interpretative solutions. The most immediate case is that of recipe 103, for “perfumed gloves”. Relating to the middle of the text, the only marginal note reads as: “some words are wanting in the original, or the same is altogether abstruse.”⁴⁷ The corresponding, underlined, embedded remark within the text reformulates the concept with: “this it is according to the Originall, in Spanish, but I take it that there are some words wanting, and the meaning to be this...”⁴⁸ It follows a four-line long passage which cannot be understood except as the translator’s tentative conclusions.

As should be clear by now, these unquestionable competencies, linguistic and other, of our translator, went hand in hand with manifest hesitations and uncertainties, and constitute two sides of the same coin. Graphically very visible via marginal and embedded notes, once compared to the amount of text translated, these indecisions are overall few and far between. In this sense, figure 6.1 ultimately provides a striking display of knowledge: to pick out twenty-three words as untranslatable means, in turn, that hundreds were understood. This is important, as leafing through the pages one might have the impression that the translator’s skills were limited: I argue that, overall, the opposite is true.

The translator also clearly appreciated the key differences between the conventions of the Spanish and English language within textual recipes: this is immediately noticeable from point 1 of the “advertisement”. The disarming simplicity with which the individual tackles one of the most fundamental distinctions between neo-Latin and English ways to make sense of the self and the others – the move from “third Spanish person to English second person” and vice-versa or, to say it more correctly, the use of active and passive verbal forms – is substantiated within MS 363 by occurrences like: “You may use”; “you must put”; “the best you can get”; “or lump which you made”, “which is used”; “or bring”; “you are to put”; “this must be”, all duly underlined as promised within the introductory commentary.

The translator’s mastery is actually so effective that, unfortunately for us, out of the 67 recipes rendered in English and visible in MS 363, only seldom does something of “the person within the translator” appear. For instance, the second line of recipe 132, “To make a fardle, (or composition) of roses, or a rose-perfumed petticoat” (which describes the really long preparation of a rose-based paste which, rubbed through the hands, should

⁴⁷ MS 363, fol. 85v.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 87r. I would not read too much into that “Originall” - throughout the recipes Hand E writes of “Original or copy” several times.

be then applied to petticoats), reads that “*Alquarobas, or Garrofales* (they grow not here in England)”; “here” is superfluous for the sake of the recipe, revealing the place in which the translator resides.⁴⁹ Equally recipe 23, given in MS 22566, “A receipt for gloves which you are not to show (in rapport of its rarity I thinke)” encapsulates in brackets the translator’s reflection on the reasons why this peculiar recipe, truly rare since it is based on a semi-liquid egg-based preparation, should be defined as such; knowing the extent of our translator’s attentiveness, this speculative comment in brackets feels out of place, a lapse.⁵⁰

Although partially showing the person over the translator, these remarks are inherently concerned with the recipes in which they emerge. The following comment does not differ in this sense; yet, it represents an extremely interesting remark which not only fits particularly well in this thesis but also, easy to see, reveals, in fact, the entire mind-set of the translator as that of an individual who is not Spaniard. It says:

What kind of white wine bee I do not know:
but in Spaine by white wine they can only
understand Sack”⁵¹

It goes without saying that I read the pronoun “they” which appears within a few of the translated titles as a most revealing, if harmless, “mistake” by our translator, demonstrating the sense of otherness, and the awareness of Iberian difference, which must have prompted such titles. Unlike all the other titles, recipes 93, 94, 147 and 163 respectively become: “The manner that they make small perfumes, called by the Spanish *Pauetas*”; “The *carbon*, or coale, they make after this manner following”; To make muskballs with fire [*pastillas de fuego*], of wood violets; these that they call sodden”; “A water to wash the teeth, with the which they cleanse, and fortify them, and preserve from pain”; “To make a pomander which is comonly used when *they* make perfumes & named by the name of the powder” is, moreover, the title of recipe 44 taken from the Spanish book of the Duchess of Feria. MS 22566 does not contain these sorts of lapses.

In regard to the wine-based water for cleaning the teeth, it could simply be that this recipe, by containing, among other singularities, clear instructions for distillation as well as references to pinecones, caught the eye of the English translator, not used to such a combination of this sort. Generic recipes for the care of the teeth are certainly common, even if not particularly numerous overall, in English manuscript recipe books. As for the recipe about musk-balls of wood-violets I am inclined to make the same case: it is the peculiarity of the recipe which attracted the attention of the translator who ultimately

⁴⁹ MS 363, fol. 89v. Cfr. RAE, according to which some plants local to Iberia were known by the name: “*garrafals*”.

⁵⁰ BL MS 22566, page 10 [original numeration]. See note 54.

⁵¹ MS 363, fol. 87v., recipe 27 “water of Angeles”.

relegated it to the sphere of otherness expressed by “they”. In fact, this “masse or past” used to form a sort of rounded tablet, which the translator gives as “musk-ball”, does not just demand violets picked in the wood but makes it clear that whoever recreates this musk-ball has “to put in a clean perfuming pan (and if it bee of silver the better), with sweet water so much as that it boyle without burning”. This specification, “boyle without burning”, is the most notable characteristic of this recipe, which is otherwise not particularly different from others of this sort, and it explains the use of the word “sodden”. The fact that the only other recipe which speaks of sodden musk-balls (recipe 92) specifies placing them in “boiling” perfumed waters seems to indicate the plausibility of my interpretation.

Recipe 94, “The *carbon*, or coale, they make after this manner following”, represents a most meaningful, beautiful recipe, both from an Anglo-Iberian perspective and in its own right.⁵² Its value in terms of practical knowledge is extraordinary: it details a singular process through which, ultimately, the user creates a musk-water (“*aqua almislada*”) but also, as a consequence of the process, some pieces of charcoal which are, critically here, perfumed. The focus of the recipe itself is ambivalent: the original Spanish text, and thus the English translation in turn, stresses the creation of the charcoal within the title (“*El carbon se hace de esta manera*”) but the recipe is, overall, much more concerned with the making of the musk water, which could also be placed in the sun for fifteen or twenty days (!), being in that case evocatively called “water of the sun” (“*el aqua del sol*”).⁵³ I have no doubt that our translator involuntarily uses “they” precisely because of the rarity of this recipe; probably, moreover, the prolonged exposure to the sun may well have played a part in the identification of this recipe as “theirs”.

These pieces of perfumed charcoal are precisely those required within the recipe which precedes recipe 94, “The manner that they make small perfumes, called by the Spanish *Peuetas*”. In recipe 93, we read: “put in little Coale prepared, in manner following shall bee sayd”.⁵⁴ However, this was not the only way. Extremely interesting, according to recipe 14 of the Duchess of Feria’s book, only three-line long, in order “to make coales” ashes of burnt willow are to be soaked in rose- or orange water, and dried in the shadow.

⁵² MS 363, fols. 83v-84r.

⁵³ In synthesis, but the recipe is not short at all being more than one full page long, a mix of perfumed waters (musk water, orange-flower water, rose water, angels water and other still plus some white wine) is to be placed within a “*redoma*”, which our translator renders with “glass-violl” which has, in turn, to be well closed at its top with some paper or a piece of cloth. At this point the *redoma* must be placed in a hole specifically made within a “brazier with fire and ashes” [“*brasero con lumbre e ceniza*”], and leave it there to boil, with ashes almost covering it all, having great care to take away the sort of froth which, by rising up through boiling, moves from the *redoma*, outwards, passing via the paper or the cloth (which thus work as filters). The recipe continues detailing other steps but here, what ultimately matters is that, if on one hand the *redoma* after some hours is to be taken out of the brazier to cool down, producing the expected musk water; on the other hand, the ashes which have entered in contact with the froth acquired the scent thereof. Cfr. Recipe 71, page 25, for the use of “*redoma*” there, especially.

⁵⁴ MS 363, fol. 83r.

Let me conclude this section by discussing the very word *peuetas*. Figure 6.4, just below, shows the entire title of recipe 93 within MS 363.

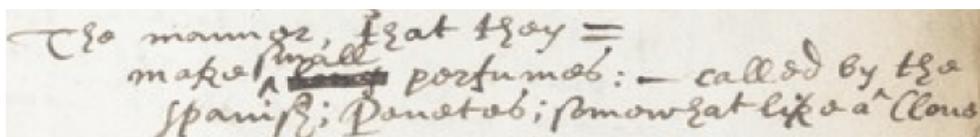


Figure 6.6 – Wellcome Library, MS 363, detail of folio 83r.

I have poured the section of Spanish recipes in translation of MS 363 yet not succeeding in exactly understanding what “somehow like a cloud” means – I am not sure of the spelling of “cloud” in the very first place.⁵⁵ What I have realised is that, nonetheless, recipe 146 “to make small perfumes” [*peuetas*] (which is confusing in both Spanish and English), speaks of perfumes prepared:

upon a smoothe table, rouling them with another table, in manner as doe the wax chandlers, when they burnish the candles, and these small perfumes, or cloul [sic.] perfumes, you may make every one of them as bigg as you please...⁵⁶

The recipe, uniquely, starts with: “you are to take a willow-stick burnt to coale, and put it in a pot, which is very cleane”.⁵⁷ In other words, not simply this line but the entire recipe aligns with the definition of *peuetas* given within the 1773 bi-lingual Portuguese-English dictionary, quoted earlier. To be precise, the other few, earlier recipes in English translation concerning *peuetas* mention “coale of willow”, like recipes 27 and 129; yet these recipes speak of ounces of coals of willow, rather than of “willow-sticks” which, in turn, would have certainly helped the English reader to appreciate the shape of this type of perfume. And indeed, looking carefully at fig. 6.4 it is possible to see that the translator, for reasons impossible to determine, prefers “small” over “long”, now almost completely deleted, yet still visible, as the appropriate adjective for this sort of perfumes.

In short, our translator’s job is impressive. MS 363 discloses a work of translation which not only displays commitment and dedication to the task but also demonstrates the patent desire of this individual to effectively communicate doubts and uncertainties, effectively making available to the English reader a very significant number of recipes written in Spanish. Nonetheless, it is imperative to point out that, although correctly rendering the vast majority of the key words, including *pastillas* and *caçoletas*, our

⁵⁵ “*Clous*” means “nails” in French. Could this line be read as “like a long thin ‘nail’ that burns”?

⁵⁶ MS 363, fol. 94r.

⁵⁷ *Ivi.*

translator, by exclusively interpreting *peuetas* as generic “small perfumes”, ultimately does not provide an English word capable of suggesting the singular shape that *peuetas* possessed. This, could have had important consequences on the very understating of this artefact in the first place, hence the reproducibility of these recipes, and thus the use of these perfumes

* * *

The *LIBRO de recetas de Portugal para haçer peuetes y pastillas y adreçar guantes perfumados* constitutes an extraordinary source for the study of early modern Iberian recipe culture, especially for perfume-making and associated techniques, also in consideration of the very low volume of manuscript recipe books of this kind which have survived the centuries. Very likely, (at least) two other persons had a similar awareness long ago: Frederick William Cosens (1819-89) and John Ferguson (1838-1916) used to possess what is now called MS Ferguson 16, which is an exact copy, nineteenth-century in feel, of the *LIBRO*.⁵⁸ Cosens was a professed Hispanophile: a wealthy English merchant of Iberian wines whose personal bookmark is still visible on the manuscript.⁵⁹ Ferguson was a Scottish professor of chemistry, who bought the manuscript from Sotheby’s on 11 November, 1890, to leave it to the library of Glasgow at his death. Almost certainly, he purchased the book on the basis of his interest in early modern books of secrets and chemistry.⁶⁰

Ultimately, through my summary, inclusive of quotations of several recipes, including instructions for feeding the civet cat, I have described the Iberian perfume-making knowledge visible in these recipes as a highly sophisticated and expensive form of practical knowledge, which could take different material forms and shapes, resulting not simply from the juxtaposition of multiple techniques and costly ingredients, but rather from a number of processes in combination with each other; alongside scented waters were the core substances of ambergris, civet and musk. That this knowledge was incredibly varied is immediately demonstrated by the sheer number of preparations contained in the *LIBRO* and in the Duchess of Feria’s non-culinary section of recipes. These recipes also demonstrate that this balancing of scents and notes – which is still nowadays what differentiates quality perfume-making from “high-street perfumes” – was a prerogative of elite environments, like that of the Iberian courts, in order to perfume the air, but not only.

⁵⁸ University of Glasgow, MS Ferguson 16, written in a beautiful cursive hand, shares the same recipes in the same order as well as the same index as given in the *LIBRO*. Indeed, this can be read as further proof that MS 363 is a “modern, disordered gathering” of recipe collections which parts have their own history. At the time of the transcription, the *LIBRO* was most likely not bound with the other recipe collections.

⁵⁹ Geoff West, “Frederick Cosens: Shakespeare and the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age,” available at: <https://bit.ly/2Mvzpbq>

⁶⁰ See ODNB, s.v. “John Ferguson”.

Petticoats, for instance, were perfumed too. Very possibly, like petticoats – which, obviously enough, were to be found within women’s wardrobes only – perfumed pomanders, when attached to collars and girdles, were reserved solely for women. Most notably, though, gloves were also perfumed, and, in this case, we know that they fitted both men’s and women’s hands alike. These recipes do not tell us anything about the hands which were intended to materially create them. However, thanks to the bulk of studies produced on life at court, it can be confidently claimed that ladies like Doña Guiomar de Melo, in their honorific yet very real supervising role of *camarera mayor*, did not use their noble hands to arduously grind powders in mortars. Probably, not even royal apothecaries ground powders, but most likely someone in their entourage did so for their benefit.

The existence of the *LIBRO* as produced by our English Hand A as well as the translation into English of some of the recipes visible therein by Hand E is, nonetheless, the most remarkable, two-folded occurrence in the Anglo-Iberian perspective which informs this thesis. Unfortunately, we cannot say anything sure about either Hand A nor Hand E. Hand A was likely that of a polyglot recipe collector, who was able to write in both French and Italian. As for the translator, regardless of whether this was Hand E or not, in consideration of all that has been said, it is easy to see that this was a very skilful individual, very possibly an “excellent Apothecary”, as that evoked by the Spanish concluding remark problematically translated into English, or another medical practitioner, like a physician; in either case, this person also had significantly extensive competencies in Spanish. Extensive competencies as said, but not those that a bi-lingual individual would possess. In this sense, this work is an act of deciphering a challenging hand in the first place; our translator, when he does not know a word, when he does not find such word within his vocabulary, seems to be unable to guess – while appreciating that by slightly adjusting corrupted orthographies the correct words can emerge.

Who was the translator translating and annotating the recipes for? “I have here left... a^ space...as *you* shall finde ...” (my italics). We cannot determine the precise identity of the intended reader; all the evidence suggests, nonetheless, that this manuscript was understood for extensive, practical use, very likely for the benefit of an(other?) apothecary – clearly not able to read Spanish. After 1618, no English grocery shop could legally sell some of the key substances at the base of Iberian perfume making, which had instead to be prepared and sold precisely by this category of medical practitioners.⁶¹ If this intended reader had some pre-knowledge, or access to some knowledge thanks to which to appreciate with no fail the shape of *peuetas*, or the names of the Spanish plants not recognised by Hand E, or indeed to know if by the word “*coale*” that specific type of perfumed charcoal discussed earlier was always implied or not, is pure speculation.

⁶¹ Anthony C. Cartwright, *The British Pharmacopoeia, 1864 to 2014: Medicines, International Standards and the State* (London: Routledge, 2015), 9.

Let me end this chapter by pointing out something relatively minor, but nonetheless significant. As stated in the very first line of this chapter, Wellcome Library MS 363, which contains our *LIBRO* as well as the translations discussed, is a disordered *collatio* of early modern recipe collections. Just by leafing through the manuscript, it is absolutely obvious that MS 363 has been created with the primary aim to avoid the physical dispersion of the recipes, in line with the archival principle of preservation of documents by their securing within a cover, ‘as’ a book.⁶² Table 6.2, through my tentative colouring, shows all the *textual* units, the recipe collections which form MS 363; the two most notable sections studied in this chapter are highlighted in grades of yellow; while the green colour highlights two other key sections, as will soon become clear. The first column details the pagination currently in use but also the original in square brackets (in footnotes), when available. The second column details instead the main hands visible in MS 363 and, in brackets, the languages employed, other than English. The third column also indicates the presence of Hand X – very likely that of a modern archivist, who numbered some recipes. Beyond the obvious archival treatment of which the manuscript is the result, MS 363 is, in effect, a recipe book in the most complex sense of the term. It is especially difficult to explain the exceptionality of the juxtaposition of two recipe collections highlighted in table 6.1 in pink and light blue which have one crucial page in common (68). Equally challenging is the presence of Hand A at the end of the light blue section (f.77r).

Not justified by the complexity of the source, two facts remain. First: the catalogue of the Wellcome Library, by combining the two green sections together, describes MS 363 in ways in which it finally appears to be, in its entirety, the 1637 recipe book of a certain “Sarah Hughes”, even if this name never emerges from the manuscript.⁶³ Second: even

⁶² This is immediately suggested by: the modern marble paper employed (double comb type) for the covers; the “MANUSCRIPT RECEIPTS” given in its spine; the diverse papers of the diverse booklets which concur to form MS 363 as well as two loose in-folio pages bound in the item. Most notably, the various, manifestly diverse hands (different calligraphies but also inks and page layouts) and, finally, the artificial archival numeration up to 242 which does not match some original numeration still visible, all that is described so far, makes it patent that MS 363 is a disordered gathering of recipes. The Italian archival school would define MS 363 as a “*composito fattizio*”.

⁶³ The Wellcome Library catalogue combines the title-page and the conclusive comment highlighted in green within table 6.1 forming, in this way, the name of “Sarah Hughes”. The summary of the item reads: “Mrs Hughes her receipts of her whole Booke written in the yeare 1637. Containeinge: Medica. Chyrurgica. Conditia. Culinaria. Including the Spanish text, and an English translation, of 'Libro de recetas de Portugal para hacer peuetes y pastillas y adreçar guantes perfumados'. Written by several hands. The first part (Spanish text) has a title in red and black. This is followed by Mrs Hughes' Receipts (31 ll.), after which comes the translation of the Spanish text (36 pp.). The remainder continues Mrs Hughes' Receipts”. It is extremely difficult to say if “Mrs Hughes her receipts of her whole Booke written in the yeare 1637. Containeinge: Medica. Chyrurgica. Conditia. Culinaria” (f.48r.), which is given in a small, ordinary cursive, is the title-page of the final section of MS 363, fols., 191r.-238v. The hand which writes such a title could be the hand which writes some of the recipes therein but this short line is not an ideal point of palaeographical comparison. This last section, beyond medical recipes, contains some “Chyrurgica” like the recipe “To stopp bleeding of

more seriously, and only with a partial exception, those scholars who have engaged with MS 363 perpetuate and, at times, accentuate the (mis)understanding of this source, to the point of claiming that this unidentifiable English woman actually translated the Spanish recipes of the *LIBRO*.⁶⁴ In this second respect, let me say that, no matter the temptations presented by a female name and an early date (and a poor item description), this source offers little or nothing conclusive when it comes to questions of recipe ownership, authorship and writership, in English as well as in translation. On the contrary, despite the limits just acknowledged, MS 363 offers extraordinary evidence, until now completely neglected, of the transmission and reception of Iberian recipes in early modern England.

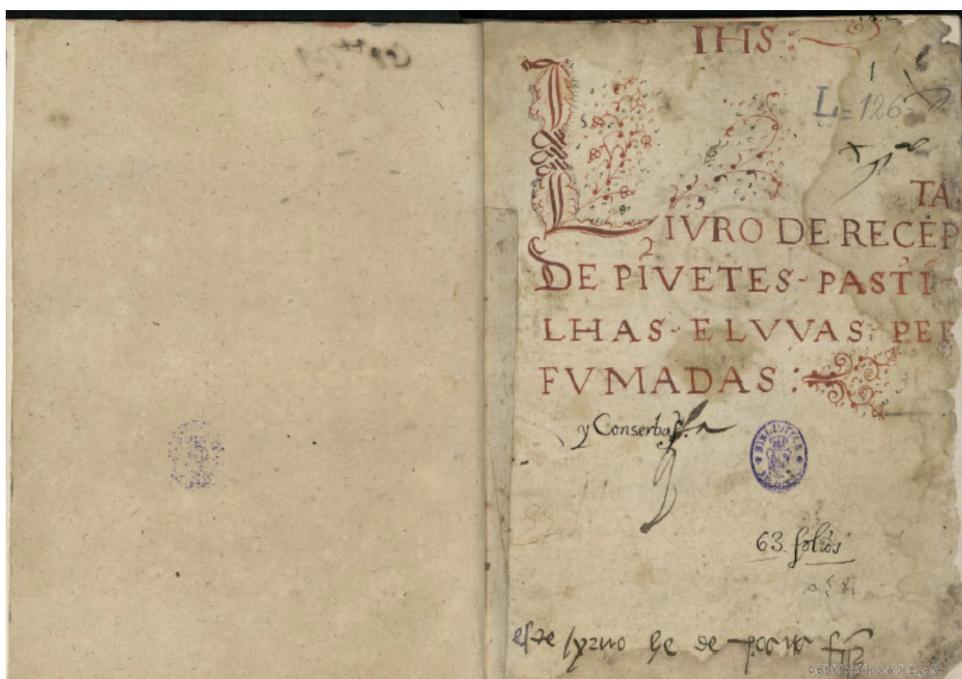


Figure 6.7 – Biblioteca Nacional De España, MSs/1462, inside front-cover.

a wound...” (fol .203v), as well as some recipes for oils which could work as “*condita*” (but, again, the very term itself is problematic). No “*culinaria*” is visible. In turn, it has to be noted that the comment “Here ends the Receipts contained in the Lady Sarah whole book of Receipts”, visible in fol. 238r., which closes this last part of MS 363 is penned in elegant, enlarged lowercase letters, which takes up almost a third of the page and which, thus, cannot be compared with that of the possible title-page.

⁶⁴ Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics*, 147, is the only scholar who cautiously refers to “the splendid recipe book of Sarah Hughes” exclusively in regard to the last section of MS 363; he correctly notes, moreover, that “Mrs” and “Lady” are conflicting attributions, suggesting that the title-page and the recipes “are written in two different hands”. Opposite cases are like those of Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580-1720* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 79, and Pelling, *The Common Lot*, 12, who both write of MS 363 as “Sarah Hughes’ recipe book”. Wall, *Recipes for Thoughts*, 281, note 73, goes further by writing: “...Sarah Hughes, who, throughout recipes that she translated from Spanish, comments on the intellectual problems of cultural, linguistic, and culinary translation...”. Dugan, *The Ephemeral History*, 150-151, defines MS 363 not only as exclusively owned by Mrs Hughes, but also as translated by her in regard to the Spanish recipes. I have been already obliged to point out that Dugan, 151, attributes to Mrs Hughes a meaningful quotation which is, in fact, a very visibly, and problematic, translation itself of Spanish lines. See note 42.

| FOLIO | HAND | CONTENT |
|-------------------------|---------|--|
| 1r. | A (SP) | List of key Spanish words + relative translation in English |
| 1v-6v | | Blank |
| 7r-7v | | Blank |
| 8r- 8v blank | ? | <i>"LIBRO de Recetas de Portugal para haçer Peuetes y Pastillas y adreçar Guantes Perfumados"</i> |
| 9r-42r ⁶⁵ | A (SP) | 167 non-numbered recipes written in Spanish (165-167 in English, with 165 and 166 having Spanish titles) |
| 42v | | Blank |
| 43r-46r | A (SP) | Corresponding, thematic Index (in alphabetic order) of the recipes, including recipes 165-167 |
| 46v- | | Blank |
| 47r-47v | | Blank |
| 48r | ?B? | <i>"Mrs Hughes her receipts of her whole Booke written in the yeare 1637: Containeinge: Medica. Chyrurgica. Conditia. Culinaria"</i> |
| 48v | | Blank |
| 49r-49v | C | "A table" Content-page, medical recipes originally numbered 1- 100. |
| 50r-50v | | Blank |
| 51r- 68r | C+D | Corresponding medical recipes 1-100, numbered by Hand X, 'Finis' |
| 68v- | D | "A table" Content-page, culinary recipes originally numbered 1-61. |
| 69r-77r | C+D | Corresponding culinary recipes 1-61, numbered by Hand X |
| 77r- 78v | A (FR) | Recipe 61 + Recipes to preserve fruits written in French, numbered 62-71 + "fin" ["the end"] by Hand X |
| 79r-79v | | Blank |
| 80r-80v | | Blank |
| 81r | | Blank |
| 81v | E | Introductory comments concerning the translation |
| 82r-98v ⁶⁶ | E | English translation of 76 non-numbered recipes written in Spanish. They appear in the LIBRO as recipes 88-164 |
| 99r- 100r ⁶⁷ | E | Corresponding content-page of the recipes |
| 100v- | | Blank |
| 101r-102v | ? | Insertion of an 'in-folio' of recipes ⁶⁸ |
| 103r-167v ⁶⁹ | F+ ? | Medical Recipes |
| 168r-169v | ? | Insertion of an 'in-folio' of recipes ⁷⁰ |
| 170r-189v ⁷¹ | F+ ? | Medical Recipes |
| 190r | A (IT) | 3 recipes with Italian titles. The 3 rd contains "the use" in Italian |
| 190v | | Blank |
| 191r- 238r | B+ ? | [...] ⁷² Medical Recipes + Chirurgic <i>"Here ends the Receipts/contained in the Lady/ Sarah whole Booke/ of Receipts"</i> |
| 238v | | Blank |
| 239r-242v | | Blank |

Table 6.2 – Tentative textual units forming Wellcome Library MS 363.

⁶⁵ Original pagination: [2-97]

⁶⁶ Original pagination [1-34]

⁶⁷ Original pagination [35-37]

⁶⁸ Possibly originally folded up as a letter.

⁶⁹ Original pagination [1-128]

⁷⁰ As note 68.

⁷¹ Original pagination [129-179]

⁷² The section starts with the recipe "another for the same", hence my "[...]".

7.

The Fanshawes' recipes from Spain and Portugal

Materially homogenous, Wellcome Library MS 7113 is a thick in-folio, still with original morocco leather binding and central gild-stamped decoration.¹ This conspicuous collection, of more than five-hundred recipes, was initially understood as a 'reference-text': in fact, the scribe Joseph Averie elegantly and orderly wrote most of the recipes, starting each section in which the volume was thematically sub-divided.² Evidently though, the collection turned into a 'working-text': so other hands, a few quite recurrent and at times gracelessly, did not simply add recipes (on some of the many blank pages left by Averie), consequently updating the alphabetical index started by him himself, but also amended, commented and crossed out, some vehemently and some more mildly, many of their own recipes as well as Averie's; possibly they were the same hands which also sketched images and inserted printed recipes and drawings directly onto the manuscript.

MS 7113 has yet to be the subject of comprehensive investigation. In part because of its just described complexity, it represents, nonetheless, a famous recipe collection, habitually called "Ann Fanshawe's recipe book", an identification that originated with its holding institution.³ This definition is not erroneous but is limiting. In fact, two years before her death, this English woman passed the collection to her twenty-six year old daughter Katherine.⁴ Moreover, Ann Fanshawe's own participation in the material writing of the recipes is extremely doubtful.⁵ However, her name emerges

¹ Wellcome Library MS 7113. The manuscript is available online at: <https://bit.ly/2wdVncx>. All its pages show a red ruling, perpendicular to the left margin, drawn a few centimetres away from it.

² See note 4.

³ The two main works on MS 7113 are: David Potter, "The Household Receipt Book of Ann, Lady Fanshawe," in *Petits Propos Culinaires* 80 (2006), 19-32; David B. Goldstein, "How to Eat a Book: Ann Fanshawe and Manuscript Recipe Culture," in *Eating and Ethics*, the pages 151-161 sub-entitled "Lady Fanshawe's receipt collection" which substantially rely on Potter and from which the number of recipes of MS 7113 is taken (p.157). See also Elaine Leong, "Collecting Knowledge for the Family", 91; Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 131 and 192. There is a blog from the *Early Modern Recipes Online Collective* (EMROC) available at <https://bit.ly/2N7JrD3>. The same blog lists, at its end, the number of other blogs on MS 7113 and to such list I refer.

⁴ No scholar has failed to note the probative annotation given at the very beginning of MS 7113, f.3r, which reads: "Mrs: Fanshawes Booke of Receipts Physickes Salves, Waters, Cordials, Preserves and Cookery written the eleventh day of December 1651. by Me, Joseph Averie". Moreover, the holograph line "K. Fanshawe. Given mee by my mother, March 23th 1678", f. 2r, confirms Ann's initial ownership as well as reveals the transmission of the book to her daughter Katherine. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas ed., *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe: Wife of the Right Hon. Sir Richard Fanshawe* (London, 1829) "Introductory memoir", lxii, is the source which indicates Katherine's day of birth: 30th July 1652.

⁵ BL Add MS 41161 is a transcription of Lady Ann's *memoirs* (to be discussed). Folio 1b reads as "Lord prosper thou the Works of our hand upon us; prosper thou our handy works/ Transcribed this present May, 1676/ Ann Fanshawe". The BL catalogue also notes that the manuscript presents "corrections, additions and deletions by the author". It seems to me that Lady Ann's hand does not appear anywhere in MS 7113. Goldstein, "How to Eat a Book", 155, is the only scholar who discusses the point. He writes that "while most of the recipes are in the hand of Joseph Averie, the

regularly within MS 7113: when abbreviated in “A.ffans”, very likely it was her own “signature”.⁶ “My mother” is also frequently accredited as donor.⁷ Sir Kenelme Digby, among a striking abundance of other individuals, contributed six recipes as well.⁸ Equally clear, some of the recipes moved into John Evelyn’s recipe book, as he was a distant relative of the family.⁹

Ann Fanshawe, née Harrison (1625-1680) was, by virtue of her 1644 marriage to Sir Richard Fanshawe (1608-1666), an English Lady.¹⁰ Her husband, chiefly studied now for the first English translation of *Os Lusíadas*, the Portuguese epic poem composed by Luís Vaz de Camões (1523?-1580), was an English ambassador. Given his “mastery of Spanish which was to be central...to his diplomatic career” he intermittently operated there from the early 1630s.¹¹ Like her husband, it is well-known that Ann authored some pages too: she left, in fact, her private memories to the couple’s son Richard; *memoirs* which eventually got published.¹² There Ann – who just after Sir Richard’s death in Madrid returned to England with their children, among whom a fourteen-year-old Katherine – mentioned the couple’s exile on the Continent (mostly in France and Italy) after Charles I’s beheading in 1649. There, she also recalled their semi-permanent sojourn in Spain and Portugal, in the middle of the 1660s especially, after Charles II restored Sir Richard to his ambassadorial role – he was one of the men behind the

book’s self-proclaimed amanuensis, others are in Ann’s or [sic.] Richard’s hand”. His footnote 46, p. 245, which refers to Potter who, in turn, takes Ann’s material writing of some of the recipes for granted, conflictingly adds that “the hand of the memoir’s marginal and interlineal corrections...seems to match many of the annotations in the recipe book, thus providing more evidence for the identification of this hand as Ann Fanshawe”. The Wellcome Library catalogue writes that “Some of the recipes appear to be in Ann Fanshawe’s own hand” with no further justification nor example.

⁶ For an example, see figure 7.2. To be sure Ann Fanshawe’s name appears in its entire form or abbreviated ones, especially “A.ffan” as said. It is evident that not all these marginal attributions are from the same hand. In feel, it seems that most of those “A.ffans” are autographs though. Goldstein, “How to Eat a Book”, 157, writes “Many of these [recipes] were also signed by Ann”. Wall, *Recipes for thoughts*, 241, “Okeover, Glyd and Fanshawe customised their collections by obsessively marking their initials or names besides recipes”. According to me, this recurrent “marking” is a macroscopic, further hint that Lady Ann did not write any recipe into MS 7113.

⁷ Leong, “Collecting Knowledge”, 91, claims that MS 7113 was a commission to Averie by Lady Ann Fanshawe in order to keep “a copy of her mother Margaret Harrison’s collection”. Her footnote 32, p.100, read as “Fanshawe, fol. 3r”. No other supporting comment is given. This reading, thus, must be essentially informed by precisely these “my mother” appearing in the book. For a number of reasons, I am inclined to agree with Leong that “my mother” refers to Ann’s mother, and thus not to her herself, as it would be if we consider Katherine’s viewpoint.

⁸ According to Goldstein, “How to Eat a Book”, 157, the 43 percent of the recipes are attributed. No detailed study exists on this aspect.

⁹ Cfr. Potter, “The Household Recipe Book of Ann”.

¹⁰ ODNB, s.v. “Ann Fanshawe [née Harrison]”.

¹¹ ODNB, s.v. “Fanshawe, Sir Richard”. For Fanshawe’s translation of Camões see Tiago Sousa Garcia, “How The Lusíad Got English’d: Manuel Faria y Sousa, Richard Fanshawe and the First English Translation of *Os Lusíadas*,” in *Literature Compass* 14, no. 4 (2017), currently available online only <https://bit.ly/2EeHTIK>, pp. n/g.

¹² John Loftis, ed. *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) is the most recent edition of the text, which I use in this chapter. The first edition is that of 1829, cited at the end of footnote 4. ODNB, s.v. “Fanshawe, Sir Richard,” “his wife’s memoirs [are] the chief source for his biography”.

‘Braganza match’. Equally, she reports that a certain Sir Benjamin Wright worked as her Spanish “interpreter” at court; and that “Mr. Fanshawe”, that is Lionel, Richard’s cousin, was appointed as the latter’s personal secretary in Spain in 1664.¹³

On the very opening page of their recent, edited collection of essays about pre-modern English recipe books, DiMeo and Pennell asserted that MS 7113 “reflects [Ann’s] time spent on diplomatic mission with Sir Richard in Lisbon and Madrid”.¹⁴ The famous depiction of the specific pot and whisk for chocolate, next to the related recipe dated in Madrid, must have come to these scholars’ mind while writing their introduction.¹⁵ Refining these words, I argue that MS 7113 testifies Ann’s and Richard’s degree of involvement in the collection of recipes for gastronomic and perfuming preparations experienced in Iberia, and the probably long-term reverberation which the family’s sojourn had on Katherine too – hence the very title this chapter. Both Richard and Katherine, in fact, penned some of the recipes at the centre of this chapter. Notably, not Ann but Sir Benjamin Wright, beyond any reasonable doubt in his quality of interpreter, wrote a substantial number of recipes as well. They were all given in English. The directions to make the cake called *Pão de Ló*, nonetheless, come supplied with the Portuguese text, revealing thus its origin in non-ambiguous terms as well as a particular sensitivity to recipes as words in translation. All the other preparations, ultimately, indicate a clear association to Spain. They furnish directions to prepare a number of drinks (only one alcoholic), meat-based dishes, among which *olla podrida* but also *manjar-blanco*, as well as sweet preparations, like creams, biscuits and eggs. They also teach ways to create perfumes for the house and gloves: these recipes seem to be the consequence of a direct, and possibly new, learning experience.

So, this chapter, by comprehensively analysing these recipes strongly enriches our understanding, so far minimal, of early modern food and recipe culture in Anglo-Iberian perspective as testified by MS 7113. In fact, apart from the mere, yet ubiquitous acknowledgement of the existence of Iberian recipes – epitomised by the countless mentions of the eye-catching, self-resolving recipe of chocolate – no analysis thereof has ever been conducted. This is true to the point that, by relying on secondary published materials, the reader cannot even vaguely grasp the very content and extent thereof. Indeed, this chapter substantiates the claim made and, in turn, agreed upon, that MS 7113 and Lady Ann’s *memoirs* “might be seen as ‘companion books’” by finally reading these

¹³ As for Lionel, cfr. Bell, *A Handlist*, 262.

¹⁴ DiMeo and Pennell ed., *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, 1. See also Goldstein, “How to Eat a Book”, 245, note 70, “numerous recipes from the family’s travels in Iberia give the book a cosmopolitan sensibility”.

¹⁵ MS 7113, 332-33. The page has been recently re-shown in Amy L. Tigner, and Allison Carruth ed., *Literature and Food Studies* (Routledge 2018), 332, figure 4.1. From outside the academic panorama see Lucy Moore, *Lady Fanshawe’s Receipt Book: The Life and Times of a Civil War Heroine* (Atlantic books, 2017); this novelised account is based on some recipes visible in MS 7113 but there is no mention of Iberian recipes.

sources in dialogue, taking in Ann Fanshawe’s culinary and other relevant experiences in Iberia, especially connected to her role (of wife of an ambassador) at court.¹⁶

* * *

Table 7.1 summarises all the key information regarding the recipes at the centre of this chapter, listed in order of appearance. The first column indicates through the initials “AF” when the abbreviation “A. ffans” is visible next to the recipes; it also provides, in square brackets, their original pagination. The second column reproduces the title of the recipes; when it is struck through, it means that the entire recipe appears crossed out. The second column also details donors and dating when given. The third column informs about the hands which penned the recipes: by palaeographical comparison it is possible to identify that of Joseph Averie, the scribe of the volume, of Sir Benjamin Wright as well as that of Richard and Katherine Fanshawe.¹⁷ Table 7.1, in light yellow, highlights the fact that recipes 2-7 reappear, identical, a second time within the volume, hence “Bis”. Finally, it presents a few recipes given with question marks which I will address in my conclusions only.

| | RECIPES | HAND |
|----------------|--|------------|
| AF. [74] | 1. To make the famous oyle called the Queens oyle. Madrid 8 th Dec. 1664; | B. Wright. |
| AF. [192-3] | 2. Francisco Morenos way of perfuming of skinns; The 18 th day of June in Madrid. 1656 ¹⁸ 3. + “Viz”; | J. Averie |
| AF. [195-6] | 4. To make the best Pastiles to burn in the world, taught me by a servant of Francisco Morenas, who was his nephew & came & made them in my house before me, this present 17 th of Nov ^e . 1664 in the house at the siete Chimeneas at Madrid; | B. Wright. |
| AF. [197] | 5. To make spanish Hypocrist which exceeds all other. Madrid 8 th Dec. 1664; | B. Wright. |

¹⁶ Potter, “The Household Recipe Book of Ann”, 19; Goldstein, “How to Eat a Book”, 164. For Lady Ann role at court see: Laura Oliván Santaliestra, “Lady Anne Fanshawe, Ambassadress of England at the Court of Madrid (1664-1666),” in *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics Since 1500*, ed. Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James (Routledge, 2012), 68-85. See also Florian Kühnel, “‘Minister-like Cleverness, Understanding and Influence on Affairs’: Ambassadors in Everyday Business and Courtly Ceremonies at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century,” in *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410-1800*, ed. Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings (Routledge, 2017), 130-146.

¹⁷ BL Add MS 78255 is Sir Richard Fanshawe’s minute-book. BL Add MS 37047, f.148, is a letter by Sir Benjamin Wright. As for Katherine, the point of comparison is f. 2r. – see footnote 4. Goldstein, “How to Eat a Book”, 157, “... Several others [recipes], many in Katherine’s hand...”.

¹⁸ Dating given at the end of the recipe 2 seemly informing recipe 3 as well. The date is problematic as the “18th day of June in Madrid 1656” the Fanshawes were, without doubt, in England, with Ann heavily pregnant. Cfr., Lofits, *The Memoirs*, 95-99 “A Chronology of Sir Richard Fanshawe and Ann, Lady Fanshawe”.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|--|------------------|
| AF. 6 [201] | 6. To perfume 12 pairs of ordinary seised gloves either for men or women with the same Compound of Aber that Francisco Morena in his life did & his servant now doth. Madrid the 3 rd of Oct ^e 1665; | B. Wright. |
| AF. [202] | 7. To make a Compound for a Pomo by Francisco Morena. Madrid Oct ^e 4 th 1665; | B. Wright. |
| | BIS: 2-3 ¹⁹ ; 4, 7, 6 + ? To make Paste Beades; A fine powder for linen; ? To perfume Damaske Roses; To dress Hunsia; | Hand X |
| AF. [278] | 8. To make Spanish cream; (Lady Butler) | J. Averie |
| AF. [299] | 9. To make lemmon Nautho [sic] the best way; Madrid ²⁰ | J. Averie |
| AF. [305-6] | 10. To make a Spanish Biske; | R. Fanshawe |
| AF. [326] | 11. A receipt how to make <i>Pão di' lò</i> ; <i>Receita de come se fas o Pão de Ló</i> ; | Hand A Hand B |
| AF. [328] | 12. To <i>Adobado</i> Porke; | B. Wright |
| AF. [331] | 13. Madrid the 10 th of August 1665* ²¹ To make Lemonado;* | B. Wright |
| AF. [331] | 14. To make Synamon water;* | B. Wright |
| AF. [332] | 15. To make almon Milke called <i>Garapiña de Leche de Amendas</i> ;* | B. Wright |
| AF. [332-3] | 16. To dresse Chocolate ;* | B. Wright |
| AF. [333-4] | 17. To make en Olla podrida ;* | B. Wright |
| AF. [338] [339] [340] | 18. To Dry Porke like Spanish Bacon; ? To make Icy cream; ? To dress salmon, carps,?,trouts, pikes...; | Hand C |
| [341] | 19. To make jelly & <i>manjar blanco</i> together; | Hand C |
| [401] | 20. To make Spanish eggs; (La: Turnor) | K. Fanshawe |
| [407] | 21. To make the Spanish biskets. (La: Turnor) | K. Fanshawe |

Table 7.1. Iberian recipes in Wellcome Library, MS 7113.

Recipe 1, that of the “famous oil” supposedly belonging to a queen originally, is an olive-oil based compound for the care of the hair or, to say it better, to make it grow. It is made with white wine and honey, to be placed in a bottle of glass first, and later left fifteen days “in the hottest sun”. After such period, which one would imagine in summer, and indeed the recipe concludes with “best made in the months of June, July, August”, the liquid has to be heated up over a fire, mixed with Storax and Benjamin, and kept it into a vessel away from the air. Given its oily consistency, the advice to place a headgear “immediately on your head” seems redundant. The recipe, is clearly in line with Spanish preparations of this kind: manuscript recipe books show the indisputable attention of Spaniards for their hair and beards. Within the entire MS 7113 this recipe constitutes the only one concerned with hair though.

Benjamin and Storax come back in perfumes. The perfumes which the manuscript discloses are completely aligned to those discussed in the previous chapter, in terms of ingredients and procedures which, in turn, are long and, at times, repetitive.

¹⁹ The dating is here “18th day of June in Madrid 1650”. Probably, this is just Hand X mistaking Averie’s number six for a zero. Coincidence or not, in June 1650 the Fanshawes were in Madrid.

²⁰ This is the only case in the entire MS 7113 in which the name of a location, here Madrid, is given on the left of the recipe, in the space usually reserved for the name of the donor/approver.

²¹ Recipes 13-17 show the dating “Madrid the 10th of August 1665” next to each of them.

Ambergris, civet and musk are the key constituents, in combinations with scented waters, especially orange- and rosewater. Distillation (and its tools) is the only technique not explicitly mentioned: however, some few references to essences of Jasmin may refer precisely to it. If the attention for the detail is, that as well, in line with Spanish recipes, what is truly outstanding here is the strength of the distinctive description that informs these texts.

Recipe 2, twenty-four-lines long, starts by indicating a preliminary wash in rosewater of “skinns of Cordovan [from Cordoba?] or ride of Spannish dressing without salt, and as spungie as you can get”: so here it is not simply generic leather which is envisaged to be perfumed but a precise local quality. Evidently, this type of leather was porous enough to absorb the scented paste with which, in turn, “gloves, or pockets or what you please” have to be rubbed. Both Cordovan cologne and leather are still made nowadays. The recipe, moreover, ends up by explaining that, whatever the perfumed item is, it needs to be placed outdoors, in the shade for one day and “the next day sett in the strong sunne, and as they dry turne them, lyining upon Paper and some woollen cloth”. To note that recipe 3, a mere two-line long variation of recipe 2 which gives only the list of the ingredients, speaks of “algalla”, clearly the Spanish “*algalia*”. So, in comparison with each other, while recipe 2 (correctly) translates this key word with “civet”, recipe 3 uses the (orthographically erroneous) Spanish term.

Recipe 7, “to make a compound for a pomo” employs a Spanish key word again, preferring “*pomo*” to its English equivalent “pomander”. The recipe, in essence, instructs to ground into a mortar some Benjamin, ambergris, civet and some lemon pill, amalgamating these powders with rosewater added “by little and little”. Remarkably, and in certainly uncommonly illustrative ways, the last half of the recipe reads as:

when you use it sett it upon the bottom of a perfuming pann or chaffing dish of Fire, for half an houre then sett it by in a safe place till next time you have occasion for it, the powders must never be dry, but as the water consumes fill it up againe. This sent will never decay till the powders be consumed which will be some years first.

Like recipe 7, recipe 6 also stands out for its visual clarity. In fact, it starts by making it exceptionally clear that, whoever attempts to recreate this perfume for twelve, no more no less, pairs of “ordinary gloves either for men or women” has to initially

Heat in a Morter scolding hott Rose or Amber water, and likewise putt one end of the Pestel into the Fire to be hott also, pour the water which must be about a pint into a new Earthen pott putt into the mortar an

ounce of the best Amber-Greece grind it very well
till it is melted.

To be clear: verbs like “To melt” (and its derivative verbal forms), which are very effective, hardly ever enriches recipes. Equally, the specification to heat up one end of the pestle is unique to my experience of reading early modern recipes. The recipe, moreover indicates that some gum of dragon has to be “steeped up the night before in Rose water, as will make it as thick as the yolke of a new layd egge”. In other words, this last remark, not only explains the reason for the nightly soaking, but also furnishes an immediate indication of the consistency of the compound through the effective comparison of the thickness of a fresh egg – the latter being among the most common products in kitchens. Finally, once the compound is ready, the recipe very clearly explains to “put the fingers of the gloves upon a glove stick and anointe them first with the fingers then the glove, laying them smooth one upon another”, leaving them to dry outdoor, in the sun, for half an hour. As nowhere else, this recipe concludes specifying that they are then to be placed not simply on a piece of leather, but on a piece of leather only and specifically employed when perfuming gloves, “because any other thing takes away the sent.” “All Perfumes are best made in July” is the comment which closes the recipe.

Indeed, the truly exceptional account, given in recipe 4, of how to make some perfumed tablets, “*pastilles*” in Spanish, defined nothing less than the best tablet “to burn in the world” since the title, leaves the reader with an almost sensorial, tactile experience of the process of recreating these perfumes for the house. The recipe is long: first, it explains to beat and ground in fine powder some Benjamin and Storax and to “continually stir” them, together with some rosewater and three pints of wine, upon a fire, until the compound “become[s] a very thin paste”; then to move it onto a hot mortar, in order to amalgamate it with some further rosewater. Then again, to place everything on the fire, adding ambergris and civet, with “forty drops of the essence of Jasmin or orange”, ultimately creating the paste of which the tablets are made. At this point, thus at the second half of the recipe, we read “mingle the past and the amber very well together with your fingers, till all be very well incorporated” and, after a couple of lines, the recipe specifies to “make them up between your fingers and your thumb”. The recipe concludes with instruction for storage: “you must keep them in a box close, every one lade up in a paper by themselves” as well as ignition: “when you burn them you must lay them upon very Soft Embers”.

As table 7.1 details, a certain Francisco Moreno is said to be the donor of most of these recipes for perfumes. “Donor”, though, represents quite an inappropriate term here: the strongest impression is that this Spanish man, who at the time of the writing of the recipes was probably dead – “Compound of Amber that Francisco Morena in his life did

& his servant now doth” is the title of recipe 7 – was an artisan, a renowned perfume-maker making his living through these recipes, thus not a “donor” in the most conventional sense of the term. It was, indeed, his nephew, who seemingly kept the workshop running and thus kept on reproducing his grandfather’s (?) recipes, passing them to the Fanshawes. But, again, “to pass” does not feel like the correct verb here, not always at least. As Sir Benjamin Wright wrote down on MS 7113 and Lady Ann apparently signed, Francisco’s nephew not just passed; rather “taught me” recipe 4 and “came & made them in my house before me, this present 17th of Nove. 1664. In the house at the siete Chimeneas at Madrid.”

The “house of the seven chimneys” is a beautiful, sixteenth-century Madrilène house, now protected as part of Spanish heritage. It is mentioned twice within Lady’s Ann *memoirs*: the first time to give the exact day on which the family entered it: Saturday, the 16th of August 1664.²² The second, to provide the date on which the family, without Sir Richard, left it: the 8th of July 1666.²³ The text unfortunately does not speak of Francisco Moreno, or of any perfume-maker; however, by reading together the title of recipe 4 as well as its text, we can well imagine a sunny, yet cold day of November, in which Francisco’s nephew taught how to recreate these *pastilles* to burn, heating up the mortar in one of the seven fires with which the house was so distinctively equipped. This would mean that, regardless of to whom the preparation was directly explained – Sir Benjamin, Ann or both together – recipe 4 was written in consequence of a practical learning experience, not as copied from another textual source. It is my strong impression that the same can be concluded for recipes 6 and 7 as well, possibly for recipes 2 and 3 too.

Lady Fanshawe’s passionate appreciation for Spanish perfumes is manifest in her *memoirs*. Some few months before entering her house, on the afternoon of 13th of March 1664, it was a Thursday, she received “a very rich present of perfumes, skins, gloves...” by “Don Antonio de Pimentel, the Governor of Cadiz...on the part of his Catholic Majesty”.²⁴ Indeed, explicitly writing about Spain she noted that “*their* perfumes of amber excel all the world in their kind, both for household stuff and fumes”.²⁵ The line is short but the impression is that Lady Ann is here comparing Spanish perfumes not simply with possible ones from her native England, rather with more “exotic” perfumes, like those produced (using her own words) in “the Indies”: in short, with perfumes from “all the world”. Having said that, it is MS 7113 itself which testifies the exceptional consideration for perfumes. As table 7.1 details, recipes 2-7, analysed above, were re-written, word-by-word. It is worth making it clear now that they

²² Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs*, 166.

²³ *Ibid.*, 186-187

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 174.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 172, my italics.

were penned for a second time within a section properly entitled “PERFEUMES” (this title ca. 2 cm high). The section has no equivalent in the rest of MS 7113: given in a nice, very neat professional hand which arranges the recipes very harmoniously on the page, it is separated in proper material terms, consisting of a few leaves conceived as a little independent booklet with equally independent numeration, stitched into the manuscript.²⁶

Just after the above quoted line on “their perfumes”, Lady Ann remarks that “there is no such water made as in Seville”.²⁷ This reference is particularly intriguing. Diego Velázquez depicted *El Aguador de Sevilla*, “The Waterseller of Seville” around 1620. Produced in three versions, possibly all three from the artist, this painting, to be ascribed to the so-called *Bodegones*, thus real-life depictions with a particular focus on food and commensality, shows a young boy holding a large glass in which (what looks like) a fig is contained – image 7.1 reproduces the version now at the *Uffizi* in Florence. According to some commentaries of the painting this was the way the water contained in the large vessel was meant to be drunk; thus, after it had entered in direct contact with the fig, absorbing the latter’s distinctive taste.²⁸ This last reading is certainly fascinating and plausible, although we lack supporting evidence.

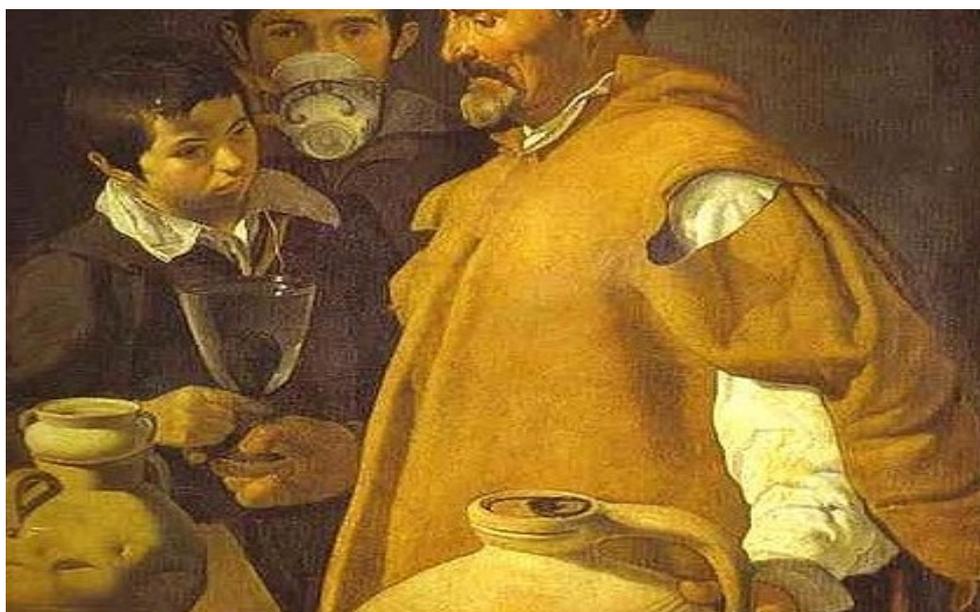


Figure 7.1 – Diego Velázquez, *El Aguador de Sevilla*, c.1620, Uffizzi, Florence.

Yet, coming back to Ann Fanshawe’s *memoirs*, the question is: was the waterseller of Seville selling the possibly homonymous “water of Seville” mentioned by Lady Ann, or

²⁶ The booklet is sewn into MS 7113 at page 201.

²⁷ Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs*, XXX.

²⁸ Manuela B., Mena Marqués, “‘El Aguador’ de Velazquez o una Meditación sobre la Cultura Clásica: ‘Diogenes y los Hijos De Xeníades,’” in *Archivo Español De Arte*, 72, no. 288 (1999), 391-413, esp. note 36, page 401.

not? The water, not mentioned in literature, nor in any recipe book, is simply impossible to identify with precision. Crucially, without recipes and, at the same time, just after the reference to perfumes of ambergris, one could be reasonably inclined to make sense of this water as one of the many cosmetic/beatifying waters proper of the Iberian cosmetic/beatifying panorama, thus nor for ingestion.

Probably, Lady Ann's water of Seville, of which she does not speak anywhere else in the *memoirs*, nor does MS 7113 contain the related directions, was a particularly scented water to drink, hence Lady Ann's consequential association with perfumes. Within the Iberian recipes which MS 7113 discloses, a number of recipes concerning drinks exist: their scent must have been quite distinctive. In recipe 15, "To make Alman Milke called Garapiña de Leche de Amendas", the juice (*Garapiña*) of almond milk ("*leche de almendras*" in Spanish), realised with "fountaine water", whole cinnamon and some blanched almonds beaten and later amalgamated with "orange-flower water" as well as to the "best white sugar", is not ready for consumption until passed through a canvas strainer and left to settle for four hours. Some ambergris could have also been added to the drink which, in any case, if kept in a "great glasse bottle and in a coole sellar" would have lasted "good 2 days, and 2 nights but not longer".

Precisely the same concluding remark, enlarged by the observation that "this drink is only for the summer time", closes up recipe 13 - "to make lemonado". This lemon water shares, with the previous recipe, the same process: here, to be passed through the canvas strainer, and later enriched by some ambergris, is a compound constituted by the juice of "3 large lemons", "the best fountain water", "the best white wine" and "the best white sugar" which has to be first placed in an "earthen pitcher, setting it in a coole place for 2 hours, during which you must stir it very well, with a wooden Ladle, or spatula, 3 or 4 times". Lady Ann noted within her *memoirs* that "the King and the Queen eat together twice a week in public with their children...drinking water either cold with snow, or lemonade, or such thing".²⁹

Recipe 9, quite enigmatically entitled "To make lemmon Nautho the best way", if looked at carefully, is simply another recipe to make a sort of lemonade – I thus make sense of "Nautho" as the English attempt to reproduce the final part of the word "*lemonado*". Here Rhenish wine, water, "bittern water" – I think this last is citrus fruit water as often the writer uses the two interchangeably – "the juice of two lemmons with little skinn slices of the rhine, as much leafe sugar as it will make it sweet, & 2 spoonfulls of Orange Flower water" have to be stirred together, placing "a little spring of rosemary" also, and left to stand for an hour. No other indications are furnished. Yet, it is particularly interesting that the word "Rosemary" is crossed out; also deleted by a line is the entire title, up to "Nautho" in effect. Moreover, it is possible that the recipe, in its

²⁹ Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs*, 174.

entirety, was understood as faulty but this is not an easy conclusion to make: the other visible crossing stroke is not at all as marked as others which characterised MS 7113.

While the drinks so far discussed are to be prepared and served cold, “to make Synamon water”, recipe 14, deeply differs in terms of procedure at least. In fact, “two ounces of Sinamon bruised” are here added to some water “just ready for the boyle” and consequently, it would seem, be transferred into a jug. At this point the recipe says: “stop the jugg very close, & let it boyle till 3 pints be consumed”, suggesting the placement of the jug directly on a fire, in order to let the process of evaporation happen. The recipe goes on, indicating to take the jug off the fire, and to add some white sugar as well as a lozenge of Ambergris to the cinnamon water, defined as the “Liquor”- but not before the latter has been “strain’d, & your sugar consumed in it”. How the drink is meant to be consumed is not specified but, given that this is ultimately a water, my sense is that it was understood to be drunk cold – however, it cannot be excluded that this cinnamon water was meant to be consumed as a sort of hot infusion.

Speaking about the Spanish drinks that the manuscript offers, “to dress chocolate”, here recipe 16, constitutes the most mentioned recipe of the entire manuscript, also, as said in the introduction of this chapter, because the drawing of the chocolate pot and the *molinillo*, the tool with which to whisk the compound, appears next to it, sawn-in on a little piece of paper moreover.³⁰ This recipe have been circled over so heavily that it would be absolutely unreadable, if it had not been for David Potter’s talent who, with some obvious limitations, fully transcribed it.³¹ The only, still legible conclusive words “the Best Chocolatte but that of the Indies is made in Siville in Spaine” patently indicate the Spanish, Atlantic colonial dimension of this recipe. The recipe is strikingly simple: a pound of chocolate in paste (given that the recipe says to cut it into pieces), half a pound of sugar, some water, all to be boiled for a quarter of an hour, “setting the pot all the while upon hot Embers, or hot Ashes”, and finally serving it in little China cups, “as hot as it is possible”. In chapter 4 it has been pointed out that chocolate does not feature in Spanish recipe books. However, the way to prepare this sweet, simple watery chocolate (whit its implicit use of the *molinillo* also) is certainly aligned to Colmenero de Ledesma’s way as well as Stubbe’s “plain Spanish way”. What can be tentatively suggested, through reading Ann Fanshawe’s *memoirs*, is that this very recipe was written also in consideration that, on the 13th of March, 1664, in Cadiz, “the English Consul with all the merchants” brought to the Fanshawes nothing less than “a hundred weight of chocaletta”.³² A few days later, the 30th of March in Malaga, this time by “the English merchants, and their Consul of Seville”, some other “great quantity of chocaletta and as much as sugar” was offered, together with “a large silver pot to make it

³⁰ See note 15.

³¹ Potter, “The Household Receipt Book of Ann,” 24.

³² Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs*, 157.

in, and 12 very fine cups to drink it out...with two very large salvers to set them upon, of silver”.³³

Recipe 5 offers instructions for the first Spanish drink: the “spanish Hypocrist which exceeds all other”. “Hippocras” was a common digestive drink, used since the Medieval period and made with wine, usually red but often also white, boiled with sugar and spices (cinnamon above all), passed through a specifically designed long filter (allegedly invented by Hippocrates from which the drink takes the name).³⁴ Recipe 5 describes a milk punch which technique of production is, ultimately, not too dissimilar from that of Hippocras, with the striking difference of the inclusion of milk. The recipe starts by requesting the “whitest and strongest” wine to which sugar and cinnamon have to be added together with “2 oranges and 2 lemons cut in bits”. This liquid mix has to be later passed into a “cotton bag a yard long”, which here works as a filter. At this point, the recipe instructs users to add some milk, and to pass all through the filter again, having care to keep the wine in sealed bottles. The line “you may perfume the sugar with AmberGreese” closes the recipe. To my knowledge, there is no similar recipe in Spanish manuscripts: by which I mean that there is no recipe of this kind which specifically asks for milk. Very interestingly though, Hannah Woolley’s recipe “To make Hypochrist of Deal wine”, in print since 1664, represents the most similar recipe not simply being entitled as such but also speaking of Sack, spices, sugar and, crucially, milk. No oranges or lemons are listed though.³⁵

MS 7113 also provides recipes for meat dishes. Immediately after that of chocolate we find the recipe for *Olla podrida*, recipe 17. The recipe makes it clear that the dish, ultimately consisting of a stew prepared over several hours, starts by placing some beef and bacon fat (“Spanish Gammon of Bacon”) in boiling water, to which some meat of veal, partridges, pigeons, and other small birds have to be later added – “the Segovia veal much larger and fatter *than ours*: mutton most excellent, capons much better *than ours*. *They* have a small bird that lives and fattens on grapes” wrote Lady Ann.³⁶ “French beans”, peas, green grapes, parsley leaves, salt, pepper and cloves are indicated, moreover, in order to season the dish, and different herbs are employed to dress it up just before the serving. We must accept this recipe as one of the many variations of *Olla*; nonetheless acknowledging that it was certainly more in line with the Spanish printed *Ollas* discussed in chapter 4 than with Markham’s or May’s extraordinary ones, significantly lacking any reference to potatoes. Of this recipe it is also the concluding observation which is worth stressing: in fact, it is said that should the recipe be attempted “at a time of yeare when all these things are not to be had” it could

³³ Ivi.

³⁴ See Christienne Muusers, “Hippocras, a Medieval Digestive,” in “Coquinaria,” blog entry available at: <https://coquinaria.nl/en/hippocras-mp/>.

³⁵ Woolley, *The Cook's Guide*, 55-6.

³⁶ Loftis, ed., *The memoirs*, 171, my italics.

work even without some of them or just by replacing “with others of the like Nature”; it is also claimed that “the souse usually in Spaine eaten with this meat” is based on a quantity of parsley, vinegar and garlic mingled together. In other words, the decision to include the recipe in the collection demonstrates not only interest in recreating the dish, but also awareness of the level of flexibility of the dish itself. The recipe is crossed out, as table 7.1 indicates.

Recipe 10, “To make a Spanish biske” is, like recipe 17, crossed out; with particular emphasis moreover, as each line was “lined out”, via an horizontal line. This recipe was certainly written by Sir Richard Fanshawe. Truly “of the like Nature” of *Olla Podrida*, this preparation is made with even more ingredients than those asked for in recipe 17, and suggested in even greater quantities. In fact, here chickens, capons, rabbits, nutmeg, Sack, white wine, endive, marrows, lemon, oranges, eggs, cauliflowers, and chestnuts are required as well as lemons and capers to garnish the dish (and a few other products, which I cannot read). As table 7.1 shows, recipe 10, although explicitly described as Spanish, does not indicate that it was acquired in Spain. Moreover, “Spanish biske” itself sounds somehow inappropriate as *bisque* was usually described as the French equivalent of Spanish *Olla*, and the term is French indeed. However, it is worth stressing that this 30-line long recipe was written in the hand of Sir Richard and in this sense, the connection with Spain seems established more firmly.

Lady Ann’s enthusiasm for Spanish gastronomy was at its highest when she remembered, for the benefit of her son Richard, the “bacon beyond belief good” which she enjoyed in Spain.³⁷ Recipe 18, “To dry Porke like Spanish bacon” probably represents the recipe for such product. Written in an unknown hand and seemingly signed by Lady Ann herself, this is an extremely interesting recipe. Here, the gammon of bacon (the same mentioned within the *olla podrida*) is rubbed with salt and later placed, for the period of ten days, in the vicinity of burning woods, in order to absorb the fumes thereof first and, very gently, dry out. The recipe is totally plausible and the final product, which is suggested to be kept in a dry room, must have resembled those Spanish *jamónes* so often consumed by wealthy Spaniards in the early-modern period. To be sure, the preservation of raw, uncooked pork via salting and smoking as a technique that has ancient roots, and the first mention of its diffusion throughout the Iberian Peninsula dates to the first century B.C.³⁸ In early-modern England, such a product – indeed all dry aged cured products in general – to the best of my knowledge were unknown.³⁹ Gammon of

³⁷ Loftis, ed. *The Memoirs*, 172.

³⁸ José Bello Gutiérrez, *Jamón Curado: Aspectos Científicos y Tecnológicos* (Ediciones Diaz de Santos, 2008), 322.

³⁹ No food historian of the late medieval and early modern period speaks of charcuterie. It is important to note that such a type of industry, until very recent years, did not exist in England. Techniques sometimes get lost, but this is nonetheless a supportive point that cured bacon was not known in England, above all for the lack of the right climate. I come from San Daniele del Friuli,

bacon, which is salted bacon cooked or boiled before ingestion, most certainly was known in England.⁴⁰ Indeed, no Spanish recipe book, either in print or manuscript, offers instructions for its manufacture; perhaps precisely due to the very ancient, thus well-established tradition of this practice but also very likely because of the nature of its own preparation, which does not require proper cooking at any stage.

“To Adobado pork”, recipe 12, represents another beautiful recipe, to which, ultimately, the considerations just made can also be applied. The recipe is, in fact, most basic and does not require any cooking. It simply describes how to dress a piece of pork before its roasting. So, with the meat placed in a pot, some “sage very small...and two cloves of garlik” have to be used to rub the “joynt you please” first; then some claret wine, a pint of vinegar and a pint of water must be added, leaving the meat inside the same pot for “2 days and nights”. After being roasted, the recipe indicates that the pork can be “eat hot or cold, as you please, with mustard or else with oyle and vinegar, that is the meat proper sauce”. The recipe is not simply remarkable because it details one of those preliminary dressings that usually do not appear in recipe books. It is also particularly striking because of its very title. In fact, by being formed by the English preposition “to” (in its infinitive function) followed by the past participle of the Spanish “*Adobar*”, “to dress”, it reveals, I would argue, an English mind who evidently chose to retain the Spanish word valuing it as the best to describe the recipe itself.

Employing meat again, but also asking for sugar, is recipe 19, “To make jelly & *manjar blanco* together”. Here, everything starts with a concentrate of veal and hen (reduced in water first and white wine later), to which some sugar, cinnamon water, salt, a “leaman with the peel cut off and the seeds taken out”, whites of eggs “beaten with the Shells & all” are later added, in order to ultimately produce the jelly mentioned already in the title. At this point only, the said jelly must be amalgamated upon the fire with the *manjar blanco*, which the recipe describes as a fine mixture of capon, roasted or boiled, and blanched almonds “beat very fine” with some orange flower water. Like many other recipes given in MS 7113, this one also offers noteworthy conclusive remarks: once the recipe is ready, in fact, the indication is to “straine it into the dish you intend to serve in it, it is best within six hours after it is could, if the remaining jelly has not shrink enough, you may Squeeze another leaman and straine it over againe”.⁴¹ In other words, here the juiciness of the lemon plays an important role as an astringent agent. In comparison with the “white dishes” given in Iberian printed recipe books this recipe is certainly similar, especially in its key juxtaposition of meat and sugar. The recipe is not dated in Madrid

which is, after Parma, the second distributor of cured ham in Italy and abroad, so I am familiar with this sort of products and their production.

⁴⁰Markham, *The English Husvife*, speaks several times of “Gammon of Bacon.”: the recipe “A Gammon of Bacon pie”, 99, starts with “Take a Gammon of Bacon and onely wash it cleane, and then boyle it on a soft gentle fire, till it be boyled as tender as is possible ...”.

⁴¹ It is not clear if the recipe is concluded or not.

nor can I recognise the hand that wrote it into MS 7113. It is not singled out as connected in any way to Lady Fanshawe either. However, this preparation, if not this very recipe, was certainly appreciated by Lady Ann Fanshawe while in Spain. In fact, “especially manger-blanc” is particularly remembered by Lady Ann in her own *memoirs*, among the many gastronomically exquisite tastes recounted there.⁴²

The Iberian sweet preparations traceable in MS 7113 are three, namely: “to make Spanish cream”, “To make Spanish eggs”, “To make the Spanish biscuits”. Lady Ann admitted to his son Richard that “The cream, called *nata*, is much sweeter and thicker *than* any I ever saw in England; *their* eggs much exceed ours...besides, that I have eaten many sorts of biscuits, and cakes...and *their* corn white as miracle, and *their* wheat makes the sweetest and best bread in the world”.⁴³ In recipe 8 the mixture resulting from “2 gallons of new Milke and a quart of sweet Creame” is to be warmed up becoming “scalding hot” first; placed in “3 milke pannes” for a time of six hours subsequently; and finally be “skinned of the top” and “beat it with some sugar, until the knots be broken”. In line with her *memoirs*, but also in comparison to those printed recipes to make Spanish cream appearing in English texts since 1655, and analysed in chapter four, the focus is precisely on the very technique at the base of the process of making cream. That said, the recipes, overall, differ. Recipe 8, to be sure, was apparently passed by an (unidentifiable) Lady Butler to Lady Ann, who penned her mark “A.Fans” next to it.

Recipe 20 and 21 do not present such mark; nor Iberian dating or location; neither present any Spanish key words in their texts. Significantly, they were both written by Katherine and, equally significant, acknowledged to be passed by a certainly Lady Turnor, who at other times appears as Isabel Turnor within MS 7113. We do not know much of Isabel Turnor but that she was from the Scottish nobility and that her husband “accompanied Sir Richard Fanshawe... on various embassies to Spain and Portugal”.⁴⁴ She died in 1690, so these recipes were written by Katherine possibly between 1678, year in which she received the recipe book from her mother, and 1690.

Recipe 20, “To make Spanish eggs” asks that six well-whisked yolks of eggs be mingled together with some sugar in order to bring the compound, by boiling, “to a high Candy almost to a sugar again” for an imprecise, but long, amount of time, given that the recipe reads as “stir it as much as you can”. The final product, a sort of sweet omelette, is not to be consumed as such, rather to be utilised as a base: first, when still warm, as a layer for other dishes; then, when cold, to top “jealys [jellies] & could salets after hot

⁴² Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs*, 172.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, my italics.

⁴⁴ Most certainly the daughter of the nobleman William Keith, Sixth Earl Marischal (c.1614–1670), and wife of Sir Edward Turnor (1642x7-1721). D. W. Hayton, “TURNOR, Sir Edward (c.1646-1721), of Great Hallingbury, Essex”, in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002.

meat & before the Posnut”. Very specific instructions thus, which have almost nothing in comparison with the eggs given several times in printed sources.

Recipe 21, “To make the Spanish biscuits” requires instead for four well-beaten white of eggs to be mixed with likewise well-beaten four yolks: “and beat it very well a good while with a spoon” it is said. The next step is the addition of half a pound of fine sugar so that eggs and sugar have to be “beaten and beaten and beat [them] together almost an hour”. After such *furore*, together with half a pound of fine flour, the compound has to be beaten (what else?) for another quarter of an hour, in order to be perfectly amalgamated. At this point it has to be laid down, sprinkled with more sugar and moulded into little long biscuits. Interestingly, especially for scholars particularly attentive to the material culture of the kitchen, the biscuits are to be placed “in a baking fann if you have one, if not, in a gentle oven”. In short, strong heat is to be avoided, to maintain the lightness of the biscuits.

It is now time to move towards the analysis of the last recipe left, which is the only obviously Portuguese one within the entire manuscript: that of *Pão de Ló*. Before engaging with the recipe, let me quote the only passage among Lady Ann’s long narrative concerning food in Portugal. It says that:

their fruits of all kinds are extraordinary good and fair; *their* wine rough for the most part, but very wholesome; *their* corn dark and gritty; water bad, except some few springs far from the city. *Their* flesh of all kinds indifferent.⁴⁵

I shall come back to these lines in my conclusions. For the discussion here, it is clear that Lady Ann’s fails to remember *Pão de Ló* in her narrative, or any other cake or similar preparation, although she evidently approved it in MS 7113 through “A. ffans” – please see image here below 7.2. In this extraordinary page, “A Receipt how to make *Pão de lo*” is first given in English; then immediately after, the Portuguese version, entitled “*Receita de como se fas o Pão de Ló*” is supplied. Written by two different, unknown hands, which I have arbitrarily called Hand A and B within table 7.1, it has to be noted that while Hand A represents an unidentifiable, yet recurrent hand within MS 7113, Hand B, instead, which writes in Portuguese, never reappears within the recipe collection.

⁴⁵ Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs*, 150, my italics.

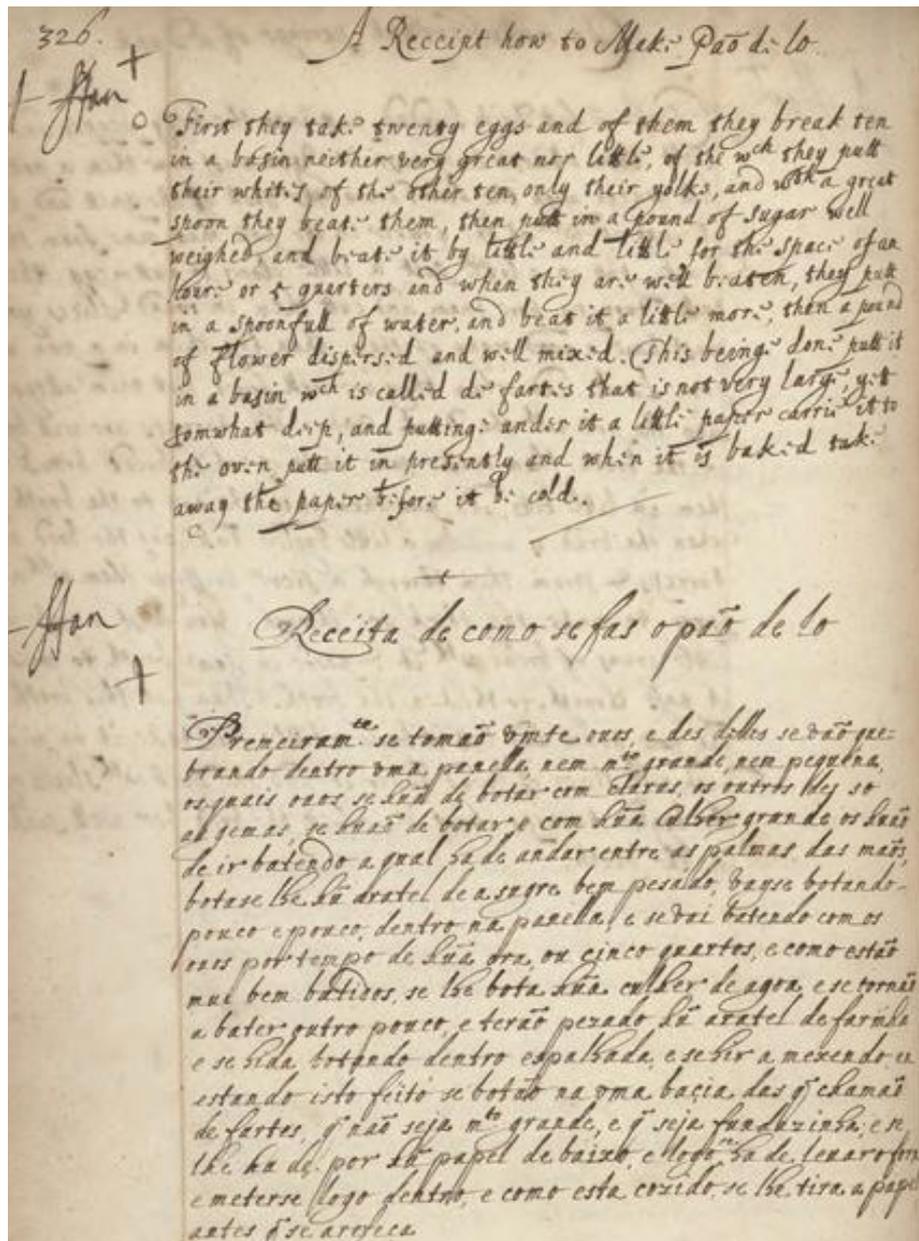


Image 7.2 – Wellcome Library MS 7113, page 326.

Literally meaning “bread of Ló”, it has been tentatively argued that “Ló” could stand for the name of an individual originally related to the recipe, or indeed an ancient area of Portugal.⁴⁶ According to the English version (transcribed in the next few pages), *Pão de Ló*, is obtained by first of all whisking with “a great spoon” ten whites of eggs and ten yolks; then a pound of sugar must be added, keeping on stirring “little and little” for either one hour or, even longer, for one hour and a quarter. At this point, some water but also one pound of fine flour as well, are incorporated by further stirring. Immediately

⁴⁶ Francisco da Silveira Bueno ed., *Grande Dicionário Etimológico-Prosódico da Língua Portuguesa: Vocábulos, Expressões da Língua Geral e Científica-Sinônimos* (São Paulo: Ed. Saraiva, 1968), s.v. “Pão de Ló”.

after, the compound is to be placed into a baking basin “that is not very large, yet somewhat deep” and covered with paper and, only at this stage, is put into the oven, for an imprecise amount of time. Before *Pão de Ló* got cold, once out of the oven, the paper had to be removed. Please note that recipe 21, that of the Spanish biscuits, is almost identical, differing only for the later addition of sugar and for having the compound cut into several little biscuits.

If the simplicity of the recipe to make *Pão de Ló* in terms of ingredients is manifest, I would like to spend some words to discuss the essential of the preparation, the technique at the base of the dish: the prolong stirring to be in part obtained by resorting to the “great spoon”. Leaving aside considerations of the physical vigour which the entire process requires, it has to be pointed out that the extended stirring was not only necessary to amalgamate the ingredients as much as possible, but also to incorporate some air and, crucially, by doing so, activate the eggs which, by the seventeenth century, had become the raising agent. Very significantly, in this sense, the recipe suggests a gentle stirring. The dimension of the spoon, which certainly allowed a continuous, but necessarily calm stirring, reinforces the point. This spoon evoked must have resembled one of those *cucharones para hazer vizcochos* not only discussed in Montañó’s 1611 *Arte de Cozina*, but also drawn, in one exemplar, at the very end of the same manual – the sole visual device of all the Iberian early-modern printed recipe books.⁴⁷ To be sure, the depicted spoon is purely what it is described to be: a long handle with a large, concave ending.

The recipe to make *Pão de Ló* given in MS 7113 has very little, if anything, to do with that described in MS I.E. 33 - the famous fifteenth-century Portuguese manuscript held at the State Library of Naples, which is the first collection to describe this “bread of lo”.⁴⁸ In fact, that recipe did not ask for eggs but only for sugar already in syrup (through boiling thus) in which well-grounded almonds (not even beaten to flour) are to be added, with the compound continually stirred over a fire, first hot then gentle; ultimately a sort of basic nougat. Equally, the *Pão de Ló de Amendoas* given in Rodriguez’s *Arte de Cozinha* first published in 1680, has the sole difference that the sugar has not to be in syrup, but was rather amalgamated more slowly with the crumbles of almonds, which seems to be a later development of the same much earlier version now held in Naples.⁴⁹ Significantly though, in a later edition of Rodriguez’s work the reader can find instructions to prepare *Pão de Ló fofo*, the translation of which is ‘fluffy *Pão de Ló*’: the preparation required sugar, flour and, precisely as it happens in MS 7133, eggs to be amalgamated thoroughly via long stirring, highlighted several times within the

⁴⁷ Montañó, *Arte de Cozina*, “Adevertencia, acerca de la medida que han de tener los cucharones para hazer vizcochos, que estan figurados al fin de la obra”.

⁴⁸ MS I.E. 33, 40r.

⁴⁹ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 141.

recipe.⁵⁰ So, *Pão de Ló*, as given in MS 7113 and in this last quoted Portuguese version, was a sort of fluffy and light sponge cake. Possibly, the beautiful 1676 still-life by Josefa de Óbidos represents, among other sweet treats, precisely this kind of delicacy – see my arrow in image 7.3.



Image 7.3 - Josefa de Óbidos, *Natureza Morta com Doces e Barros*, c. 1676, Biblioteca Municipal Braamcamp Freire de Santarém, Portugal.

Exceptionally, the case of this sponge cake reveals much about recipes in transmission and translation. As said, we do not know to whom belonged Hands A and B. Before engaging with the manuscript in depth, the straightforward thought would have gone to Sir Richard Fanshawe as for the Portuguese text. However, it can be confidently said that this hand is very unlikely his, unless his handwriting changes so dramatically from a quick, graceless, natural English cursive to a very artfully composed Portuguese cursive like the one here; a possibility which is, in any case, unverifiable. My feeling is that very likely Hand B was that of someone within Richard's entourage, perhaps someone like Lionel, his cousin.⁵¹

As for these two texts, the relationship between them is clear. The English version represents the translation of the Portuguese recipe displayed immediately after; even if the latter is visibly longer than the English one; even if the latter's position at the bottom of the page goes against common expectations of practices of textual translation.

⁵⁰ Rodriguez, *Arte de Cozinha*, 155. I cannot trace back all the editions of this cookbook, so I do not know when the recipe was added for the first time.

⁵¹ BL Stowe MS 745, vol. III, fol. 44, is a letter dated (4th March 1669), written and signed by Lionel Fanshawe which proves that Lionel is not our Hand D.

The following are my transcriptions of the texts. In bold, within the Portuguese text, I highlight the lines that have not been translated into English.

First *they take* twenty eggs and of them *they break* ten in a basin neither very great nor little, of the which *they putt* their whites, of the other ten, only their yolks, and with a great spoon *they beat* them, then [*they, you?*] *putt* in a pound of sugar well weighed and beate it by little and little, for the space of an hour or 5 quarters and when they are well beaten, *they putt* in a spoonful of water, and beat it a little more, than a pound of flower dispersed and well mixed. This being done, *putt* it in a basin which is called de fartes that is not very large, yet somewhat deep, and putting under it a little paper, *carrin* it to the oven, *putt* it in presently and when it is baked *take away* the paper before it be cold.⁵²

Premeiram.^{te} se tomaõ vinte ovos, e des dillis [sic.] se vão quebrando dentro uma panella, nem m.^{to} grande, nem muito pequena, os quais ovos se huã de botar com claras, os outros des se a? gemas, se huã de botar e com huã culher grande os huão de ir batendo **a qual ha de andar entre as palmas das mãos**, botase lhe hu arátel de a sugre bem pesaido, vayse botando pouco a pouco, **dentro na panella, e se vai batendo com os ovos** por tempo de huã hora, ou cinco quartos, e como estão mui bem batidos, se lhe bota huã culher de agua e se tomaõ a bater outro pouco, e terão pesado hu arátel de farinha e se hida tostando dentro espalhada e se hir a mexendo em estando isto feito se botaõ na uma bacia das q. chamaõ de fartes, q. não seja m.^{to} grande, e q. seja fundazinha; e se lhe há de por hu papel de baixo, e logo^{sc} ha de levar o forno e meterse logo dentro, e como esta cozido, se lhe tira a papel antes q. se arrefeça.⁵³

Overall, this is an effective translation with the meaning of the Portuguese text not altered in any substantial way. However, the English version fails to explicitly translate that the sugar has to be placed “inside a basin beating it with the eggs”, although it is implied. More substantially, it completely passes over in silence that the great spoon employed to stir the eggs “must go in between the palms of the hands”. This last clarification is not indispensable; however, it would have helped to visualise the process of stirring, reinforcing its slow and gentle nature, as it is impossible, on the contrary, to stir with two hands as quickly as with one. Even more significantly, the incongruity which the text suffers when defining the subject of the instructions is patent. While in the first half of the recipe the subject is a generic “they”, towards the end it has unquestionably changed in

⁵² MS 7113, 326, my italics.

⁵³ Please note that that Microsoft Word does not allow me to render all the “~” which appear superscripted in the text: some of them appear above the letters “u” and “q”.

favour of “you” - expressed indirectly via the imperative. In other words, it is only towards the end that the recipe gains the common structure of English recipes abandoning the descriptive tone – “they take...they break...they putt”- which, crucially here, is not even proper of the Portuguese text nor of Portuguese recipes as *genre*.

As for the Portuguese recipe “not all that glitters is gold”. The text, so elegantly penned, is informed by grammatical and syntactical mistakes which one would never expect by someone capable of such educated writing. The most striking and easy to comprehend is that one which occurs almost at the end of the recipe, when we read “*a papel*” instead of the correct “*o papel*”: in all Romance languages, noun and article must match (in gender and number), and this is indeed a very straightforward, “instinctive” match. This perhaps means that the recipe was copied from a textual source where the “o” was inattentively taken for “a”: for a non-native speaker this is an extremely easy-to-do mistake.⁵⁴

Several hypotheses could be made to explain this page. This is, according to me, the most plausible scenario: Hand A and hand B are both English individuals, with Hand B clearly able to engage with Portuguese. Hand B is translating *aloud* into English the “*Receita de como se fas o Pão de Ló*”, reading it from another textual source; Hand B is thus offering an oral translation which, in turn, Hand A writes down onto the manuscript – how faithfully is impossible to say. Probably because the English version of the recipe as such does not fully satisfy, the decision to add the Portuguese text is taken and materially realised by Hand B who, among the two, is the one capable of engaging with Portuguese. This explains why out of a number of Iberian recipes, only this one has the original text, and indeed, below, written by another hand; and why only this recipe out of the entire MS 7113 was not initially given according to the English conventions of recipe books as a *genre*.

Providing some conclusions for this case already: this page shows an extraordinary sensibility to recipes in translation, here understood as words in translation, written but also, probably, spoken. It also shows, I argue, the degree to which food informs our very self and, in turn, our relations with the others. In fact, someone here, it is unclear who, consciously or unconsciously, takes, for a while, a clear position: that of an interested outsider. Someone who, to spell it out, describes how the Portuguese make *pão de Ló*, not simply how to make it; and who, for a moment, registers his/her alterity to them first, and to their culinary traditions as a consequence. Someone who, nonetheless, re-adopted, yet tardily, the syntactic canons proper of English recipes and, in doing so, ultimately forgot the “others”, prioritising the effectiveness of recipe transmission to an implicit, but perceptible, English “you”.

⁵⁴ I would like to deeply thank Marcella Miranda, from the University of São Paulo, for her help with this analysis of the recipe.

Looking back to the short quotations provided in this chapter from Lady Ann's *memoirs* while reading in dialogue the source with MS 7113, it is easy to see that the enthusiasm there expressed for Spanish perfumes and gastronomy, including the quality of raw products, as well as her ambivalent, mostly unimpressed comment about Portuguese food, is deeply informed by Lady Ann's constant remarking of her own condition of distanced English consumer – as my italics aimed to stress each time. What remains to be quoted, which exclusively refers to Spain, and with whom I close this section, is the following

... there is not in the Christian world better wines than *their* midland wines are especially, besides sherry and canary. *Their* water tastes like milk... They have the best partridges I ever eat, and the best sausages; and salmon, pikes, and sea-breems, which they send up in pickle to Madrid, and dolphins, which are excellent meat, besides carps, and many other sorts of fish...and so all sorts of salads, and roots, and fruits. What I most admired are, melons, peaches, bergamot pears, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, figs, and pomegranates; and *they* have olives, which are no where so good...⁵⁵

* * *

During her “greatest affliction,” as Lady Ann defined Sir Fanshawe's death in 1666, the Queen Regent of Spain, Mariana of Austria, offered her and her children a pension at court for which she humbly thanked her but firmly refused, unable as they were to “become Roman Catholics” – the only condition posed by the sovereign.⁵⁶ Sir Richard's religious position appears much more difficult to determine: he certainly not only enjoyed the company of several Roman Catholics during his entire life, since youth; he also assisted more than one when in trouble within and beyond his ambassadorial duties.⁵⁷

Roman Catholics or not, the Fanshawes, thanks to their political positions firstly, were well-integrated into the very highest segment of the Iberian society as the above episode proves beyond doubt: it is axiomatic that part of this integration passed through food, local dishes and drinks. According to Jodi Campbell, “Even though drinking plain water was uncommon, Spaniards were fond of flavoured waters made with cinnamon, rosemary, lemon, orange blossom, or fennel”.⁵⁸ MS 7113 not simply furnishes concrete evidence of this fondness (which could be found, for instance, in Valle's *Regalo*, in the

⁵⁵ Loftis, ed., *The memoirs*, 171-172.

⁵⁶ ODNB, s.v. “Fanshawe [née Harrison]”.

⁵⁷ ODNB, s.v. “Fanshawe, Sir Richard”.

⁵⁸ Jodi Campbell, *At the First Table*, 23.

final section of his book on wines and aromatic waters); it also offers evidence that this English family also shared such fondness for aromatic drinks. The same consideration applies for all the recipes here discussed, among which the “Spanish bacon”, *olla podrida* and chocolate in its patent colonial dimension, even if the ultimately inscrutable crossing out of the recipe, like in the few other cases, challenges our otherwise more linear understating. Yet, the attention for the detail – like the sauce with which to present a given dish, the number of lemons and oranges to employ – and the procedure which overall characterises these recipes has to be stressed.

Evidently treasured the most were ambergris perfumes, for the house and gloves. Perfumes gained a special place inside the Fanshawes’ life and manuscript. The non-ordinary value of these recipes, I would like to argue, is well reflected by the existence of the independent booklet, penned by a scribe, and sewn into MS 7113. In this respect, it is particularly important to note that when in 1651 Joseph Averie, the amanuensis, divided the recipe book into “Physickes Salves, Waters, Cordialls, Preserves and Cookery” no “PERFUMES” were categorised as such.⁵⁹ So, we can make sense of this addition precisely in the light of the Fanshawes’ Iberian experience, especially in the 1660s. No booklet was instead created to gather recipes more cosmetic in nature, like that of the oil for the hair which remains the only one with this purpose in the entire MS 7113.

Quoting one last time from Lady Ann ‘s *memoirs*:

I presented the King, Queen, Duke of York, and Duke of Cambridge with two dozen of amber skins, and six dozen of gloves. I likewise presented my Lord Arlington with amber skinns, gloves and chocolaty...⁶⁰

This is what this Lady recalled, while discussing her return to England after her husband’s death – were those dozens created according to recipe six, for precisely twelve gloves, or were they simply imported? Equally, she remembered that, among the many “departure gifts” received, the Duchess of Aveiro, from the Portuguese nobility, gave to her daughters “a large silver box of amber pastilles to burn” as well as a “crystal bottle, with a gold neck, full of amber water”. To Katherine, moreover, was given “a jewel of twenty-seven emeralds”.⁶¹ There is no absolute certainty that someone in the Fanshawes’ household, in England, reproduced these *pastilles* to burn, or dressed gloves following the related recipes carefully recorded in MS 7113. However, the fact remains, beyond the evident enthusiasm, that these recipes did not simply exist; they were also characterised

⁵⁹ See note 4.

⁶⁰ Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs*, 188.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 182.

by an extraordinary descriptive efficacy. They were the result, possibly in all the cases, of a very visual demonstration of the making of the recipes which cannot but favour their reproducibility.

Wellcome Library MS 7113 is, in effect, an extremely rich manuscript recipe book. Its richness, when studied, in turn enriches our understanding of early-modern recipe practise and culture. Francisco's nephew not simply passed on recipes; he taught how to make perfumes and dress gloves. He did so maybe in front of, or maybe next to, Lady Ann. That Sir Benjamin Wright recorded these instructions for the simplest of the reasons, which is Ann's limited, if not absent, skills with the Spanish idiom, is hard to refuse. This could also be the reason why Richard himself wrote down the recipe to make "Spanish biske"; in this last case though, maybe this extraordinary opulent, meat-base stew agreed with Richard's own taste in the first place. It is worth pointing out that Richard wrote quite a number of other preparations, of diverse different sorts in MS 7113. After all, the recipe book was his wife's recipe book, hence his family recipe book. Katherine, in the following generation of Fanshawes, penned many recipes too. This case looks like a later echo of the Iberian years of the Fanshawes: together with the "jewel of twenty-seven emeralds" in her closet, these recipes – in hers and her mother's recipe collection and, maybe at her table – must have reminded her of her time there and of the food enjoyed there.

Unlike the two manuscript sources discussed in the previous chapter, it is imperative to note here that a few preparations acknowledged as Spanish could have been found in printed sources too: *olla podrida*, but also cream and chocolate given according to the Spanish fashion in several recipe books respectively. These last two occurrences are particularly significant given the temporal vicinity between MS 7113 or, at least those recipes dated in the middle of 1660s, and the printed texts. That said, beyond the similarity in terms of broad type of preparations, the recipes substantially differ. The case of *Pão de Ló* is more varied: it could have been found within a Portuguese printed source which specified its main trait, to be fluffy; but also, nominally at least, in a much older Portuguese manuscript which, nonetheless, furnishes directions for a completely different preparation. It goes without saying that the case of *Pão de Ló* as given in MS 7113 is astonishing demonstrating a chiefly, uncommon attention to recipes understood as words in translation, here in strict Anglo-Portuguese dimension.

All the recipes discussed in this chapter can be, ultimately, connected to the Fanshawes, understood as a family who directly experienced Iberia and who especially enjoyed recipes collected while in Spain. In this sense, Lady Ann's enthusiasm for Spanish products and gastronomy as expressed in her *memoirs* firmly attest her vicinity to the Iberian preparations given in MS 7113. With due corrections, it is true that these recipes *reflect*, as DiMeo and Pennell said, time spent there; these recipes, to be precise,

markedly reflect this time, above all through their dating or the inclusion of Spanish or Portuguese words into their titles.

In effect, the case of MS 7113 shows particularly well the natural limit of this entire thesis: to study recipes which are acknowledged to be Spanish and Portuguese or which, nonetheless, give hints, to have originated, or been connected to that part of the world. The preparations which in table 7.1 show a question mark next to them, and many other indeed not detailed, could have well been collected in Iberia. However, and critically here, these recipes do not show any substantial sign to have been recorded in Iberia or transmitted as such. So, even if the perfumes contained in the relevant section are completely generic yet in line, in terms of ingredients, to the other ones collected in Madrid; even if the variety of fish which the recipe penned at page 340 was esteemed in Lady Ann's *memoirs*; even if ice-cream is probably the result of snow on one hand and creams on the other, both much consumed at the Spanish court, these recipes cannot be discussed in this chapter without entering a sterile epistemological labyrinth – ultimately, perfumes, fish and ice-cream were not *exclusively* Iberian experiences.⁶²

⁶² Cfr. Ivan Day, “Lady Ann Fanshawe's Icy Cream,” in “Food History Jottings”, blog entry available at: <https://bit.ly/2QhUqIM>,

8.

Sir Martin Westcombe's Iberian recipes

Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.430, in quarto format, is a heavily mutilated recipe collection which presents at least twenty different hands, and possesses no index.¹ There is little apparent order to the recipes, though they are partially numbered. Given the hands as well as the remedies and cookery instructions which it contains, the indication that these span over a century, from around 1640 to around 1750, is plausible.² Leafing through the volume some immediately identifiable references to and traces of Iberia can be found: in fact, the manuscript not only displays recipes marked as acquired in Spain and/or given by Iberian individuals, but also a number of them written directly in Spanish. “The inclusion of Spanish recipes in the volume attests to the material and cultural exchange that took place between Catholic Spain and Protestant England” has been claimed.³

MS V.a.430 is known either as “Mary Granville’s” or the “Granville’s family recipe book”. The two ostensibly autographic inscriptions “Mrs Ann Granvills Book which I hope shee will make a better use of then her mother, Mary Granville” as well as “Now Anne Dewes, Bradley [Worcestershire] 8 September 1740” appearing in the inside front cover of the manuscript clearly indicate that Mary (d.1747), spouse of Bernard Granville (1671-1723), passed it to their first daughter, Ann (1701-1761) who, by virtue of marriage, styled herself as Ann D’ewes from 1740.⁴ Mary’s natal family, the Westcombes, resided in Spain due to the consular duties of Mary’s father, Sir Martin, who represented the English authority in Cadiz in the later decades of the seventeenth-century: so, this recipe book is inflected by the Westcombes’ Spanish sojourn.⁵ Not by chance the

¹ Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.430. “*Cookery and medicinal recipes of the Granville family*”, The manuscript is available online at: <https://bit.ly/2wdUK2F>.

² Folger Shakespeare Library, item description.

³ Helen Smith, “Women and the Materials of Writing,” in *Material Cultures of Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. Patricia Pender and Rosalind Smith (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan 2014), 20.

⁴ Biographical details extracted from ODNB, s.v. “Delany [née Granville; other married name Pendarves], Mary”. To avoid any possible confusion, this is not our Mary Granville née Westcombe, but rather her second daughter, sister of Ann to whom she passed the recipe book.

⁵ There is an almost complete absence of primary sources related to the Westcombes. For the sake of this analysis, the greatest element of complexity is that we do not know exactly when the family of Sir Martin first went to Spain nor when Mary herself was born. See: Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State & Their Monopoly of Licensed News, 1660–1688* (Cambridge University Press, 1956), Appendix VII, 156, who lists Martin Westcombe as English consul in Cadiz in the years 1663–1688. See also: John Debrett, *The Baronetage of England* (London, 1819) vol.1, 484, who states that the first of the Westcombes to be consul at Cadiz was the Martin serving under the reign of William III. See also Augusta Hall, ed., *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), vol.1, 2. Please note that I found no archival evidence that Mary’s grandfather was also consul of Cadiz or that he was named, alike his eventual son, “Sir Martin”: this hypothesis appears within the item description compiled by the Folger Shakespeare Library. It is my contention that Mary’s father was in fact the first of the

manuscript has been described as “a record of communities” which also “preserved the spatial and social networks in which the family operated during their stay in Spain”.⁶

It was 2007 when Catherine Field’s seminal scholarship on early modern manuscript recipe books established that V.a.430 belonged “to at least three generations of women: her mother, Mary herself, and her daughter, Anne D’Ewes”.⁷ Field inferred the existence and contribution of Mary’s mother because “the variety of hands (and dates) indicate that each generation seems to have contributed and participated in familial receipt writing and practice”, ultimately making sense of manuscript recipe books as an *exclusively* form of female writing. Still recently, it has been asserted that Anne “inherited...her mother and grandmother’s ways of making remedies and dishes...”.⁸ However, although reasonable, there is no evidence in the manuscript which supports this conclusion with regard to Mary’s mother’s contribution.⁹

Now, in turn, my engagement with V.a.430 reveals the striking prominence of male agency in relation to precisely the Iberian recipes at the centre of these pages (at least). In the first part of the chapter, I thus advance the claim that Sir Martin Westcombe – Mary’s father and thus Mary’s mother’s husband – was particularly responsible for the collection of Iberian recipes, to the point of materially writing down the very vast majority of them onto the manuscript; and that such transmission was significantly rooted within Catholic networks, of locals as well as Englishmen. Thus, although appreciating the unquestionable merit of her work in recovering recipe books as sources, I show Field’s reading of this instance to be partial, and her analysis of “the variety of hands (and dates)” to be driven by structuring assumptions about the gendering of recipe books.

In the second part of the chapter, obviously enough, I examine the recipes; rather than by order of appearance, I provide an analysis by the extent and complexity of the interest in local practices which they express. I start thus with some remedies which seem to have been collected in Spain for their generic, proved effectiveness and I culminate with those recipes where Iberianness is key. A meat-based preparation, few curative drinks; assimilated and adapted products from the New World, including cacao and vanilla; non-edible commodities, like perfumes and inks, are the main elements of this Anglo-Iberian affair. One recipe, moreover, to look carefully, appears as a variation of a printed one.

Westcombes to be consul at Cadiz, and that it was him to be followed by a number of male descendants: *State Papers* show how far into the eighteenth century the Westcombes continued as with a long-established practice of familial transmission of diplomatic positions.

⁶ Wendy Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern Kitchen* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 193. I cannot understand Wall’s note 63, p. 275, which reads as “On Westcombe’s discharge and baronetcy, see *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1480–89”.

⁷ Catherine Field, “Many Hands Hands” 55. For a very recent example of the vitality of Field’s reading of the manuscript see: Amy L. Tigner and Allison Carruth, *Literature and Food Studies* (Routledge, 2017), 78-80.

⁸ Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 193. Wall, however, seems here to confuse the Granvilles for the Westcombes.

⁹ Field, “Many Hands Hands,” 55.

Before engaging with these recipes, it is worth pointing out that perhaps because of its compelling interest to researchers into early modern women's writing and recipe culture, certainly informed by Field's reading, the texts of the very recipes of V.a.430, included the Iberian ones, have been substantially overlooked by scholars. What we have, nonetheless, is a valuable, very recent transcription of the manuscript.¹⁰

* * *

| PAGE | RECIPES – All written by M. Westcombe, apart from 9 and 14. |
|---------------------------|--|
| 92 | 1. To Cure a quartan ore doble quartan ague given me for Excellent by a Portugese / {as validation mark} |
| 95 | 2. Mr. Leonard Wilkes Reecat for Good chocolate And the mixture it oft to have things [TEXT] Collonel John Belasyse had the reecat with him. Cadiz, 4th October 1665. |
| 96 | 3. → To make Inke the Spanish Waye Viz |
| 99-0 | 4. Captain William Webbers Reecat for the Cureinge of most paynes & aches, Cadiz 1669 [TEXT] finis / |
| SP. 101 | 5. → To make good Ink, Cadiz, 6 th November, Juan Baqueriso boat guard who has been a teacher of writing and counting ¹¹ |
| 102 | 6. → Mr William ffens reecat to make rare Inke given mee in Malaga Ano 1646 ¹² [TEXT] finis |
| PAGES 103-104 ARE MISSING | |
| SP. [106]–7 | 7. Recipe of Lady Maria Leal my godmother/midwife to make Amber Water ¹³ [TEXT] Cadiz year of 1676 ¹⁴ v//v |
| [108]–9 | 8. Mr Henry Sheers reecat Given My lord marshall howard for perummige of leather an Excellent way año 1670 January [TEXT] finis |
| SP. HG. [110] | 9. Recipe how to make Mincemeat of leg of Mutton ¹⁵ [TEXT] Recipe of Captain Francisco Del Poço de Rota who gave [it] in Cadiz to Sir Consul Martin Bisconde [Wescomb] on the 22 nd of August of 1682. ¹⁶ |

¹⁰ Kristine Kowalchuk, *Preserving on Paper: Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Receipt Books* (University of Toronto Press, 2017). In this chapter I follow Kowalchuk's transcriptions. However, as my first aim is readability, I silently expand contractions, especially for names and dates, and I modernised early modern instances of *u* and *v*. Please note that I prefer not to follow Kowalchuk's translations of the recipes written in Spanish as these are, at times, marred by evident slips (detailed in my notes).

¹¹ "Para haser buena Tinta/ Cadiz 6 de noviembre, Juan/ Baqueriso guarda de navio Que asido Meastre de escribir y contar". Kowalchuk, *Preserving on Papers*, 151, renders the final lines of the title as "who has been a teacher to write this and tell of it".

¹² This recipe was thus collected significantly earlier than the majority of the recipes, unless this is a writing *lapsus*.

¹³ "Receita de Doña Maria Leal mi/ Comadre para hazer Agua de Ambar". Kowalchuk, *Preserving on Papers*, 151, renders the possessive adjective "mi" in front of *Comadre* as the indefinite article "a" and does not note the ambivalent meaning of the term, i.e. "godmother/midwife".

¹⁴ "Cadiz año de 1676".

¹⁵ "Memoria Como sehaçe [sic] el Picadillo de Xigote/ de Carnero". Kristine Kowalchuk, *Preserving on Papers*, 152, confuses "carnero" for "lamb" ["cordero"].

¹⁶ "Receta del Capittan Francisco Del Poço/ de Rota quela remitio A Cadiz al Sr/ Consul Don [?] Martin Bisconde a 22 de Agosto de 1682".

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| SP. 111 | 10. Recipe which a priest/friar gave to me in Orleans on the 23 rd of May, Thursday of 1675, as very certain to kill and destroy bedbugs in the bedrooms and walls ¹⁷ [TEXT] finis |
| PAGES 112-119 ARE MISSING | |
| SP. 121 | 11. To improve and conserve Vanilla ¹⁸ [TEXT] Recipe of the sergeant Fernandes man of Xeres [?] Cadiz 18 th of September 1685 who came into the flotilla ¹⁹ v//v |
| 122 | 12. Captain Felpes of Bristol his receat given Mr John Emilli in Cadiz, the month of January 1687, for the Voydinge of Gravel & stone Experienced upon him selfe vizt [TEXT] v//v |
| SP. 123 | 13. Remedy to make stable the molars and teeth vizt ²⁰ [TEXT] Cadiz, 22th of June of 1685 in the office of Mr Lucas de Molina a gentleman lawyer who gave me this recipe ²¹ v//v |
| [165] | 14. To make spanish Pap |

Table 8.1 – Iberian recipes in Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.430.

Table 8.1 furnishes an overview of those recipes which contain immediately identifiable Spanish or Portuguese elements. The first column details the original pagination as well as the employment of the Spanish language via “SP”. The second column lists the recipes by title and in order of appearance within the manuscript. Probative comments and annotations are also detailed, including: a mark rendered here as “v//v” which seems to indicate validation (see figure 8.3 and 8.5); manicules, rendered as arrows; dates, when given.²² Please note that the vast majority of the recipes – with the exclusion of 9 and 14 – are in the same hand, which later I show to be that of Sir Martin Westcombe. While I cannot identify the scribe of recipe 14, recipe 9 was very likely written by its donor, hence “HG” as holograph (see figure 8.1).

From table 8.1 it is easy to see that all the recipes, with the exception of the last, are clustered closely together, between page 92 and page 123. Given the number of missing pages in this span, a quantity of other examples of this kind may well have been lost. It is equally noticeable that their order in the manuscript does not follow any expected chronological trajectory, according to those which are dated, suggesting that at least some of the recipes (including their dates) were copied from other textual sources.

The table also offers a glimpse of the individuals who animate the manuscript as first-generation donors or intermediaries. Not only did Englishmen pass on recipes

¹⁷ *Receta que me dio un relixioso en/Orleans a 23 de Mayo Jubes De 1675/ por cosa muy cierta para matar y destruyr/ chinchas En las camas Y paredes”.*

¹⁸ *“Para Mejorar Y conservar Vynillas”.*

¹⁹ *“Recetta del Sarjento de un Ojo Gordian sentura/ Fernandes Vecino de Xeres Cadiz / 18 de Settiembre 1685 que vino en la flotta”.* I personally cannot translate that “*de un Ojo Gordian sentura*”. Kowalchuk, *Preserving on Papers*, 153, renders it as “of a one-eyed sergeant”.

²⁰ *“Remedio para affixar muelas y dientes vizt”.*

²¹ *“Cadiz 22 de Junio de 1685 en el Officio del/ Senor Lucas de Molina un Senor Licenciado me dio esta/ memoria o receta”.* In Spanish the word “*licenciado*” literally means “graduate” but when used with no specifications it has to be understood as “graduate in law”.

²² There are only few other dated recipes in V.a.430. For instance, page 120.

collected on Iberian soil (2, 4, 6, 8 and 12) but also, and crucially, a significant group of Iberian individuals transmitted local expertise. They were: a Portuguese man (of whom nothing more can be said), a Spanish lawyer, two Spanish captains (the first a former school teacher) and a Spanish woman (1, 13, 5, 9, 7 and 1 respectively).

Anticipating what will become clear from my analysis of the recipes, the vast majority of these donors were Catholics. If this is unsurprising for the Iberians – yet especially meaningful for public figures like teachers, lawyers and midwives – what is perhaps more significant is that several of the English donors were also, with all probability, Catholics, as we will see further below.²³ In this respect, the presence of the unidentifiable “*mi comadre*” Doña Maria de Leal (recipe 7) could reveal the close relationship of this woman and the Westcombes, whether we think of her as a midwife or read “*mi comadre*” as “my goodmother”. The latter might suggest that there was a baby within the Westcombe family, baptised in Spain as Catholic, but the evidence is frustratingly slender and ambiguous.²⁴ Given the employment of the Spanish language, the priest or friar described as the source of recipe 10 was in all likelihood Catholic too. The same can be also said for the mysterious donor of recipe 11.

The employment of the Spanish language in V.a.430, exemplified in these instances, is worth discussing further. These local donors must have passed on recipes to someone able not only to understand their idiom but also capable of writing it down; in other words, someone proficient in Spanish, with developed competencies in the passive as well as the active use thereof. Given what we know about V.a.430, the most obvious candidate is Sir Martin Westcombe. Thanks to his role as mediator between local authorities and his English compatriots who gravitated around Cadiz (most prominently for trade and commerce), he certainly knew the Spanish language well and used it regularly.

The manuscript itself offers considerable evidence in support of my hypothesis. The case of recipe 9 is illuminating: through it, I not only show that Westcombe was its direct recipient but also elucidate why, as anticipated earlier, I believe this recipe is a holograph by the donor. As table 8.1 reports and figure 8.1 shows, the colophon of recipe 9 acknowledges in no uncertain terms that the recipe was passed on to Sir Martin Westcombe, on the 22 of August 1682, by a certain Captain Francisco – a seaman from Rota, a little village at the extreme end of the Cadiz harbour area (“*Poço de Rota*”). This page overall is undoubtedly written by a Spaniard: above all, that “Bisconde” in the

²³ See Grace E. Coolidge, ed., *The Formation of the Child in Early Modern Spain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Teresa Ortiz, “From Hegemony to Subordination: Midwives in Early Modern Spain,” in *The Art of Midwifery: Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, ed. Hilary Marland (London: Routledge, 1993), 95–114.

²⁴ See note 13.

penultimate line of the colophon, leave no room for doubt.²⁵ So, in consideration of the probative nature of the colophon; that both colophon and main text of the recipe appear written by the same Spanish hand; in consideration, moreover, that such hand appears nowhere else throughout the manuscript, it is very likely that this is Captain Francisco's own hand.

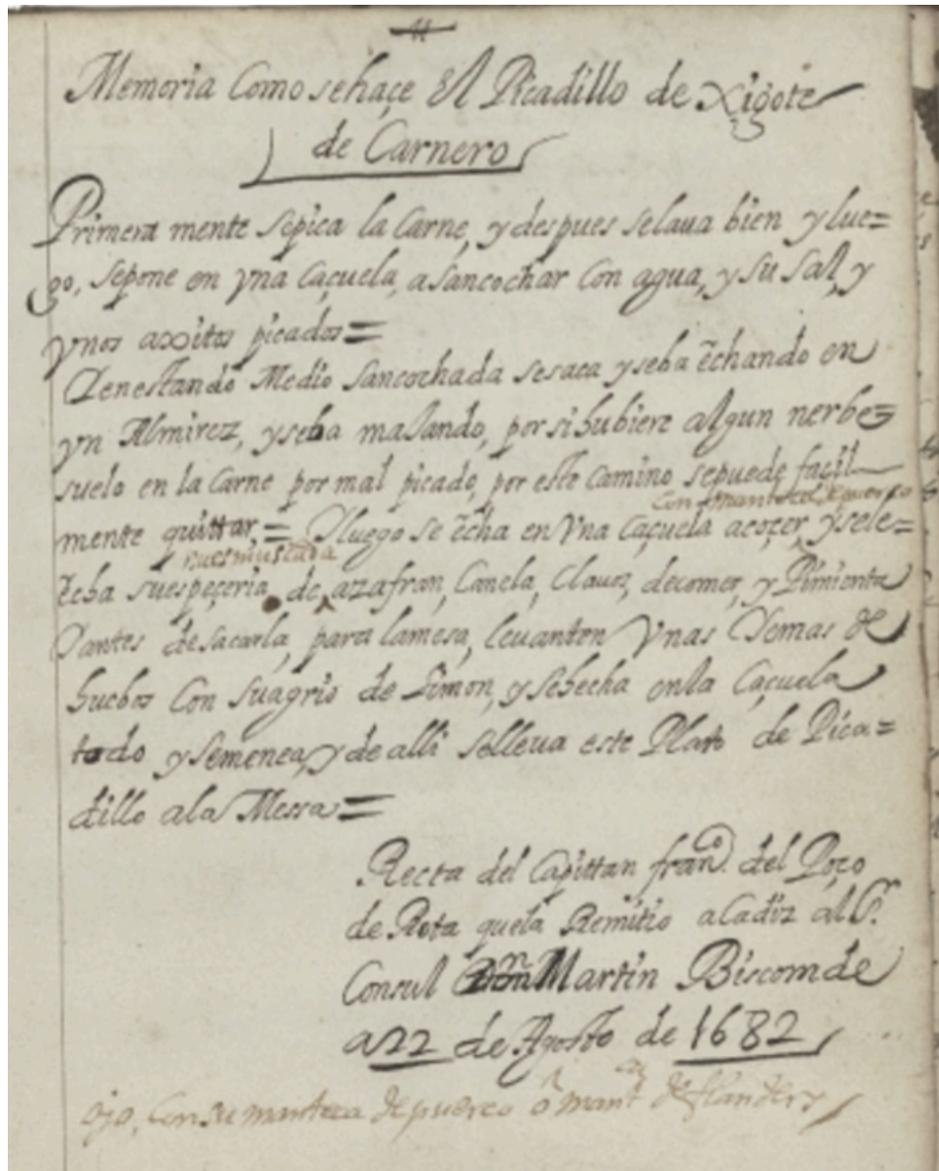


Figure 8.1 – Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.430, page 110.

²⁵ In the Spanish language the /b/ phoneme corresponds to the graphemes “b” as well as “v” – in other words, the same sound could be written as “b” or “v”. Given that the letter “w” did not exist in early modern Spanish and that its pronunciation within “Westcombe” sounds, to Spaniards, like the /b/ phoneme, “Bisconde” is certainly the tentative way for a Spaniard to write down the consul’s surname. Perhaps the most illuminating case of this tendency to naturalise foreign names is that of Francis Drake, who invariably became “Draques” in early modern Spanish texts. See: Elizabeth R. Wright, “From Drake to Draque: A Spanish Hero with an English Accent,” in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554–1604*, Anna J. Cruz ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 29-38.

One recipe, no matter how fascinating an example, cannot work as proof of the consul's prominence as a collector of Spanish recipes. But evidence that the very vast majority of them were written down by Westcombe himself surely can. Just below the title of the recipe "To make double Inke kalled in ffrrench Ancre Luisante" we read "this is the way and receat My brother Mr John wescombe gave mee, in January 1671" – figure 8.2.²⁶ John Westcombe was the English consul at Bayonne, in France, at least in the year 1684.²⁷ In the early modern period appointments of this kind were more often than not a familial business and from the evidence of the inscription, it seems highly likely that Martin Westcombe is the scribe of this remark.²⁸

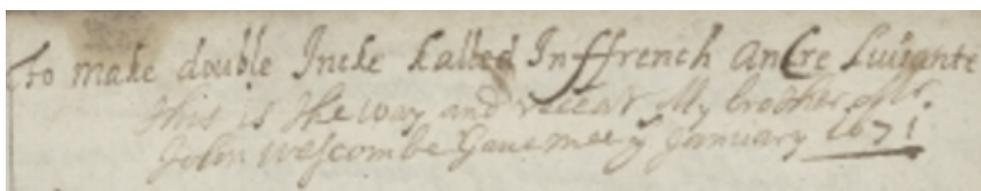


Figure 8.2 - Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.430, detail of page 103.

This annotation is not an ideal palaeographic reference, as the hand is confined by the limited amount of space. Nonetheless, comparison of this inscription with the other recipes detailed in table 1 (apart from 9 and 14) suggests they are all in the same hand. I have relied particularly heavily on the numbers, the linking stroke "th" (visible in "this", "the" and "brother") and the English words "receat" and "John" as core, distinctive elements. In turn, I have identified from recipes in this same hand the descending trait of the letters "m" and "n" as well as "or" always spelled as "ore". As well as identifying the recipes written by the same hand, I have drawn on the evidence of the concluding mark "v//v" and the word "finis", and also the dating of the recipes (typical of ambassadorial papers of this time). Crucially, I have deduced that this is also the hand which writes recipes in Spanish. See figure 8.3 and how clearly it emerges that pages 107 and 108, the first in Spanish while the second in English, were written by the same individual. Both pages are not only characterised by the distinctive elements just listed but also by the apparent tendency of this hand to go slightly upwards, regardless of the language employed. In turn, it is

²⁶ V.a.430, 103.

²⁷ Edward Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia, Or, The Present State of England* (1684), 343.

²⁸ Kowalchuk, *Preserving on Paper*, 62, claims that: "a John Westcombe was consul of Bayonne from approximately 1662 to 1688, and he was the brother of Sir Martin Westcombe" but does not provide any footnote in relation to this statement. She also states: "The phrase "My brother Mr John wescombe" must therefore be the words of Sir Martin Westcombe's wife or sister, the mother or aunt of Mary Granville", which is not entirely implausible, but is coloured, as my italics aims to stress, by the default assumption of recipes as women's text. See also: Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 193, where she writes: "In reading this collection Mary discovered...that her mother visited her brother in law in 1671". No further details or footnotes are provided.

interesting to note the slightly bigger space left between the lines of page 107. This is a trait of all the pages written in Spanish within V.a.430, which may betray the less natural act of writing in a foreign language. In this sense, moreover, compare now figure 8.2 with the very last line, written in Spanish, of figure 8.1, which are clearly the same hand.²⁹

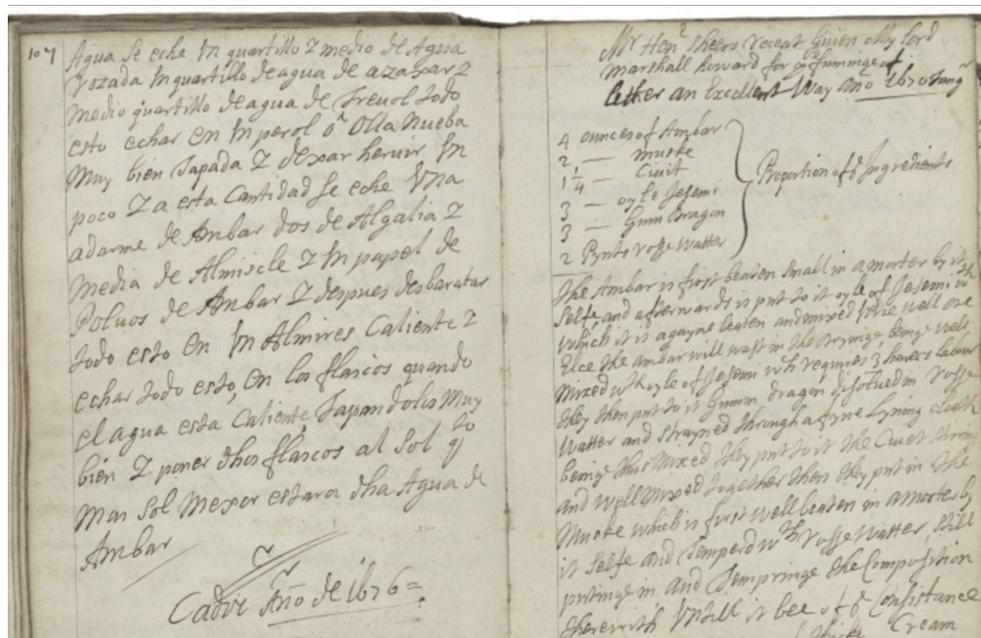


Figure 8.3 – Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a. 430, pages 107-108.

Comparison with his few surviving consular reports, held at The National Archives in London (see figure 8.4), effectively demonstrates that Sir Martin is the writer of most of the Iberian recipes contained in Ms V.a.430. Moreover, given the scarcity of biographical details, the document is particularly important as it reveals that in 1685 the consul was 70 years old – thus, like many consuls, he continued in his role until very late in life. In fact, while editing the letter, dated Cadiz, 14th March 1685, he specified: “...for the little time I have to live being in the 70th year of My Age...” (see my arrow). This suggests that Westcombe was born in 1615, and gathered most of the recipes recorded within V.a.430 during his late 50s and 60s. Equally, this evidence suggests that the consul would have been thirty years of age at the moment he collected recipe 6, dated 1646.³⁰

²⁹ Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 194, writes that the final comment is by Mary’s mother. No further details or footnotes are provided.

³⁰ See note 12.

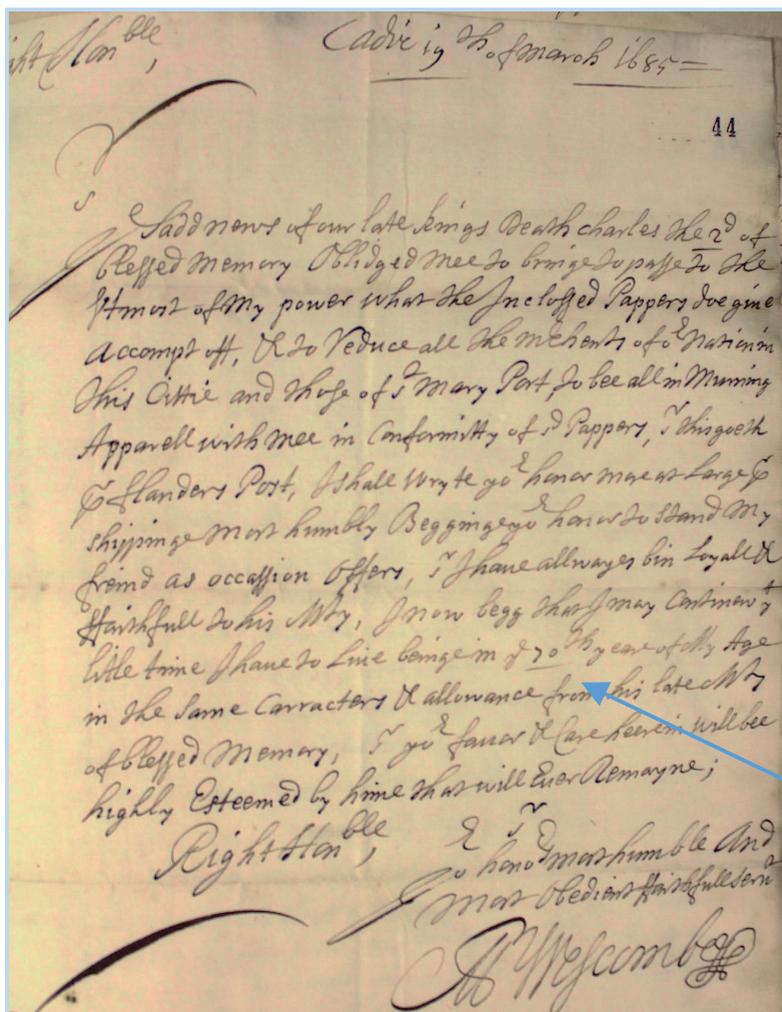


Figure 8.4 – The National Archives, SP 94/210, item 44.

So far, I have demonstrated the role of the consul in writing and collecting the very vast majority of the recipes listed in table 8.1. The manuscript presents a small additional number of recipes written by Sir Martin Westcombe, including: “To Make Excellent Orange Watter Viz” and “To make orange Bisquit”, which I address towards the end of this piece.

* * *

The Iberian recipes outlined in table 8.1 refer to quite different areas of practical knowledge. Out of fourteen, four belong to the culinary domain (2, 9, 11, 14); four to the medicinal (1, 4, 12, 13); and three are specifically concerned with the preparation of inks (3, 5, 6); inks, unlike any other item, are all emphasised by manicules within the manuscript.³¹ The three remaining recipes, 7, 8 and 10, focus on the preparation of scented

³¹ See Smith, “Women and the Materials of Writing,” 20. See also Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 135.

waters, perfumes and sanitising products respectively. As mentioned at the start of this essay, I examine the recipes following the interest in the Iberian heritage and in local practises, revealed by their own wording. I turn, first, however, to recipes which, though collected in Spain, or written in Spanish, seems to have been prized less for being local than for their proved effectiveness. As I go on to show, these recipes nonetheless provide material for meaningful observations from an Anglo–Iberian perspective.

With this viewpoint, there is no better recipe with which to start than recipe 12. It is apparent that this remedy was first exchanged among two English men, “Captain Felpes of Bristoll” and “Mr John Emilli”, and, later, in January 1687, passed on to Martin Westcombe after it had been “experienced”, and thus verified as an effective technique for “Voydinge of Gravel & stone” (rather than for its link to Spain). The recipe is illuminating in its Anglo–Iberian perspective, and is worth quoting in full.

Take watter cresses beat & strayne them at your need
& drink the quantity of halfe a pynte mixt with some white
French Wynne ore renish
thes watter cresses are called in Spanish Verros
of which said Nation often times Eate as a good
Sallet as others Eat lettices
said Felpes lerned & procured from the mours when
hee was a slave in Barbery then much tormented
with said Payne till hee applyde This remedy which
under God Did cure hime.

Watercress (*Nasturium aquaticum*; “*Berro de aqua*” in Spanish) is described not only as the key ingredient of this drink against kidney stones but also a commonly consumed vegetable at Spanish tables, comparable to lettuce. Even if this observation is confused (in early modern Spain cress (*Lepidium Sativum*; “*Berro*” in Spanish) rather than watercress abounds), it is extremely significant because it indirectly attests to the widespread consumption of salads in general (which very rarely appear in recipe books) as well as cress in particular. This recipe clearly shows the perspective of an interested outsider. The observation about “*verros*” is not necessary for the future reproduction of the recipe. Yet, there is a will to highlight its use in that “said Nation”, that suggests both an attentiveness to registering the culinary customs of Spaniards but also an inherent distance from them. This quasi-ethnographic interest, moreover, is also graphically rendered by the separation of the lines on cress from the rest of the recipe (see figure 8.5). Did this observation occur to the first recipient of the recipe, “Mr John Emilli”? It should come as no surprise that I believe this observation has been added by Westcombe, not only because of the handwriting but because he resided in Spain for long enough to develop some knowledge of Spanish food habits.

Capⁿ Felpes of bristol his recent Griev^{ts} Mr
 John Emilli in Care; month of Jan^r 1687 =
 for the boydinge of Grauel & Stone Experienced
 Upon him selfe Viz^t
 Take Water Cresses beat & strayne them ad garned
 & drinke the quantity of halfe a penny mist wth some of
 French Worme or Venish
 These Water Cresses are called in Spanish Verros
 of which Nation often times Eate as a good
 Sallet as others Eat lettices
 I Felpes learned & procured from a Moors who
 hee was a slave in Barbary then much tormented
 by the Payne till hee applyed this Remedy w^{ch}
 Under God did Cure him;

Figure 8.5 - Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.430, page 121.

Westcombe also seems to have considered it worth noting that this recipe was given to the Captain while he was enslaved in Barbary, implicitly making sense of the recipe as originating in the Islamic world.³² The last paragraph of the recipe suggests a three-phase transmission of knowledge: “from the moors” who gave it to the Captain; from the Captain to Mr John Emilli; and from this latter to Westcombe. In the account of his captivity in Barbary, published in 1685, two years before the transcription of the recipe in V.a.430 Thomas Phelps (“Captain Felpes of Bristol”), while describing an English slave who had just been rescued, declared: “The Slave . . . professed himself a Christian in words, but in deed we found more civility from the Moors than him”.³³ Sadly, the medical remedy is not mentioned in the printed text, but the reader learns that the Captain suffered from several painful conditions before his final escape to England; the “civility from the Moors” which he experienced may have come in particular from an “antient Moor, who formerly had been a slave in England and spoke good English”, who Phelps he met at the very start of his tribulations.³⁴

Westcombe attributes the effects of the remedy to divine oversight, stating that this mixture “under God Did cure” the Captain. The juxtaposition of God and “the moors”

³² Ken Parker, “Reading ‘Barbary’ in Early Modern England, 1550–1685,” in *Cultural Encounters Between East and West, 1453–1699*, ed. Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), 76–97.

³³ Thomas Phelps, *A True Account of The Captivity of Thomas Phelps at Machaness in Barbary and of His Strange Escape in Company of Edmund Baxter and Others, As also of the Burning Two of The Greatest Piratships Belonging To That Kingdom in The River Of Mamora Upon The Thirteenth Day Of June 1685* (1685), 7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

is revealing of the mind-set of an early modern English man like Westcombe; though the value of the “Moorish” medical tradition is marked out on the one hand, God’s agency in healing the Captain is equally claimed. The evocation of God seems to speak to the extremity of Phelps’ situation: the tormenting pain and, especially, his slavery.³⁵ The invocation to God occurs very seldom in recipe books. Where it does appear it is associated with extraordinary and particularly dangerous experiences informed by eschatological concerns, like the plague.³⁶ But here the name of God also complicates the inherent value given to a recipe belonging to the non-Christian world, somehow disempowering the well-developed Moorish medical tradition, even as it is rendered into English. In other words, this juxtaposition of God and Moors may be proof of an early modern English mentality according to which a recipe of this kind needs the intermediation of the true God in order to work.

These few words demonstrate the degree to which traces of the chief paradigms of a given culture can be found in a simple recipe. Cadiz deserves special consideration as the *locus* in which this joining of two distant cultures took place, and, I would argue, as the place which crucially facilitated the same. If the recipe against kidney stones appears in V.a.430 thanks to its claimed effectiveness and perhaps for Phelps’ celebrity (beyond the printed text his story certainly circulated among seamen and diplomats), it is equally undeniable that Cadiz facilitated this transmission of knowledge, as a peculiarly transcultural city. Such transmission could only have happened in a few other places, including Istanbul and Venice.³⁷

As with recipe 12, recipe 4 seems to have been collected in V.a.430 more for its effectiveness than for its Spanish expertise. Nonetheless, I must stress here that “Captain William Webbers Reecat for the Cureinge of most paynes & aches”, collected in Cadiz 1669, which teaches how to create an alcoholic, herbal drink and to consume it in accordance with specific practices (in bed, wearing hot clothes, etc.), and calls for some “good sallet oil” strongly resembles, in its nature, composition and attention to a detailed procedure, texts which I have encountered in Spanish manuscripts. It is thus quite likely that this drink was understood as local in Spain and, in turn, by Westcombe.

Recipe 10 also seems to have been collected for its assured success, “as very certain”. “To kill bed bugs” proposes to create a paste mixing quicksilver, ox (or cow) bile, vinegar and lime, which should be placed in holes in the walls, or anywhere in the bed where bugs live; this paste, moreover, according to the recipe, will not “feed any other

³⁵ On English slavery, see: Michael Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen: Human Bondage in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

³⁶ See Helen Smith, “Metaphor, Cure, and Conversion in Early Modern England,” in *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014), 473-502. See V.a.430, 41, “Doctor Burges his direction against the plague”.

³⁷ See John-Paul A. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford University Press, 2014) and Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Cornell University Press, 2011).

bedbugs” [“*sin criar chincha alguna*”].³⁸ Bed bugs have always represented a common problem in Europe. Similar recipes for powders or pastes can be found in different sources: though there is a recipe against them in an early modern Spanish manuscript, many can also be found in English printed texts.³⁹ Yet one of the salient traits of this recipe is that it is recorded in Spanish and, if this means that its donor was a Spaniard, it could also signify that Westcombe understood this technique to kill parasites as typically Spanish.

Both the Portuguese origins and the effectiveness of a plaster against prolonged fevers (maybe a type of Malaria?) are fully acknowledged in recipe 1: “To Cure a quartan ore [sic] doble quartan ague given me for Excellent by a Portuges”.⁴⁰ This is the sole remedy in the entire manuscript to be openly linked to Portugal via its donor, who, if we look carefully, also provided guarantees as to its efficacy. The receipt advises placing a mixture of saffron, frankincense and other oleoresins on “your navell one hower before the fit comes”. Neither the ingredients used nor the suggested application were foreign to English readers: we find similar remedies in *The Widowes Treasure* (1588) and *A Choice Manual* (1653).⁴¹ Still, I am not aware of any printed English recipe that corresponds precisely to this one; Westcombe may have highlighted the donor’s Portuguese background in an attempt, conscious or unconscious, to amplify the originality and rareness of this remedy.

As noted above, several recipes provide techniques to make ink. Recipe 3, entitled “To make Inke the Spanish waye Viz”, immediately expresses interest in a procedure understood as essentially Iberian. Rainwater, vinegar, “gaule” (oak gall), gum arabic and copper have to be amalgamated together and “stir[ed]... frequently in an Erthen pott for 7 ore 8 days”. I translate the title of recipe 5, written in Spanish, as: “To make a good Ink, Cadiz, 6th November, Juan Baqueriso boat guard who has been a teacher of writing and counting”.⁴² By noting the teaching background of this Spaniard, the recipe not only emphasises his competency in preparing inks, elementary among early modern teachers, but also stresses that the skill’s acquisition (and performance) occurred on Spanish soil, before his maritime years. As for the recipe itself, it is similar to the former in terms of both ingredients and procedure. However, in this case it is not only specified that the compound needs to be placed in an earthen pot in the shade for twelve days and stirred twice a day, it is also indicated that a fig–tree stick (“*palo de higuera*”) must be used for this purpose.

³⁸ Kowalchuk, *Preserving on Papers*, 153, renders the quoted sentence as: “without leaving any baby bugs”.

³⁹ Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, *Los Manuscritos Aljamiado–Moriscos de la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998), 91, regarding MS.11/9410, fol.141, recipe “*para matar los chinches*”; Cfr. EEBO results via CQP search.

⁴⁰ M.J. Dobson, “Malaria in England: A Geographical and Historical Perspective,” in *Parassitologia* 36 (1994), 35-60.

⁴¹ [Partridge], *The Widowes Treasure*, 36, “Against the Collick and Stone in maner of a plaister”; Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Kent, *A Choice Manual*, 145-146, “A Medicine for the Wormes”.

⁴² See note 11.

Recipe 6 – the “rare inke” given by Mr William ffens – was apparently collected in Malaga in 1646.⁴³ The recipe instructs that oak (or some other vegetable) gall and water should be placed together in an earthen pot for two days before first boiling the compound, and then incorporating some “powder of copris” (sulphate of zinc) while continuing to stir and cook the ink.⁴⁴ The recipe is not claimed as Spanish but the fact that it appears just after recipe 5 and explicitly names Malaga as the place of its exchange could mean that its “rareness”, so openly declared, has Iberian roots.

The suggestion that recipes 3, 5 and perhaps 6 had Iberian traits is a hard one to pursue further because of the absence of any detailed secondary material on the compositions of inks in early modern times.⁴⁵ Had the juice of citrus fruits been listed among the ingredients, for instance, it could be claimed in quite certain terms that they were understood as Spanish. However, this is not the case, nor does the manuscript contain any recipe for the invisible inks, well-known from antiquity, which employed citrus juices as their main ingredient: it was 1656 when the royalist poet Abraham Cowley composed a poem ‘Written in Juice of Lemmon’, the opening verse of which reads: “Whilst what I write I do not see”.⁴⁶

After comparing these three recipes with existing early modern European equivalents, both English and otherwise, my sense is that, as far as I can see, the specification of the fig–tree stick as a tool is unique. Moreover, it is worth nothing that the prolonged amount of time needed to prepare these inks exceeds the average time indicated within this sort of recipe.⁴⁷ V.a.430 contains several further instructions to prepare inks. Some of them are completely generic yet, as we have seen while discussing the singularities of Sir Westcombe’s hand, the recipe which John Westcombe passed on to the consul was specified as being called “*ancre luisante*” in French.⁴⁸ This is meaningful because it further proves the compiler’s attention to the geographical origin of inks; what

⁴³ See note 12 and 30.

⁴⁴ From the century later the noun “copris” refers to a beetle of the family of *Scarabidea*, which abounds in hot climates, but the temptation to see in this intriguing – and certainly rare – detail the Spanishness of the recipe seems tenuous.

⁴⁵ Cfr. James Daybell, “Ink,” in *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter–Writing, 1512–1635* (Pelgrave Macmillian, 2012), 37–41. See also Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 223–224. For an account of red ink see also Pamela H. Smith, “Knowledge in Motion: Following Itineraries of Matter in the Early Modern Period,” in *Cultures in Motion*, ed. Daniel Rogers, Bhavani Raman, and Helmut Reimitz (Princeton University Press, 2014), 125.

⁴⁶ See Carl Woodring and James Shapiro, ed., “Abraham Cowley,” in *The Columbia Anthology of British Poetry* (Columbia University Press, 1995), 221–222; See also Karen Britland, “‘What I Write I do not see’: Reading and Writing with Invisible Ink”, in *A Material History of Medieval and Early Modern Ciphers: Cryptography and the History of Literacy*, ed. Katherine Ellison and Susan Kim (Taylor & Francis, 2018).

⁴⁷ I compared these recipes with: William Phillip, *A Booke of Secrets Shewing Diuers Waies To Make And Prepare All Sorts Of Inke, And Colours* (London, 1596). See also: Special Collections Conservation Unit of the Preservation Department of Yale University Library, *Medieval and Early Modern Manuscript: Some Ink & Pigment Recipes*, available at: <https://bit.ly/2RytViL>.

⁴⁸ See figure 8.2.

ultimately matters in the recipes I have explored is the clear acknowledgement of some inks as Spanish, even if the specifics of their national character remain unclear.

From Spanish inks to Spanish perfumes. Read in full, “Mr Henry Sheers receat given my lord Marshall Howard for perfuminge of leather an Excellent way año 1676 January”, recipe 8, leaves little room for doubt about the extent to which it was appreciated as Spanish, confirming what “año” and, more substantially, the practice of making perfumes for leather (usually gloves as we have seen) both suggest from the outset. Beyond the combination of ingredients widely used in Iberian perfumery – ambergris, musk, “olye Jesemi”, gum dragon and rose water – we also learn that the resulting “thicke Cream it is Applyde by a small sponge and one quarter of one howers Sunne in Madrid, viz Sol de Membrilla about the month of Jully perfects the work”. Thanks to this remark, the reader not only gets valuable information regarding the consistency of the product and its best use, but is also brought to imagine the crowded streets of Madrid, where tanners prepared and sold their products. Figure 8.6 shows similar activity taking place in Bologna around 1640, with my arrow pointing at the glove.



Figure 8.6 – Francesco Curti, *Virtu' ed arti esercitate in Bologna*, in Giovanni Maria Tamburini, *Mercanti diversi e barcaioli* (Bologna, c. 1650).

The reader is further persuaded to make sense of this recipe as Spanish thanks to the expression “*Sol de membrilla*”; even if not understood, this phrase must have certainly sounded Spanish to English ears, especially when placed after “Madrid”. It is worth noting that “*Sol de membrillo*” nowadays describes that delightfully warm, but not burning, sun, proper to autumn, when quinces ripen. The expression can be thus literally translated as “sun of quinces”. Here, it seems to me, its use is intended to depict, by inverse analogy, the very short exposure to the hot, summer sun needed by the leather to absorb the cream.

However, it could also simply represent a misuse of a Spanish expression by Henry Sheers, who was a “young engineer” working in Tangiers in these years, or by Lord Henry Howard, Earl Marshall, sixth Duke of Norfolk (1628–1684), who spent some time in Morocco around 1670 and, among many things, was a proud Catholic – his grandmother was no one else than Lady Anne, Countess of Arundel.⁴⁹

There is no doubt that recipes 7, 9 and 13 were collected and understood as Spanish: they are not only written in Spanish but recorded as having been received from Spanish individuals. Recipe 7, Doña Maria Leal’s instructions to make ambergris water, given in Cadiz in 1676, is a quite complex and long recipe. Everything starts with a fine mixture of c. nine pounds of roses and very little spices (cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg), jasmine, storax and lavender which, placed into a basin of around seven litres of wine [“*media arroba*”] from the Andalusian town of Lucena (still renowned for its wine), “with strength of arms” [“*con fuerza de brassos*”] has to be amalgamated into the same wine and later moved into a closed jar for nine days. At this stage the compound must be distilled and aromatised with some rose and orange water as well as some little civet musk and powder of ambergris [“*polvos de ambar*”] and finally placed in new, closed bottles and left in the sun for some time. The recipe does not say it but, even if the famous wine of Lucena was employed, in consideration of the procedure as well as the ratio of the ingredients it can reasonably infer that this amber water was meant to be used to wash the body, not to be drunk.

As noted earlier, on 22nd August 1682, Captain Francisco del Poço de Rota passed to the consul his (perhaps his family’s) “Recipe to make Mincemeat of Neck of Veal/Mutton”.⁵⁰ In detail, recipe 9 instructs the user to remove tendons and other tissues from the chosen piece of meat, to finely chop it, and to sear it with some water, salt and garlic; later it is cooked up with pork grease and seasoned with spices (nutmeg, saffron, cinnamon, cloves and pepper). The recipe, moreover, includes instructions to serve the dish with a basic sauce of lemon juice and egg yolks. Having said that, what truly fascinates of this case is the attention for the preliminary dressing of the meat and the way to season this latter.

Finally, on 22nd June 1685, Lucas de Molinas donated a “remedy to make stable the molars and teet”, recipe 13: a sort of adhesive paste created by cooking up a mixture of wine and rosemary and flowers to be placed on the tooth to stabilise it. The cure of teeth features in several Spanish manuscript recipe books. Beyond that of the Duchess of Feria, we read about “water for teeth” [“*aqua para los dientes*”] in several recipes tucked between marmalades and preserved flowers, within the so-called *Recetas experimentadas*

⁴⁹ Quotation from Sir Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean: A Study of the Rise and Influence of British Power Within the Straits, 1603–1713* (New York: CosmoClassic, 2007), 363. See ODNB, s.v. “Howard, Henry, sixth duke of Norfolk”.

⁵⁰ See figure 8.1.

para diversas cosas.⁵¹ Recipe 13 registers the physical place in which the transmission happened, Molinas' office, suggesting the extent to which culinary and administrative business might overlap, moreover.

So far, this chapter has explored recipes which have been more and more overtly Iberian. Recipes 2 and 11, respectively concerned with chocolate and vanilla, open up the scene instead to the products of the New World, and the Mexican area in particular. "Collonel John Belasyse had the receat with him", we read at the end of recipe 2, for Mr. Leonard Wilkes' "Good Chocolate", received in Cadiz, on 4th October 1665. I can find no further records relating to Leonard Wilkes; of John Belasyse, however, we know that in May 1665 he wrote to Westcombe from Tangiers.⁵² In 1678, "together with other catholic lords [... he] was committed to the Tower and impeached of high crimes and offences, but never brought to trial" as part of the "Popish Plot".⁵³

When and where this first recipe exchange happened, it was not sufficiently significant to be recorded. What was meaningful instead, to Westcombe at least, was that Belasyse had this recipe to make chocolate with him during their meeting. We can imagine the scene of the recipe exchange in various ways: Belasyse physically passing the piece of paper to the consul, or dictating the text, or simply allowing the consul to copy down the recipe, directly into V.a.430 or onto an intermediate slip of paper. In any of these possible scenarios the "original" was at hand and the conditions of the recipe exchange were excellent.⁵⁴ So, far from constituting a curious, minor anecdote, the annotation "Collonel John Belasyse had the receat with him" reveals the care and attentiveness with which Westcombe, but also Belasyse, engaged with the recipe clearly indicating, I would argue, that well up to the 1660s, English people made sense of chocolate as a particularly alluring, yet deeply unfamiliar product: the more unknown yet fascinating the preparation, the greater the care expended in its collection and transmission.

The text of the recipe seems to confirm my speculation. After calling for a thousand husk-free "cacaos toasted", "3 ounces of Synamon, 6 Bynillas [vanilla], 3 powder of shugger" and some musk, at the discretion of the maker, to be placed and beaten together in a mortar and then cooked on the fire – directions to which I shall soon come back – the recipe states:

You must haue a great Care in the Tastinge of
your cacao perpetually stirring of it while it is
one the ffyre for not burne which if it happen
will give it abadd tast. You must tost it in anew

⁵¹ BNM, MS 2019, for instance, 28r and 40r.

⁵² TNA, SP 71/13/128.

⁵³ See ODNB, s.v. "John Belasyse".

⁵⁴ These conclusions are to be reached even if envisioning a third party in-between the two men whose existence, nonetheless, is not suggested or implied in the text in any way.

Cassuela that hath not been vsed before for not to give it a badd tast your Spyces must bee sifted ass fine as possible to preuent any settling in your chocolate dish at the time when it is taken.⁵⁵

So: the attention to the procedure (continual stirring but also the very fine consistency of the spices) in order not to compromise the flavour of the chocolate is paramount. Moreover, an apparently naïve concern like the unpleasantness of burning chocolate reveals the unusualness of the preparation as well as the lack of awareness of its response to the fire which, if more widely known, would have made the comment redundant. Furthermore, the reference to the Spanish terracotta cooking pot called “*cazuela*” – and the decision to not translate the term into “earthen pot” – manifests how clearly Westcombe located chocolate inside Spanish kitchens. Indeed, even if he did not fully comprehend the widespread diffusion of the drink, thanks to his role of consul of a port town he certainly had a good sense of the many shiploads of cacao beans which reached Spain in these years, as well as the colonial dimension of chocolate consumption.

As for the directions which the recipe offers, they clearly diverge from those given by Hannah Woolley discussed in chapter 4 of this thesis – here there are no egg yolks, but instead, and significantly, spices as well as vanilla and, optionally, musk. So, even if the text is not clear, here it seems that the recipe details precisely how to make chocolate paste rather than potable chocolate; paste, in turn, clearly aligned to Rodriguez’s 1680 recipe which, in turn, was respected within the 1746 Spanish *Arte de Reposteria*.

Twenty years later, still in Cadiz, on 18th September 1685, one Sergeant Fernando, a man living near *Jerez de la Frontera* and who “came to the fleet” [“*que vino en la flotta*”] passed to the consul a recipe in order to “improve and conserve” Vanilla (recipe 11).⁵⁶ Vanilla, used in the previous recipe as complementary to chocolate it is here at the centre of the text. Evidently, at least for Westcombe, its use and storage was not a given, but was rather knowledge worth recording. In its essence this recipe, written in Spanish, suggests smashing four or six vanilla pods in tepid water, good olive– or sweet almond–oil and later, by wearing a thimble on the thumb [“*poniendose un dedal...sobre el dedo pulgar*”], flattening each pod so that the mixed liquid passes them on both sides, in order to purify them and at the same time obtain “new juice, lustre and scent” [“*nuevo Jugo, lustre y olor*”].⁵⁷ The recipe tells the reader to place the pods loosely outdoors for one or two hours after the procedure on pain of compromising their quality, suggesting future use.

⁵⁵ My italics.

⁵⁶ See note 19.

⁵⁷ Kowalchuk, *Preserving on Papers*, 153, translates the quoted line as: “putting your first finger over your thumb”.

Since the early decades of the seventeenth century, Spanish medical authorities had recommended the use of Vanilla to balance the humoral properties of cacao – which, in terms of taste, tones down its bitterness –but no Spanish printed or manuscript recipe book engaged with this ingredient in any detailed way, as this recipe does. As for English readers, they could occasionally have stumbled across references to vanilla since 1662, the year of Henry Stubbe’s *The Indian nectar* but the vanilla trade was far from flourishing in England in these years considering that “the Spanish Empire jealously guarded its source of supply” and regulated its commerce strictly until the end of the century.⁵⁸ In other words, it is logical and legitimate to claim that this recipe, which was not registered as Spanish, was nonetheless understood as mediated by Spanish experience. The value and significance of this recipe is exceptional as it provides us with practical, culinary knowledge either unique, or incredibly hard to trace, in these decades.

One recipe remains to be analysed, that of the “Spanish Pap”, recipe 14, written by a much later hand, early eighteenth-century in feel. As table 8.2 details, the recipe corresponds to the “Spanish pappe” founded within the printed pages of anonymous *The Compleat Cook* (1655), except for listing orange-flower water instead of rose water and presenting minor differences in the quantity of the other ingredients – our recipe 23 in table 2.1.

| MS V.a.430 | <i>The Compleat Cook</i> |
|--|---|
| Take three spoonfulls of fine rice flower | Take three spoonfulls of rice-floure, finely beaten and searced, |
| 4 yolks of eggs | two yolks of eggs, |
| 6 spoonfulls of sugar | three spoonfulls of sugar, |
| <u>two of Orange flower watter</u> | <u>three or foure spoonfulls of rose-water.</u> |
| mix these together + put them into a quart of Cream & let them in the fire shirring of it till it comes to a reasonable thickness then put into cups or glasses. | Temper these fouer together, then put them to a pint of cold cream, then set it on the fire and keep it stirred till it come to a reasonable thickness, then dish it and serve it up. |

Table 8.2 – Comparison of recipe 14 with the equivalent from *The Compleat Cook*.

I believe that the substitution of rose water with that of orange-flowers water reflects the scribe’s desire to be more aligned to the content of the rest of V.a.430, thus adjusting the printed text in light of individual/familiar preferences. In fact, V.a.430, which does not contain any recipe for rose water, provides its readers with specific recipes “to preserve orange flowers” and “to make orange flowers cakes”, written not many pages before that

⁵⁸Tim Ecott, *Vanilla: Travels in Search of the Luscious Substance* (London: Penguin books, 2004), 36.

of the “Spanish pap”, in an equally late hand.⁵⁹ Orange-flowers based preparations were popular in Spanish recipe books with flowers of citrus fruits known by the exact noun of “*azhar*”, as we have seen in Part I of this thesis. That this manuscript presents invocations to such a delicate product seldom mentioned within English recipe collections, to the point of having a specific recipe for the preservation thereof is a clear, further indication of the proximity of some of the recipes given in V.a.430 to Spanish gastronomic traditions. It is difficult to further speculate on the motives for the inclusion of this “Spanish pap”, or of the other orange-flowers based recipes; but it is surely suggestive that in a manuscript concerned with Spain and with Iberian practices, a recipe for a distinctively Spanish dish caught the eye of a later compiler.

* * *

MS V.a.430 tells many stories; given the number of pages missing, it is also likely that the manuscript once contained many further ones, which we are unlikely ever to recover. This chapter has focused, nonetheless, on the story of Sir Martin Westcombe. In doing so, these pages have advanced our appreciation of recipe books as a multiply gendered form of textual experience, ultimately demonstrating Westcombe’s material role within the collection and transmission of Iberian recipe knowledge.

Even more importantly than his material role, it is the social role of this philo(?)-Catholic English consul in Cadiz which has to be stressed. While it is clear that our consul *Bisconde*’s interest in Spanish culinary and related practices was so vivid to the point that a local wrote down a recipe in his recipe book and that he himself penned some recipes in the Spanish language, it is equally clear that his privileged position, as well as uncommon language skills, were at the base of these experiences. With the notable exception of his Spanish *Comadre*, all the donors of the Iberian recipes which the consul collected onto MS V.a.430 were men, Spaniards but also English.

The starting point of this chapter nonetheless cannot be forgotten: that MS V.a.430, unlike the very vast majority of early modern English recipe books, is significantly informed by Iberian recipe knowledge. This case thus provides us with another piece of the puzzle of the English interest, appreciation and understanding of Iberian food and related traditions. Fundamentally, this case shows an interest in a remarkable variety of Iberian practical traditions, beyond culinary recipes. It is, however, much more representative in the scarcity of recipes overtly focused on Portuguese, rather than Spanish knowledge – the incorporation within the recipe book of instructions to make inks delineated specifically as Spanish is unique. This case also exemplifies an attention to Hispanicised culinary habits, especially those received, and adapted, from the New World

⁵⁹ MS V.a.430, pages 146 and 140 respectively.

– cacao and vanilla – offering further proof of the role of Spain as the crucial medium for the diffusion of South American products (most notably cacao) and knowledge to Europe and England. As for other non-edible commodities, in a fashion similar to the other manuscript recipe books I have discussed, the presence of recipes to create perfumes for leather, especially used on gloves, as well as waters for body, further supports the impression that such products were understood as quintessentially Spanish by English people.

In contrast with the Duchess' of Feria recipe book, but aligned to the Fanshawes' recipes, V.a.430 does not, at least explicitly, associate preserving techniques, most notably marmalades and candies, with the Iberian heritage. In this sense, even if materially written down by Sir Martin Westcombe, there is nothing overtly Iberian or purposefully marked out as such in "To Make Excellent Orenge Watter Viz" and "To make orange Bisquit". Again, as said in the previous chapter, this is the intrinsic limit of this thesis; yet, the presence of many invocations of orange-flowers is particularly thought-provoking. Especially suggestive is the existence of "Spanish pappe" among the recipes contained in this collection –even if there cannot be any doubt that it was penned by a later hand.

What this chapter, possibly more powerfully than the others, has unquestionably proven is that recipes and recipe books are complex sources which, nonetheless, can deepen our understanding of early modern England, ultimately functioning as windows into that society. Part of the indisputable beauty of the recipes here analysed lies precisely in this ability: the "Moorish" remedy with an explicit remark on Spanish culinary habits but also the invocation to God is a true gem within V.a.430 and, more generally, within English early modern manuscript recipe books *tout court*.

9.

Conclusion

Referring in particular to pre-modern European printed cookbooks, Clifford A. Wright, in his superb *A Mediterranean Feast* (1999), provocatively lamented that “the sources available to the culinary historian are enormous; unfortunately, there are almost no culinary historians”.¹ He concluded his entire work by remarking that a systematic study of these sources “has never been undertaken, and it would be a great contribution to our understanding... if an ambitious scholar could make better sense of it all”.²

Twenty years have passed from Wright’s call and, despite the excellent contributions to the field made by culinary historians like Albala and Pennell, with their sophisticated interest for English kitchen practises and techniques, we still lament the lack of a comprehensive investigation of pre-modern recipe books. *Early Modern Anglo-Iberian Food and Recipes: Transmission, Reception, Identity* cannot be the work Wright pushed for; however, this thesis is grounded in systematic research into Iberian invocations in English printed recipe books in all the forms the genre took, alongside a solid understanding of their place in the wider European pre-modern context. “Part I: Printed Sources”, in particular, makes a distinctive contribution to scholarship not only in its thoroughgoing unearthing of the culinary and imaginative connections forged between England and Iberia, but also in the methodological novelty of a detailed textual comparison of recipes. In this way, Part I contributes significantly to our appreciation of early modern food culture in England, Spain and Portugal, offering a series of illuminating case-studies.

“Part II: manuscript sources” originally aimed to track down invocations of Iberian culinary expertise in English handwritten recipe collections, thus mirroring Part I, but its scope turned out to be significantly wider. It shows, most notably, that two manuscript books that have thus far been neglected and overlooked – British Library Add MS 34212 and Wellcome Library MS 363, discussed in chapters 5 and 6 respectively – represent extraordinary sources for the study of Iberian pre-modern recipe knowledge, of a culinary and related nature, and must be added to the limited list of exemplars of this kind we possess. But part II also includes a detailed study of two other manuscript sources containing authentic Iberian recipes collected by Englishmen and woman in the second half of the seventeenth-century during their sojourns in the Iberian Peninsula.

¹ Clifford A. Wright, *A Mediterranean Feast. The Story of the Birth of the Celebrated Cuisines of the Mediterranean, from The Merchants of Venice to the Barbary Corsairs* (New York:William Morrow 1999), 693.

² *Ibid.*, 702.

What the entire thesis does, moreover, is to show the complexity but also the rewards of any serious engagement with recipe books: researchers of early modern recipe writing and recipe culture seldom or never engage in any detail with the texts of the recipes they study, whether to ask what they tell us about kitchen practice and techniques; to trace allusions, borrowings, and reproductions; to discover the telling details that disclose national traditions or ‘foreign’ influences; or to consider the practicalities of copying, transmission, translation and interpretation. This thesis, although engaging with a limited number of recipes, shows the clear potential of an in-depth investigation of the recipes themselves.

This thesis would never have been produced without the work of previous scholars. However, the level of imprecision which surrounds the analysis of early modern English manuscript recipe books has represented a real hurdle to my own research. The case of the fictional “Sarah Hughes”, discussed at the end of chapter 6, does not represent the only case of misrepresentation or misinterpretation.

In her 2014 *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England*, Holly Dugan claims that:

Over three hundred recipes for perfuming gloves appear in over sixty distinct manuscript cookbooks dated between 1580 and 1640; forty of these books are identified as women’s recipe collections. Many of the recipes, like the one I quoted earlier, are translations of popular printed English or Spanish cookbooks [...] For example, Mary Doggett’s recipe for gloves perfumed in the “Spanish” manner directs women to perfume their gloves until they “swim” with amber and emphasizes the “Spanish” ingredients of ambergris, civet, storax, and musk. Another manuscript cookbook contains a recipe for “How to perfume gloves as be made in Spaine and Portguall and translated forth of a written Spanish book of the duches of Ferius,” which directs one to anoint the gloves with ambergris many times till they “may drink upp a great part of the said ointment.”³

We cannot date manuscript recipes books (not “cookbooks”) in this way. Far fewer than 60 manuscripts potentially belong to the decades Dugan cites, and hence cannot have belonged to 40 female owners.⁴ Dugan’s first example, beyond being problematic for

³ Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 127.

⁴ Cfr. Stine, *Opening Closets*, “Appendix I: Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Recipe Collections Owned or Signed by Women” in which (reading it as flexibly as possible and not considering the inherent problems of such categorization), no more than 20 recipe-books are given as owned or signed by women for the period 1580-1640. Out of these 20 exemplars, 14 were dated after 1620,

many other reasons, comes from a source dated 1682. “Translations of popular printed...Spanish cookbook[s]” did not exist in early modern England, nor elsewhere, as we have seen. The “recipe” Dugan cites in her second example is, in fact, the title of the large-scale collection of recipes belonging to the Duchess of Feria, which Chapter 5 of this thesis has explored in detail. Of the 300 recipes of which Dugan speaks, there is no trace within the manuscripts she cites in her footnote.

These corrections of mine could be labelled as *minutiae*. However, it is precisely on these *minutiae* that Dugan bases her claim that not just perfumes and gloves, but the very knowledge of making perfumes, especially those for gloves – which she links to recognised “Spanish ways” – entered the house, by which she means the realm of the English housewives’ recipe expertise, representing “a microcosm of England’s luxury markets”.⁵ It is my view that Dugan’s claim that “in late sixteenth-century England, a wide variety of guild-members, artisans, house-wives, and merchants were “all oiled in ambergris”” is an overstatement, and that we should certainly exclude “house-wives” from the equation.

Early modern English manuscript recipe books do not contain significant perfume-making knowledge.⁶ I have consulted more than fifty exemplars for this thesis, and found only a handful of generic recipes for gloves and perfumes – all in late seventeenth-century, and possibly early eighteenth-century sources. Examples of perfume-making knowledge entering England before the seventeenth century are few and far between, and are broadly limited to the case discussed in this thesis. Printed sources also show very little engagement with perfumes.

The intellectual root of Dugan’s quoted passage lies in her appreciation (mediated by secondary readings) of early modern English recipe books as first and foremost “women’s books”. This thesis in no way argues against the idea of recipe books as texts experienced by women, but nonetheless has unquestionably proven Englishmen’s engagement with the genre. Sir Richard Fanshawe, Sir Martin Westcombe and his male donors, Thomas Lodge, and the apothecary who translated the “LIBRO” were, clearly enough, all men, who shared the enthusiasm for recipes as an effective form of knowledge transmission with English women, like the Duchess of Feria; the Countess(es) of Arundel; Lady Ann Fanshawe; or indeed Mary and Ann Granville, Sir Westcombe’s daughter and niece. Men as well as women were acknowledged as authors, collectors, donors or approvers of printed sources, most notably Sir Kenelm Digby, Walter Montagu and Elisabeth Grey, Countess of Kent, Alethea Talbot’s elder sister.

one is dated 1576, one other 1606 [Lady Anne Arundel’s book] and one another still “c.1620”; the remaining 3 as “17c?”.

⁵ Dugan, *The Ephemeral History*, 127.

⁶ Not by chance Edith Snook, “The Beautifying Part of Physic”: Women’s Cosmetic Practices in Early Modern England,” *Journal of Women’s History* 20, no. 3 (2008): 10-33 does not speak of perfumes at all.

To collect Iberian recipes in post-Reformation England was an evidently, and possibly exclusive, Catholic, practice. Most of the individuals listed above were Roman Catholics. In the cases of those few whose faith we cannot determine, we know nonetheless that they all belonged to Roman Catholic families. Hence my questions: are recipe books a genre typical of English Roman Catholics? When the anonymous *The Compleat Cook* opens with “To make a Posset, the Earle of Arundells way” – figure 2.2 of this thesis – is this opening page telling us something more than just how to make a posset? When Robert May’s *The Accomplisht Cook*, and like this many other printed texts, lists recipes for “Fish-days” or “Lent days” in an early modern England in which fasting regulations had long since been disassociated from religious behaviours, are those recipes simply speaking about “how to dress a carp” or are they telling us something more?

Martial was suspicious of Postume, a Roman who always smelled nicely: “*Hoc mihi suspectum est, quod oles bene, Postume, semper: Postume, non bene olet qui bene semper olet*”.⁷ Like Martial, after undertaking the research for this thesis, I have a doubt concerning perfumed gloves and pomanders. Could it be that when dressed with musk, ambergris, and civet in particular, they were used to consciously reveal Spanish, and hence Catholic, sympathies? It is incredibly hard to locate pomanders in paintings and, even when it is possible, they usually appear within portraits of unknown ladies. Yet, paintings of Catholic, English and other Ladies, like those created by Mor – figures 6.1 and 6.2 of this thesis – can be, with some effort, traced.

Within this thesis, I have attempted to undertake a comprehensive view of all recipes and foodstuffs explicitly acknowledge as Iberian in early modern English culinary texts. Yet many of the recipes gathered within early modern English recipe books, derived from the Iberian culinary tradition, are even not acknowledged as such. On the basis of the evidence presented in this thesis, it should be clear that a recipe like that for making “Sirrop of Rosa solis”, quoted in chapter 3, page 59, is recognisably Iberian in its influences, and is likely to have been recognised as such by early modern English readers. A possibly more persuasive case is that of the little poem which opens Hugh Platt’s 1602 *Delights for Ladies*:

...But now my pen and paper are perfum'd,
 I scorne to write with Coppres or with galle,
 Barbarian canes are now become my quils,
 Rosewater is the inke I write withall:
 Of sweetes the sweetest I will now commend,
 To sweetest creatures that the earth doth beare:
 These are the Saints to whom I sacrifice
 Preserues and conserues both of plum and peare.
 Empalings now adew, tush marchpaine wals

⁷ Martial, *Epigrams*, Liber II, 12, 3-4. “I have got a doubt, Postume: you always smell good. Postume: it does not smell good [that someone] always smells good”.

Are strong enough, and best be fits our age:
Let piercing bullets turne to sugar bals:
The Spanish feare is husht and all their rage.
Of Marmelade and paste of Genua,
Of musked sugars I intend to wright:
Of Leach, of Sucket, and Quidinia,
Affording to each Lady her delight.
I teach both fruits and flowers to preserue,
And candie them, so Nutmegs, cloues and mace:
To make both marchpaine paste, and sugred plate,
And cast the same in formes of sweetest grace...⁸

Hugh Platt's *Delightes for Ladies* is the source of only one Iberian recipe: recipe 10, "To preserve Orenge after the Portugall fashion". According to Platt, however, the "Spanish feare and all their rage" was gone, with the defeat of the Armada. Was he keen to "teach both fruits and flowers to preserue" because the end of the war had also opened up the possibility of knowledge transfer from a country which had been once an ally and had, more recently, been an enemy? Platt's poem suggests the extensive imaginative engagement of English culinary writers and their readers with Iberian recipes, ingredients and techniques: a fanciful, often flexible and imprecise, and richly rewarding engagement which saw the Spanish enemy firmly ensconced in the English kitchen.

⁸ Platt, *Delighets for Ladies*, "The Epistle", Sig. [A2v].

**Appendix I:
Recipes acknowledged as Spanish or Portuguese
in English recipe books, 1500-1680.**

All data are taken from ESTC first and also cross-checked with EBBO and Henry Notaker's *Bibliography of Printed Cookbooks in Europe*. Transcriptions, when available, are taken from EEBO. Moreover, I have double-checked the existence of the recipes in every edition following the first, when the case.

Anon. [*This is the Boke of Cokery*], 1500 + 1510,33.

1.Bruet of Spayne;

Sig. [h.iii].

To mak bruet of spayne take venyson and mak long lesshes then fry them in buttur and wesse them in wyn then tak sugur almond mylk clowes maces quybibes and boile them to gedur and sesson them with poudure and venyger and serue it.

Ruscelli, Girolamo. *The Secretes of the Reuerende Maister Alexis of Piemount*, 1558 + 1559,62,68,80,95. Translation from the French version, not the Italian original.

2.To confite peches after the Spanyshe facion;

Fol.63v.

Take greate and fayre peches, whiche you shall pill and make cleane, and cutte them in pieces, and so laye them abrode vpon a table faire and cleane in the sunne by the space of two dayes, tournung them euer at nighte, and in the morninge, and put them hote into a iuleppe of sugre, well sodden and prepared as is aforesaied. And after you haue taken them out, sette them agayne in the sunne, tournung them often vntill they bee well dried. This dooen put them agayne into the iulep, and then in the sunne, vntill they haue gotten a faire barke or cruste, as you wyll haue them, and this shall you dooe three or foure times: then being thus prepared, you maye keepe them in boxes for winter, for it is a soueraygne thinge.

A.W. *A Book of Cookrye: Very Necessary for All Such as Delight Therein*, 1587 + 1591,94 (the 1594 copy was destroyed during the II WW, see Notaker, 62).

3.To make Farts of Portingale;

p. 33r.*

Take a quart of life Hony, and set it vpon the fire and when it seetheth scum it clean, and then put in a certaine of fine Biskets well serced, and some poudere of Cloues, some Ginger, and powder of sinamon, Annis séeds and some Sugar, and let all these be well stirred vpon the fire, til it be as thicke as you thinke needfull, and for the paste for them take Flower as finelye dressed as may be, and a good peece of sweet Butter, and woorke all these same well together, and not knead it.

4.To make conserue of quinces after the manner of Spaine;

p. 34v.*

Take six or seuen pound of quinces, and two gallons and a halfe of water, and set your water on the fire till it be thorow warm, then put therto the whites of two eggs, shels and all, and all to stir it with a stick, and then let it stand vpon the fire till it cast a great scum. Then take of the said scum, and put therto fiue pound of sugar, and let it stand till it be molten, and a little

while after, and then take it from the fire, and let it run through a woollen cloth of cotten, and then put in your quinces clean pared and the cores clean taken out, and so set them vpon the fier the space of an houre and a halfe, and then take them of the fier, and strain them through a canuas cloth water and al, and then set them vpon the fire again & let them seethe the space of two houres & a half, and all that time stir it with stickes with broade endes, and to know when it is inough, lay it vpon a box lid, and when it commeth vp cleane it is enough.

*Pages takes from the edition of 1591, as the 1587 edition is partially lost.

Dawson, Thomas. *The Second Part of the Good Hus-Wiues Iewell*, 1597 + 1606.

***How to purifie and prepare Honnye and Sugar for to confite citrons and all other fruites.**

Take euery time ten pound of hony, the white of twelue new laid egges, and take away the froth of them, beate them wel together with a stick, and six glasses of fair fresh water, then put them into the honny, and boyle them in a pot with moderate fire the space of a quarter of an hower or lesse, then take them from the fire skimming them well.

5.To confite peaches after the Spanish fashion;

p. 43 [like 2].

Take great and faire peaches and pill them clean, cut them in péeces and so lay them vpon a table abroad in the sun the space of two daies, turning them euery morning and night, & put the~ hot into a inlep of sugar wel sodden, and prepared as is aforesaid, and after you haue taken them out set them againe in the sun turning them often vntill they bee well dried, this doon, put them againe into the inlep, then set them in the sun vntill they haue gotten a faire bark or crust, and you may keepe them in boxes for winter.

Anon. [*A Booke of Cookerie, Otherwise Called the Good Huswiues...*], 1597.

6.How to make Farts of Portingale;

p.10v.

Take a peece of a leg of Mutton, mince it smal and season it with cloues, mace pepper and salt, and datess minced with currans: then roll it into round rolles, and so into little balles, and so boyle them in a little beefe broth and so serue them fourth.

7.How to make Fystes of Portingale;

p. 10v.

Take some swéet suet minced small, the yolks of two eggs, with grated bread and currans: temper all these together with a litle saffron, sinamon, ginger, and a litle salt: then seeth them in a litle Bastard or Sack a little while: and when they haue boiled a litle take it vp, and cast some sugar to it, & so make bals of it as big as tennis balles, & lay foure or fiue in a dish, and powre on some of the broth that they were sodden in, and so serue them.

8.To make Spanish balles;

p. 44r.

Take a péece of a leg of mutton, and pare away the skin from the flesh, chop the flesh very small: then take marrow of beefe, and cut it as big as a hasell nut, & take as much of marrow in quantity as yee haue of flesh, & put both in a fair platter and some salt, and eight yolks of eggs, and stirre them wel together: then take a litle earthen pot, and put in it a pint and a halfe of beefe broth that is not salt, or else mutton broth and make it seeth: then make balles of your stuffe, and put them in boyling broth one after another, and let them stewe softly the space of two houres, then lay them on sopps three or foure in a dish, and of the vppermost of the broth vpon the sopps, and make your balles as big as tennis balles.

Roselli, Giovanni De. *Epulario, or the Italian Banquet, 1598.*

Translation from the Italian.

9.To make Miraus of Spaine;

sig.C.

First take Pigeons, Pullets, or Capons, and dresse them as if they were to be rosted, and so spit them, and when they are halfe rosted, take them off the spit, cut them in peeces, which done, put the~ into an earthen pot. Then take almonds scorched on whote embers, and wipe them cleane, & without more wiping of them stampe them in a mortar: then take tosted bread with three or foure yolks of egges, and stamp them with the almonds, and temper them with a little vinegar and broth strained through a cloth, and the~ put them into the pipkin with the meat, and set them on the coales with good store of spice, especially Sinamon and Saffron, and Sugar ynough, and let it boile for the space of an houre, s[...]ring it with a spoone, and when it is boyled, send it to the table in a flat dish or platter, or els in pottage which is most couenient.

***To make twelue kinds of white meat after the Catalonian manner;**

Take a pot ful of Goats milk, and eight ounces of flower of fine Rice, and boile it in the milke, then take the flesh of the breast of a Capon new killed, and let him be halfe boyled, then pull it in small péeces as big as threds, and put it into a mortar to beat, but giue it but two stamperes, and when the milke hath boyled halfe an hour, put the said Capons flesh into it with a pound of Sugar, and let them boile for the space of halfe an houre or there abouts, and stirre it well as long as it standeth on the fire: and to know when this is boyled, take out thy spoone and it will séeme fresh, then put Rose wa ter into it as aforesaid, and dish it, strawing Sugar and so send them to the table.

***To make white meats after the manner of Catalonia;**

Take a pound and a halfe of Almonds well blanched and stamped, which being tempered with the broth of a Pullet and strained, set them to boile in an earthen pipkin, then put into it two ounces of Rice floure first tempered with the Almond milke, which you shall boile for the space of halfe an houre, stirring it with a spoone, then put to it a pound and a halfe of Sugar, and a little of the flesh of a Capons breast wel beaten, which Capons flesh should be sodde with the almond milke as soon as it is set set vpon the fire, and when this composition is well sodden, you shall adde thereto a little rosewater, and strawing a little fine sugar vpon it, send it to the Table.

***To seeth Gourdes after the Catalonian fashion;**

Take the iuice of the Gourd and make it very clean, then put it into a pipkin with good larde or oyle, and set the pipkin on the coales vpon a soft fire, and make it to boile, stirring it with a spoone: it should séeth for the space of foure houres, then take fat broth coloured with saffron, & put into the Gourdes, adding thereto sugar, spice, and a little Veriuice according to the tast. You may also put to it a few yolkes of egges beaten together with a little old chéese.

Platt, Hugh. *Delightes for Ladies, 1602.*

+ 1603,08,09,11,15,17,20,24,28,30,32,35,36,40,44,47,51,54,56.

10.To preserue Orenge after the Portugall fashion;

sig. C3v.

Take orenge & coare them on the side and lay them in water. Then boile them in fair water til they be tender, shift them in the boyling to take away their bitternesse, then take sugar and boyle it to the height of sirup as much as will couer them, and so put your orenge into it, and that will make them take sugar. If you haue orenge, beate. Of them till they come to paste with a pouade of fine sugar, then fill euery one of the other Orenge with the same, and so boile them again in your sirup: then there will be marmelade of orenge within your orenge, & it will cut like an hard egge.

Anon. *A Closet for Ladies and Gentlewomen*, 1608

+ 1611,14,27,30,32,35,36,47,51,54,56.

11.To candy marigolds in wedges the Spanish fashion;

p.18 [like 39 and 54].

Take of the faire yealow marigold flowers, two ounces, and shred them, and dry them before the fire, then take foure ounces of suger, and boyle it to the height of manus christi, then poure it vpon a wet pieplate, and betwixt hot and cold, cut it into wedges, then lay them on a sheete of white paper, and put them in a stove.

Markham, Gervase. *The English Husvife*, 1615

+ 1623,25,31,33,48,53,60, 76,83, 95.

12.Olepotrige;

p. 50-51.

To make an excellent *Olepotrige*, which is the onely principall dish of boild meate which is esteemed in all *Spaine*, you shall take a very large vessell, pot or kettell, and filling it with water, you shall set it on the fire, and first put in good thicke gobbets of well fed Beefe, and being ready to boile, skumme your pot; when the Beefe is halfe boiled, you shall put in Potato roots, Turneps, and Skirrets: also like gobbets of the best Mutton, and the best Porke; after they haue boyled a while, you shall put in the like gobbets of Venison red, and Fallow, if you haue them; then the like gobbets, of Veale, Kidde, and Lamb; a little space after these, the foreparts of a fat Pigge, and a crambd Pullet; then put in Spinage, Endiue, Succory, Marigold leaues & flowers, Lettice, Violet leaues, Strawberry leaues, Buglosse and Scallions, all whole and vnchoot; then when they haue boiled a while, put in a Partridge and a Chicken chopt in peeces, with Quailles, Rails, Blackbirds, Larkes, Sparrowes and other small birds, all being well and tenderly boiled, season vp the broth with good store of Sugar, Cloues, Mace, Cinamon, Gingerand Nutmegge mixt together in a good quantity of Veriuiuce and salt, and so stirre vp the pot well from the bottome, then dish it vp vpon great Chargers, or long Spanish dishes made in the fashion of our English wooden trayes, with good store of sippets in the bottome; then couer the meate all ouer with Prunes, Raisins, Currants, and blanch't Almonds, boiled in a thing by themselues; then couer the fruite and the whole boiled hearbes, and the hearbes with slices of Orenge and Lemmons, and lay the roots round about the sides of the dish, and strew good store of Sugar ouer all, and so serue it fourth.

Anon. *The Ladies Cabinet Opened*, 1639

+ *The Ladies Cabined Enlarged and Opened* 1654,55,58,67.

13.To preserve all kind of flowers in the Spanish candy in wedges;

p. 48 [alike 14].

Take violets, cowslips, or any other kind of flowers, pick them and temper them with the pap of two roasted apples, and a drop or two of verjuyce, and a grain of muske; then take half a pound of fine hard sugar, boil it to the height of *manus christi*, then mixe them together, and pour it on a wet pie-plate, then cut it in wedges before it be through cold, gild it and so you may box it, and keep it all the year: it is a fine sort of banquetting stuff, and newly used. Your *manus christi* must boil a good while, and be kept with good stirring.

Anon. *A Book of Fruits and Flowers*, 1653 + 1656.

14.To preserve all kind of flowers in the Spanish candy in wedges;

pp. 26-27 [alike 13].

Take violets, cowslips, or any other kind of flowers, pick them and temper them with the pap of two roasted apples, and a drop or two of verjuyce, and a grain of muske; then take half a pound of fine hard sugar, boil it to the height of *manus christi*, then mixe them together, and pour it on a wet pie-plate, then cut it in wedges before it be through cold, gild it and so you may box it, and keep it all the year: it is a fine sort of banquetting stuff, and newly used. Your *manus christi* must boil a good while, and be kept with good stirring.

[†**Kent, Elisabeth Grey, Countess of]. *A Choice Manual, 1653***

+ 1654,59,61,63,64,67,69,71,74,77,83,87.

15.To candie all kind of Floures in wayes of the Spanish Candie;

pp. 59-60 [alike 16 and 38].

Take double refined Sugar, put it in to a posnet with as much Rosewater as will melt it, and put into it the papp of half a roasted Apple, and a grain of Musk, then let it boyl till it come to a candie height, then put in your Floures being pick'd, and so let it boyle, then cast them on a fine plate, and cut it in waves with your knife, then you may spot it with Gold and keep it.

W. J. *A True Gentlewomas Delight, 1653*

+ 71,87 (printed separately but also bound with the above title).

16.To candy all kind of floures in wayes of the Spanish candy;

pp. 64-65 [alike 15 and 38].

Take double refined sugar, put it into a posnet with as much rosewater as will melt it, and put into it the papp of half a roasted apple, and a grain of musk, then let it boyle till it come to a candy height, then put in your floures being pick'd, and so let it boyle, then cast them on a fine plate, and cut it in wayes with your knife, then you may spot it with gold and keep it.

La Varenne F. P. *The French Cook, 1653*

+ 1654,73. Translation from French.

17.Eggs after the Portugals way;

pp. 96-97.

Take many yolks of eggs, and one pound, or half a pound of sugar, with which you shall make a sirrurp, which being made, you shall mixe it with your eggs, with one drop of orange-flower water, and seeth them; after they are enough, make a cornet with butterd paper, and well doubled, put your eggs in it, and being cold, then take off the paper, and put these eggs on a plate the sharp end upward, sugar it, and garnish it with the peare called nompareill (or non such) cinamon, lemon peelee preserved, and flowers, then serve.

18.Cardons of Spaine;

p. 99.

After they are whitened, take off the skin very neatly, and set them a steeping in fresh water, then serve them with peper and salt.

M[ontague] W[alter]?. *The Queens Closet Opened, 1655*

+ 1656,58,59,61,62,63,71,74,79,83,84,96,98.

19.To candy Spanish flowers;

p. 240.*

Take the blossoms of divers sorts of flowers, and make a syrup of water and sugar, and boil it very thick, then put in your blossoms, and stir them in their boiling, till it turn to sugar again, then stir them with the back of a spoon, till the sugar fall from it; so may you keep them for sallets all the year.

20.To candy citrons after the Spanish way;

p. 243.*

Take citron peels so large as you please, the inner part being taken away, let them be steeped in a clear lay of water and ashes for nine dayes, and shift them the fifth day, afterward wash them in fair water, till the bitterness be taken away, and that they grow sweet, then let them be boiled in fair water till they grow soft, the watery part being taken away, let them be steeped in a vessel of stone twenty four hours, with a julip made of white sugar, and three parts water, after let them be boiled upon a gentle fire, to candness of penidies or paste; being taken out of that, let them be put in a glass vessel, one by one, with the julip of roses made somewhat hard, or with sugar; some do adde amber and musk to them.

* Within *A Queens Delight*, the second part of the *Queens Closet Opened*.

Anon. *The Compleat Cook, 1655*

+ 56,58,59,62,63,68,71 (bound together with the above title in 1679, 83, 84, 96 and 1698).

21. A Spanish creame;

p. 30.

Put hot water in a bucket and go with it to the milking, then poure out the water, and instantly milke into it, and presently strain it into milk-pans of an ordinary fulnesse, but not after an ordinary way for you must set your pan on the ground and stand on a stool, and pour it forth that it may rise in bubbles with the fall; this on the morrow will be a very tough cream, which you must take off with your skimmer, and lay it in the dish, laying upon laying; and if you please strew some sugar between them.

22.To make a Portugall Dish;

p. 56.

Take the Guts, Gizards and Liver of two fat Capons, cut away the Galles from the Liver, and make clean the Gizards and put them into a Dish of clean water, slit the Gut as you do a Calves Chaldron but take off none of the fat, then lay the Guts about an hour in White-wine, as the Guts soke, half boyle Gizards and Livers, then take a long wooden broach, and spit your Gizards and Liver thereon, but not close one to another, then take and wipe the Guts somewhat dry in Cloth, and season them with Salt and beaten Pepper, Cloves and Mace, then wind the Guts upon the wooden. Broach about the Liver, and Gizards, then tye the wooden Broach to spin, and lay them to the fire to roast, and roast them very brown, and bast them not at all till they be enough, then take the Gravy of Mutton, the juyce of two or three oranges, and a grain of Saffron, mix all well together, and with a spoon bast your roast, let it drop into the same dish. Then draw it, and serve it to the Table with the same sauce.

23.To make Spanish Pappe;

p. 62.

Take three spoonfuls of rice-floure, finely beaten and searced, two yolks of eggs, three spoonfuls of sugar, three or foure spoonfuls of rose-water. Temper these fouer together, then put them to a pint of cold cream, then set it on the fire and keep it stirred till it come to a reasonable thicknesse, then dish it and serve it up.

24.A Spanish Olio;

p. 94.

Take a peice of Bacon not very fat, but sweet and safe from being rusty, a peice of fresh beefe, a couple of hoggs Eares, and foure feet if they can be had, and if not, some quantity of sheeps feet, (Calves feet are not proper) a joynt of Mutton, the Leg, Rack, or Loyne, a Hen, halfe a dozen pigeons, a bundle of Parsley, Leeks, and Mint, a clove of Garlick when you will, a small quantity of Pepper, Cloves, and Saffron, so mingled that not one of them overrule, the Pepper and Cloves must be beaten as fine as possible may be, and the Saffron must be first dried, and then crumble in powder and dissolved apart in two or three spoonfuls of broth, but both the Spices and the Saffron may be kept apart till immediately before they be used, which must not be, till within a quarter of a houre before the Olio be taken off from the fire; a pottle of hard dry pease, when they have first steeped in water some dayes, a pint of boyl'd Chesnuts: particular care must be had that the pot wherein the Olio is made, be very sweet; Earthen I thinke is the best, and judgement is to be had carefully both in the size of the Pot, and in the quantity of the Water at the first, that so the Broth may grow afterwards to be neither too much nor too little, nor too grosse, nor too thin; thy meat must be long in boyling, but the fire not too fierce, the Bacon, the Beef, the Pease, the Chesnuts, the Hogs Eares may be put in at the first. I am utterly against those confused Olios into which men put almost all kinds of meats and Roots, and especially against putting of Oyle, for it corrupts the Broath, instead of adding goodnesse to it. To do well, the Broth is rather to be drunk out of a Porringer then to be eaten with a spoon, though you add some smal slices of bread to it, you wil like it the worse. The Sauce for thy meat must be as much fine Sugar beaten smal to powder, with a little Mustard, as can be made to drink the Sugar up, and you wil find it to be excellent, but if you make it not faithfully and justly according to this prescript, but shall neither put Mace, or Rosemary, or Tyme to the Herbs as the manner is of some, it will prove very much the worse.

Marnettè, Mounsiour. *The Perfect Cook*, 1656 + 1686.

25.To make small minced pies according to the Spanish fashion;

p. 79-80.*

You must make your paste very fine, and to one pinte of flower, adde four yolks of eggs thereunto, and when your said paste shall bee thus prepared, you shall form the crust of your little minced pies, not above two sheets of paper in thicknesse, or a little more, according to the bignesse of your pies, and you shall fill them up with the following minced meat. Viz.mince very small all the flesh of a capon, a quarter of a pound of fresh porck, and a quarter of a pound of mutton, two calves kidneys, a quantity of fat bacon, good marrow and beef suet, of each one a quarter of a pound, a few leeks or onions, and great store of mouscherons, both salt and sweet spices at difcretion; all which ingredients you must mince together. You must garnish, or fill your pies with these minced meats, and after that, make up your pies with fine flower lids wrought; and having washed or burnisht your said lids, you may cause these your little Spanish minced pies to bee well and throughly baked.

26.The manner to dress Eggs according to the Portugal manner;

pp. 259-261.*

You must fry your hard Eggs in a Frying-pan as followeth; you must in the first place fry some Parsly small shredded, or some Onions, or some Leeks in fresh butter, and when they shall be half fried, pour unto them hard Eggs cut into rounds, whereunto you may adde a handful of Muscharoons well peeled, washed, and cut in slices, season the whole with salt, and fry it well with brown butter in your Frying-pan, and when they are almost fryed put some vinegar unto them. When these your said eggs are minced in a dish, you may adde unto them some grated Nutmeg, and garnish them with some sippets of grated bread; so likewise may you imbellish this your said Friscos with slices of raw Lemmons. Sometimes you may half fry onions and parsley in good fresh butter, and afterwards adde unto them hard boyled eggs cut in rounds, and a little before you take them out of the Frying-pan, you may adde unto them a sauce composed of mustard, dissolved with verjuyce or vinegar, and seasoned with salt; and after you shall have given all these a turn or two over the fire, you may serve them up, having grated a little Nutmeg therein.

* Within the second part of the volume, entitled *The Perfect English Cook*.

[Mayerne, Theodore Turquet de, Sir]?. *Archimagirus Anglo-Gallicus*, 1658.

27.To make Capon pyes Spanish fashion;

p. 7.

Take a great flesh Capon parboyl him; then cut of the flesh and mince it with a pound of beef-suet, and the marrow of 3. bones, a little cloves & mace, a little pepper, and a few currans; put all this meat into Paste made with butter, marrow melted, and sugar; and when it comes out of the oven, season it with clarret wine, juice of Orange, and sugar and beaten Amber, and stirre all the meat and this together.

May, Robert. *The Accomplisht Cook*, 1660 + 1665,71,78,85.

28.To make an Olio Podrida;

pp. 1-3.

Take a pipkin or pot of some three gallons, fill it with fair water, and set it over a fire of Charcoals, and put in first your hardest meats, a Rump of Beef, Bolonia Sausages, Neats Tongues, two dry, and two green, boiled and larded, about two hours after the pot is boiled and scummed: but put in more presently after your Beef is scummed, Mutton, Venison, Pork, Bacon, all the foresaid in gubbins, as big as a Ducks eggs, in equal pieces; put in also Carrots, Turnips, Onions, Cabbidge, in good big pieces as big as your meat, a faggot of sweet herbs well bound up, and some whole Spinedge, Sorrel, Burradge, Endive, Marigolds, and other good Pothearbs a little chopped; and sometimes French Barley, or Lupins green or dry. Then a little before you dish out your Olio, put to your pot, Cloves, Mace, Saffron, &c. Then next have divers Fowls; as first, A Goose, or Turky, two Capons, two Ducks, two Pheasants, two Widgeons, four Partridges, four Stockdoves, four Teals, eight Snites, twenty four Quails,

forty eight Larks. Boil these foresaid Fowls in water and salt in a pan, pipkin, or pot, &c. Then have, Bread, Marrow, Bottoms of Artichocks, Yolks of hard eggs, Large Mace, Chesnuts boil'd and blancht, two Collyflowers, Saffron. And stew these in a pipkin together, being ready clenged with some good sweet butter, a little white wine and strong broth. Some other times for variety you may use Beets, Potato's, Skirrets, Pistaches, Pine Apple seed, or almonds, Pougarnet, and lemons, Now to dish your Olio, dish first your Beef, Veal, or Pork; then your Venison, and Mutton, Tongues, Sausage, and Roots over all. hen next your largest Fowl, Land Fowl, or Sea Fowl, as first, a Goose or Turkey, two Capons, two Pheasants, four Ducks, four Widgeons, four Stock-doves, four Partridges, eight Teals, twelve Snites, twenty four Quails, forty eight Larks, &c. Then broth it, and put on your pipkin of Collyflowers, Artichocks, Chesnuts, some Sweat-breads fried, Yolks of hard eggs, then Marrow boil'd in strong broth or water, large mace, Saffron, Pistaches, and all the foresaid things being finely stewed up, and some red Beets over all, slic't lemons, and Lemon peels whole, and run it over with beaten buttter.

29. Forcing in the Spanish fashion in balls;

p. 33.

Mince a leg of mutton with beef-suet, and some marrow cut like square dice put amongst, some yolks of eggs, and some salt and nutmeg; make this stuff as big as a tennis-ball, and stew them with strong broth the space of two hours; turn them, and serve them on tostes of fine manchet, and serve them with the palest of the balls.

30. To dress ox cheek in stofadoe, or the Spanish fashion;

p. 85.

Take the cheeks, bone them and cleanse them, then lay them in steep in claret or white wine, and wine vinegar, whole cloves, mace, beaten pepper, salt, slic't nutmegs, slic't ginger, and six or seven cloves of garlick, steep them the space of five or six hours, and close them up in an earthen pot or pan, with a piece of paste, and the same liquor put to it, set it a baking over night for next day dinner, serve it on toasts of fine manchet fried; then have boiled carrots and lay on it, with the toasts of manchet laid round the dish: garnish it with slic't lemons or oranges, and fried toast, and garnish the dish with bay leaves.

31. To souce or jelly a pig in the Spanish fashion;

p. 182.

Take a pig being scalded, boned, and chined down the back, then soke the collers clean from the blood the space of two hours, dry them in a clean cloath, and season the sides with pepper, salt, and minced sage; then have two dried neats tongues, that are boild tender and cold, that they look fine and red, pare them, and slice them from end to end the thickness of a half-crown piece, lay them on the inside of the seasoned pig, one half of the tongue for one side, and the other for the other side; then make two collers and binde them up in fine white clouts, boil them as you do the soust pigs with wine, water, salt, slic't ginger, and mace, keep it dry, or in souce drink of the pig brawn. if dry serve it in slices as thick as a trencher cut round the collar, or slices in jelly, and make jelly of the liquor wherein it was boild, adding to it juyce of lemon, isinglass, spices, suguar, clarified with eggs, and run it through the bag.

32. To make the Portingal Tarts for Banquetting;

pp. 253-254.

Take a pound of marchpane paste being finely beaten, and put into it a grain of musk, six spoonfuls of rose-water, and the weight of a groat of Oris Powder, boil all on a chafing-dish of coals till it be something stiff; then take the whites of two Eggs beaten to froath, put them into it, and boil it again a little, let it stand till it be cold, mould it, and roul it out thin; then take a pound more of almond paste unboiled, and put to it four ounces of caraway seed, a grain of musk, and three drops of oyl of lemons, roul the paste into small rouls as big as walnuts, and lap these balls into the first made paste, flat them down like puffs with your thumbs a little like figs, and bake them upon marchpane wafers.

33. The fifth way in the Portugal Fashion;

p. 420, within section "To dress Hard eggs divers ways".

Fry some parsley small minced, some onions or leeks in fresh butter, being half fried, put

into them hard eggs cut into rounds, a handful of mushrooms well picked, washed and slic't, and salt; fry all together, and being almost fried, put some vinegar to them, dish them, and grate nutmeg on them, sippet them, and on the sippets slic't lemons.

34.To dress eggs in the Spanish fashion, called, wivos me quidos;

pp. 422-423[like 36].

Take twenty eggs fresh and new, and strain them with a quarter of a pint of sack, claret, or white wine, a quarter of a suguar, some grated nutmeg, and salt; beat them together with the juyce of an orange, and put to them a little musk, (or none) set them over the fire, and stir them continually till they be a little thick, (but not too much) serve them with scraping suguar being put in a clean warm dish, on fine toasts of manchet soaked in juyce of orange and suguar, or in claret, suguar, or white wine, and shake the eggs with orange comfits, or muskedines red and white.

35.To dress eggs in the Portugal Fashion;

p. 423 [like 37].

Strain the yolks of twenty eggs, and beat them very well in a dish, put to them some musk and rose water, made of fine sugar, boild thick in a clean skillet, put in the eggs, and stew them on a soft fire; being finely stewed, dish them on a French plate in a clean dish, scrape on suguar, and trim the dish with your finger.

Rabisha, William. *The Whole Body of Cookery, 1661 + 1673,75,82.*

36.To dress eggs in the Spanish fashion;

p. 194 [like 34].

Take twenty eggs fresh and new, and strain them with a quarter of a pinte of sack, claret, or white-wine, a quarter of a suguar, some grated nutmeg, and salt, beat them together with the juice of an orange, and put to them a little musk, or none; set them over the fire, and stir them continually, till they be a little thick, but not too much; serve them, with scraping suguar, being put in a clean warm dish, on fine toasts of manchet, soaked in juice of orange, or suguar, or in claret, suguar, or white-wine, and shake the eggs with orange comfits, or muskadines, red and white.

37.To dress eggs in the Portugal fashion;

pp. 194-195 [like 35].

strain the yolks of twenty eggs, and beat them very well in a dish, put to them some musk and rose-water, made of fine suguar, boyled thick in a clean skillet, put in the eggs and stew them on a soft fire; being finely stewed, dish them on a french plate, in a clean dish, scrape on suguar, and trim the dish with your finger.

38.To candie all sorts of flowers after the Spanish way;

p. 234 [like 15 and 16].

Take of your double refined suguar, put it in a posnet with as much rose-water as will melt it, then put it into the pulp of half a roasted apple, with one grain of musk, let them boyl till they come to the height of a candie, then put your flowers in, being pickt clean, so let them boyl; then cast them on a fine plate, and cut them in wayes with your knife: spot it with gold, and keep it for your use.

39.To candie marigolds in wedges, the Spanish fashion;

p. 238 [like 11 and 54].

Take of the fair yellow flowers two ounces, shred and dry them before the fire: then take four ounces of suguar, and boyl it to the height of manus christi, then pour it upon a wet pie-plate, and betwixt hot and cold cut it into wedges, then lay them on a sheet of white paper, and put them in a stove.

40.To make a Portugal pie;

p. 260.

Take two capons roasted, and being cold, bone and skin them, mince them very small with

half a pound of almonds blanched, season it with salt and nutmeg, sugar, rose water, the juice of two lemons, work these up with a pound of sweet butter like a paste, then [...]ake a piece of cold butter paste rich, and roul it into a sheet, then [...]o or three sweet-breads of veal, some sliced lemon, then lay on [...]em half of your minced meat, then put on that the marrow of [...]o or three marrow-bones, then lay the rest of your meat, put in [...]e yolks of hard eggs, make it up pastie fashion, garnish it to your [...]ancie, indore it with melted butter and rose-water, scrape on a [...]tle sugar; a pretty quick oven, three quarters of an hour will bake [...]; stick it with almonds quartered, and send it up.

***To fry Artichokes, or Spanish Potatoes;**

pp. 90-91.

When they are boyled and sliced, fitting for that purpose, you must have your yolks of eggs beaten with a grated Nutmeg or two; when your pan is hot, you must dip them into the yolks of eggs, and charge your pan; when they are fryed on both sides, your Lear to your Artichokes is drawn Butter, and to your Potatoes, Butter, Vinegar, Sugar and Rose-water; these for a need may serve for second course dishes.

Woolley Hannah. *The Ladies Directory*, 1662.

41.To make Spanish Chaculata;

p. 60 [like 51].

Boile some water in an earthen Pipkin a quarter of hour; then sweeten it with sugar, then scrape your Chaculata very fine, and put it, boil it half an hour; then put in the yolks of eggs well beaten, and stir it over a slow fire till it be thick.

42.To candy the Spanish candy;

p. 95 [like 49 and 52].

Take flowers well picked, and beat them in a mortar; put them into s syrup, as much as the flowers will well stain, boil them with continual stirring, until it be sugar again; then pour it upon a wet trencher, and when it is cold, cut in into lozenges; and that which remaineth in the posnet. Stir it, and bruise it with the back of the spoon; then beat it, and fearce it, then work it with some gum-dragon steeped in rose-water, then roul it abroad, and print it, as so dry it.

Woolley Hannah. *The Cooks Guide*, 1664 + 1675, 77 (bound *The accomplish'd lady's delight*)

43.To preserve Oranges after the Portugal Fashion;

p. 97 [like n. 53].

Open them at one end and take out all the meat, then boile them in several waters till a straw may go thorow them; then take their weight and half of fine sugar, and to every pound of sugar a pin[...]e of water, boile it and skim it, then put in your oranges and boile them a little; then set them by till the next day, then boile them a little more; then take them up, and fill them with preserved pippins, and boile them again till you think they are enough; and if you will have them jelly, you must make a new syrrop with the water wherein some sliced pippins have been boiled, and some [...]ne sugar, and that will be a stiff jelly.

[† Kenelme Digby]. *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digbie Kt. Opened*, 1669 + 1671,77.

44.An excellent Spanish cream;

p. 136.

Take two quarts (you must not exceed this proportion in one vessel) of perfectly sweet-cream, that hath not been jogged with carriage: and in a possnet set it upon a clear lighted char-coal-fire, not too hot. When it beginneth to boil, cast into it a piece of double refined hard sugar about as much as two walnuts, and with a spoon stir the cream all one way. After two or three rounds, you will perceive a thick cream rise at the top. Scum it off with your spoon, and lay it in another dish. And always stir it the same way, and more cream will rise; which as it doth rise, you put it into your dish, one lare upon an other. And thus almost all the cream will turn into this thick cream, to within two or three spoonfuls. If you would have it

sweeter, [...]Ou may strew some sugar upon the top of it. You must be careful not to have the heat too much; for then it will turn to oyl; as also if the cream have been carried. If you would have it warm, set the dish you lay it in, upon a chafing-dish of coals.

45. Portugal Broth, as it was made for the Queen;

pp. 149-150.

Make very good broth with some lean of Veal, Beef and Mutton, and with a brawny Hen or young Cock. After it is scummed, put in an Onion quartered, (and, if you like it, a Clove of Ga[...]Lick,) a little Parsley, a sprig of Thyme, as much Minth, a little balm; some Coriander-seeds bruised, and a very little Saffron: a little Salt, Pepper and a Clove. When all the substance is bo[...]Led out of the meat, and he broth very good, you may drink it so, or, pour a little of it upon tosted sliced-bread, and stew it, till the bread have drunk up all that broth, then add a little more, and stew; so adding by little and little, that the bread may imbibe it and swell: whereas if you drown it at once, the bread will not swell, and grow like gelly; and thus you will have a good potage. You may add Parsley-roots or Leeks, Cabbage or Endive in the due time before the broth is ended boiling, and time enough for them to become tender. In the Summer you may put in Lettice, Sorrel, Purslane, Borage and Bugloss, or what other pot-herbs you like. But green herbs do rob the strength and Vigor and Cream of the Potage.

The Queens ordinary Bouillon de santé in a morning, was thus. A Hen, a handful of Parsley, a sprig of Thyme, three of Spear-minth, a little balm, half a great Onion, a little Pepper and Salt, and a Clove, as much water as would cover the Hen; and this boiled to less then a pint, for one good Porrenger full.

46. A plain but good Spanish oglia;

pp. 195-196 [like 55].

Take a rump of beef, or some of brisket or buttock cut into pieces, a lo[...]N of mutton, wi[...]H the superfluous fat taken off, and a fleshy piece of the leg of veal or a knuckle, a piece of enterlarded bacon, three or four onions (or some garlike) and if you will, a capon or two, or three great [...]Ame pigeons. First, put into the water the beef and the bacon; after a while, the mutton and veal and onions. But not the capon or pigeons till only so much time remain, as will serve barely to boil them enough. If you have *garavanzas*, put them in at the fir[...]T, after they have been soaked with ashes all night in heat, and well washed with warm water, after they are taken out; or if you will have cabbage, or roots, or leeks, or whole onions, put them in time enough to be sufficiently boiled. You may at first put in some crusts of bread, or venison pye crust. It must boil in all five or six hours gently, like stewing after it is well boiled. A quarter or half an hour before you intend to take it off, take out a porrenger [...]Ull of broth, and put to it some pepper and five or six cloves and a nutmeg, and some saffran, and mingle them well in it. Then put that into the pot, and let it boil or stew with the rest a while. You may put in a bundle of sweet-herbs. Salt must be put in as soon as the water is skimmed.

47. Portuguez Eggs;

pp. 242-243.

The way that the Countess *de Penalva* makes the *Portuguez* Eggs for the Queen, is this. Take the yolks (clean picked from the whites and germ) of twelve new-laid Eggs. Beat them exceedingly with a little (scarce a spoonful) of Orange-flower-water. When they are exceeding liquid, clear, and uniformly a thin Liquor, put to them one pound of pure double refined Sugar (if it be not so pure, it must be clarified before) and stew them in your dish or bason over a very gentle fire, stirring them continually, whiles they are over it so that the whole may become one uniform substance, of the consistence of an Electuary (beware they grow not too hard; for without much caution and attention, that will happen on a sudden) which then you may [...]At presently, or put into pots to keep. You may dissolve Ambergreece (if you will, ground first very much with Sugar) in Orange-flower or Rose-water, before hand, and put it (warm and dissolved) to the Eggs, when you set them to stew. If you clarifie your Sugar, do it with one of these waters, and whites of Eggs. The flavor of t[...]Ese sweet-waters goeth almost all away with boiling. Therefore half a spoonful put into the composition, when you take it from the fire, seasoneth it more then ten times as much, put in at the first.

Woolley Hannah. *The Queen-like Closet*, 1670 + 1675,81,84.

48.To make the Portugal Eggs;

p. 32.

Take a very large Dish-with a broad brim, lay in it some Naples Bisket in the Form of a Star, then put so much Sack into the Dish as you do think the Biskets will drink up; then stick them full with thin little pieces of preserved Orange, and green Citron Pill, and strew [...]Store of French Comfits over them, of divers colours, then butter some Eggs, and lay them here and there upon the Biskets, then fill up the hollow places in the Dish, with several coloured Iellies, and round about the Brim thereof lay Lawrel Leaves guilded with Leaf-Gold, lay them slanting, and between the Leaves several coloured Iellies,

***To chaculato;**

p. 104.

Take half a pint of Clarret Wine, boil it a little, then scrape some Chaculato very fine and put into it, and the Yokes of two Eggs, stir them well together over a slow Fire till it be thick, and sweeten it with Sugar according in your taste

49.The Spanish Candy;

p. 128 [like n. 42 and 52].

Take any sort of Flowers well picked and beaten in a Mortar, and put them into a Syrup, so much as the Flowers will stain, boil them, and stir them till you see it will turn Sugar again, then pour it upon a wet trencher, and when it is cold cut it into Lozenges, and that which remaineth in the bottom of the Posnet scrape it clean out, and beat it and searse it, then work it with some Gum Dragon steeped in Rosewater and a little Ambergreece, so make it into what shape you please, and dry it

50.To make Spanish Pap;

p. 217.

Boil a quart of Cream with a little whole Spice, when it is well boiled, take out the Spice, and thicken it with Rice Flower, and when it is well boiled, put in the yolks of Eggs, and Sugar and Rosewater, with a very little Salt, so serve it to the Table either hot or cold, with fine Sugar strewed on the brims of the Dish.

Woolley Hannah. *The Ladies Delight*, 1672.

51.To make Spanish chaculate;

p. 68 [like 41].

Boile some water in an earthen pipkin a quarter of hour; then sweeten it with sugar, then scrape your chaculate very fine, and put it, boil it half an hour; then put in the yolks of eggs well beaten, and stir it over a slow fire till it be thick.

52.To candy the Spanish candy;

p. 106 [like 42 and 49].

Take flowers well picked, and beat them in a mortar; put them into s syrup, as much as the flowers will well stain, boil them with continual stirring, until it be sugar again; then pour it upon a wet trencher, and when it is cold, cut in into lozenges; and that which remaineth in the posnet. Stir it, and bruise it with the back of the spoon; then beat it, and fearce it, then work it with some gum-dragon steeped in rose-water, then roul it abroad, and print it, as so dry it.

Anon. *The Accomplish'd Lady's Delight*, 1675 + 1675,77.

53.To preserve oranges after the Portugal fashion;

pp. 25-26 [alike n. 43].

Open your oranges at the end, take out all the meat then boyl them in several waters, till a straw may go through them, then take their weight and half in fine sugar, and put to every pound of sugar a pint of water, boyl it and scum it, put in your oranges and boyl them a little more, then take them up, and fill them with preserved pippins, and if you will have them jelly, make a new syrup with the water wherein sliced pippins have been boyled, and some

sugar, and that will be a stiff jelly.

54.To candy marigolds in wedges, the Spanish fashion;

p. 73 [like 11 and 39].

Take of the fairest marigold flowers, 2 ounces, and shred them small, and dry them before the fire, then take 4 ounces of sugar, and boyl it to a height, then pour it upon a wet pye-plate; and between hot and cold cut it into wedges, and lay them in a sheet of white-paper, and put them in a stove.

55.To make a good Spanish olio.

pp. 246-247 [like. n 46].

Take a rump of beef, or some of a brisket or buttock, cut it to pieces; a loyn of mutton with the fat taken off, and a fleshy piece of a leg of veal, or knuckle, a piece of enterlarded bacon, 3 or 4. Onions, or some garick, and if you will, a capon or 2, or else 3 great tame-pigeons. First put into the water the beef and bacon, after a while the mutton, veal, and onions, but not the capons or pigeons, only so long till they are boyled enough, if you have garavanza's put them in at the first, after they have been soaked with ashes, all night in heat, wash them well in warm water, or if you have cabba[...] -roots, leeks, or whole onions, put them in time enough to be sufficiently boyled. You may at first put in some crusts of bread, or vension pye-crust, it must boyl in all 5 or 6 hours gently, like stewing: after it is well boyled; a quarter, or half an hour before you intend to take it, take out a porringer full of broth, and put to it some pepper, and 5 or 6 cloves, and a nutmeg, and some saffron and mingle them well in it, then put that into the pot and let it boyl, or stew with the rest a while, put in a bundle of sweet-herbs, salt must be put to it when it is scum'd.

Appendix II

| LIBRO, By Hand A – WL MS 363 | TRANSLATIONS, by Hand E – BL MS 22566 |
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| 1. <i>Receta para hacer Peuetes;</i> | A receipt to making small perfumes; |
| 2. <i>Otra manera de hacer Peuetes;</i> | Another manner, or way to make small perfumes; |
| 3. <i>Receta de Pastillas para Reumas y dolor de cavezza;</i> | A receipt of muskballs good against rheumes; and the headach; |
| 4. <i>Receta para hacer Pastillas muy perfectas</i> | A receipt to make muskballs being very excellent; |
| 5. <i>Receta para Cagoletas;</i> | A receipt to make panns of perfumes; |
| 6. <i>Receta para hacer Agua de misturas;</i> | A receipt to make a sweet water of severall mixtures; |
| 7. <i>Receta para hacer Polvillos;</i> | A receipt to make up perfumes; |
| 8. <i>Receta para adovar guantes;</i> | A receipt to dress gloves; |
| 9. <i>Receta para adreçar guantes de fuego;</i> | A receipt to dress gloves with fire; |
| 10. <i>Receta para adreçar guantes de Pohvillos;</i> | A receipt to dress gloves with perfumes; |
| 11. <i>Otra manera de adobar guantes;</i> | Another manner to dress gloves; |
| 12. <i>Receta de una Poma, que ymbio la Emperatriz a la Reyna;</i> | A Receipt of Pomander which the Empress sent to the Queen [of Spaine]; |
| 13. <i>Receta para hacer pastillas de Rossas;</i> | A receipt to make Muskballs of roses; |
| 14. <i>Receta para hacer halmohadillas de rossas;</i> | A receipt to make a little pillowes or cuchions of roses; |
| 15. <i>Receta para hacer Peuetes;</i> | A receipt to make small perfumes; |
| 16. <i>Otra Receta de Peuetes;</i> | Another receipt for small Perfumes; |
| 17. <i>Para hacer Pastillas de Rossas;</i> | To make muskballs of roses; |
| 18. <i>Receta para concertar Pohvillos;</i> | A receipt to make Perfumes; |
| 19. <i>Regeta de Doña Mariana; y estas de Pastillas de rossas;</i> | Receiptes of Lady Mariana, concerning muskballs of roses; |
| 20. <i>Receta para guantes;</i> | A receipt for gloves; |
| 21. <i>Otra Receta de guantes de Pohvillos;</i> | Another receipt for Gloves with Perfumes; |
| 22. <i>Lo que se a demandar hacer primero en los guantes es lo siguiente</i> | This which followes which are to doe for it with the gloves; and it is this; |

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| 23. | <i>Receta de guantes que no sean de mostrar:</i> | A receipt for gloves which you are not to show (in rapport of its rarity I think); |
| 24. | <i>Otra Receta de como sean de lavar los guantes;</i> | Another receipt how you are to wash the Gloves; |
| 25. | <i>Receta para desatar el amber para guantes;</i> | A receipt to dissolve of ambergrece for Gloves |
| 26. | <i>Receta para adovar guantes, para traer luego;</i> | A receipt to dress gloves to weare them by and by; |
| 27. | <i>Receta para adovar guantes;</i> | A receipt to dress gloves; |
| 28. | <i>Una Receta para adovar guantes sin acetye;</i> | |
| 29. | <i>Otra Receta para adrezar guantes sin ambar: y son muy buenos;</i> | |
| 30. | <i>Receta para untar guantes</i> | |
| 31. | <i>Como se ha de curar el gato de algalia</i> | |
| 32. | <i>Como se hace masa para panicillos</i> | |
| 33. | <i>Como se hacen los Peuetes</i> | |
| 34. | <i>Como se han de hacer otros Peuetes muy buenos</i> | |
| 35. | <i>como se a de hacer el ambar en estos Peuetes</i> | |
| 36. | <i>Como se hacen los polvos de Chipre</i> | |
| 37. | <i>Receta de caçoletas muy buenas</i> | |
| 38. | <i>Otra memo.a de caçoletas</i> | |
| 39. | <i>Como se ã de hacer las Pomas</i> | |
| 40. | <i>Como se hacen los Peuetas de otra manera</i> | |
| 41. | <i>Memoria de postetas ? flower</i> | |
| 42. | <i>Memoria de Rossas</i> | |
| 43. | <i>Siguiese toda manera de Perfumes, Y caçoletas, Y Peuetes, Y perfumes de menijuy, de Doña Giomar de-Mello.</i> | |
| 44. | <i>Para hacer Peuetes</i> | |
| 45. | <i>Otros Peuetes</i> | |
| 46. | <i>Otro Peuetes [bis]</i> | |
| 47. | <i>Para hacer Peuetes</i> | |
| 48. | <i>Para hacer caçoletas, para perfumar</i> | |
| 49. | <i>Pastillas muy finas</i> | |
| 50. | <i>Para Pastas</i> | |

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| 51. | <i>Otra Receta de Pasta</i> |
| 52. | <i>Perfumes de Meniuy</i> |
| 53. | <i>Perfumes de meniuy [bis]</i> |
| 54. | <i>Pastas y Cacoletas</i> |
| 55. | <i>Para Cacoletas</i> |
| 56. | <i>Algalia muy maravillosa</i> |
| 57. | <i>Cacoletas Valencianas</i> |
| 58. | <i>Peuetes Valencianos</i> |
| 59. | <i>Poma para confortar la caveca, y el coraçon</i> |
| 60. | <i>Reçetas para adobar guantes, que no an dellear sino solo ambar</i> |
| 61. | <i>Otra manera de adobar guantes</i> |
| 62. | <i>Otra Receta para adobar guantes</i> |
| 63. | <i>Para hacer aguas rossadas, y esta primera para agua almiscclada</i> |
| 64. | <i>Aqua que huele muy bien</i> |
| 65. | <i>Aqua de trevol muy olorossa</i> |
| 66. | <i>Aqua Almiscalda</i> |
| 67. | <i>Otra aqua almiscclada</i> |
| 68. | <i>Aqua que enseñò Doña Ysabel Centellas</i> |
| 69. | <i>De Doña Ysabel de Quinones</i> |
| 70. | <i>Otras pasticas se hacen desta manera</i> |
| 71. | <i>Para hacer aceyte de ambar</i> |
| 72. | <i>Para los peuetes</i> |
| 73. | <i>Como se hace la caçoleta</i> |
| 74. | <i>Reçeta de Pannecillos</i> |
| 75. | <i>Para las rosas pisadas</i> |
| 76. | <i>Aqua muy maravillosa</i> |
| 77. | <i>Aqua de Angeles</i> |
| 78. | <i>Aqua de Clavos</i> |
| 79. | <i>Perfumes de Rossas</i> |

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| 80. | <i>Para adobar guantes con fuego</i> | |
| 81. | <i>Para Pastillas</i> | |
| 82. | <i>Los povillos se hacen de esta manera</i> | |
| 83. | <i>Receta para guantes</i> | |
| 84. | <i>Como se paran los guantes amarillos</i> | |
| 85. | <i>Para adobarlos</i> | |
| 86. | <i>Otra Receta para adobar guantes</i> | |
| 87. | <i>Memorial de caçoletas muy buenas;</i> | |
| 88. | <i>Memorial de la Marquesa de Denia</i> | |
| TRANSLATIONS, by Hand E – WL MS 363 | | |
| 89. | <i>De la manera que se hacen las Pastillas de Rossas</i> | The manner how to make Muskeballs, of roses |
| 90. | <i>Otra manera de rossas con menos ambar que las primeras;</i> | An other manner of roses with less ambergrease than the former |
| 91. | <i>Otra manera de rossas;</i> | An other manner of roses |
| 92. | <i>De la manera que se hacen las Pastillas cogidas;</i> | The manner how to make boyled, or sodden muskballs. |
| 93. | <i>De la manera que se hacen los Peuetes;</i> | The manner that <u>they</u> make small perfumes, called by the Spanish Pauetas... |
| 94. | <i>El carbon se haze desta manera:</i> | The <u>carbon</u> , or Coale, <u>they</u> make after this manner following |
| 95. | <i>Los Peuetes se hacen tambien de otra manera;</i> | Small perfumes are likewise thus made, after an other manner |
| 96. | <i>Memoria de como se an de adreçar los Guantes;</i> | A Memoriall how to dress Gloves |
| 97. | <i>para adoballos que queden blancos;</i> | How to dress gloves to remaine white |
| 98. | <i>Como se hacen las Pasticas;</i> | How to make little muskballs |
| 99. | <i>Los Peuetes se hacen desta manera;</i> | To make small perfumes after this manner |
| 100. | <i>Guantes leonados que son los mexores;</i> | Gloves of a tawny, or lion-collor which are very good |
| 101. | <i>guantes Negros;</i> | Black gloves |
| 102. | <i>Guantes Pardos;</i> | Russet, or browne gloves |
| 103. | <i>Guantes de Povillos;</i> | 15. Perfumed Gloves |
| 104. | <i>Pastilla de Rossas;</i> | Muske balls of Roses |

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| 105. | <i>Pastillas del fuego;</i> | Muskballs made by fire |
| 106. | <i>Pomos;</i> | Pomanders |
| 107. | <i>Otra manera de Pomos;</i> | An other of Pomanders |
| 108. | <i>Pomos de fuego;</i> | 20. Pomanders made uppon the fire |
| 109. | <i>Otra manera de Pomos;</i> | An other manner of Pomander |
| 110. | <i>Otra manera de Pomos, que tengo por mejores;</i> | An other manner of Pomanders which I take to bee better |
| 111. | <i>Peuetes;</i> | Small perfumes or cloud perfumes |
| 112. | <i>Povillos;</i> | Perfumes |
| 113. | <i>Aqua almisclada;</i> | 25. Muskewater |
| 114. | <i>Otra manera de agua almisclada;</i> | An other manner of Muskwater |
| 115. | <i>Aqua de Angeles;</i> | Water of Angeles |
| 116. | <i>Receta para conservar meniny con violetas</i> | A receipt to conserve sweet gum, with violets. |
| 117. | <i>Para Pastillas;</i> | Muske balls |
| 118. | <i>Receta para Pomo;</i> | 30. A receipt for Pomander |
| 119. | <i>Otra Receta de Pomo;</i> | An other receipt of Pomander |
| 120. | <i>Receta para adobar guantes;</i> | Receipts to dress gloves |
| 121. | <i>La confecion para los dicho guantes;</i> | Confecion for the said gloves |
| 122. | <i>Otra Receta para lo mismo;</i> | An other receipt for the same |
| 123. | <i>Receta para adobar guantes;</i> | 35. A receipt to dress gloves |
| 124. | <i>Para adobar guantes con escabeche;</i> | To dress gloves with Pickle (or liquor) |
| 125. | <i>Para adregar Guantes;</i> | To dress gloves |
| 126. | <i>Para Confecion;</i> | For confecion |
| 127. | <i>Para los Peuetes;</i> | For small perfumes |
| 128. | <i>Para hacer aceite de ambar;</i> | 40. To make oyle of amber grece |
| 129. | <i>Receta para Peuetes;</i> | A receipt for small perfumes |
| 130. | <i>Receta para Casoletas;</i> | A receipt to make Casoletts or panss of perfumes |
| 131. | <i>Receta para Peuetes;</i> | A receipt for small perfumes |
| 132. | <i>Para hacer una faldilla de Rossas;</i> | To make a fardle, (or composition) of roses, or a rose-perfumed petticoate |

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| 133. | <i>Regeta del agua para hacer postetas para hacer Pater-nostres;</i> | 45. A receipt of a water for to make little pastis to make Paternosters |
| 134. | <i>Regeta para hacer Cagoletes;</i> | A receipt to make panns of perfumes |
| 135. | <i>Manera para hacer alcorgas;</i> | The manner how to make conserve of limon-peelings |
| 136. | <i>Para Pastillas de Flores;</i> | For musk balls of flowers |
| 137. | <i>Para una onca de Pohillos;</i> | for on ounce of perfumes of Cyprus |
| 138. | <i>Para hacer la Pohvera de Cipro, si es como esta misma;</i> | 50. To make Cyprus-powder, if it bee in this manner following |
| 139. | <i>Para hacer destos pohvos, se a de tomar;</i> | For to make of these pouders, you must take |
| 140. | <i>El modo que se ha de tener para hacer los pohillos de Chipre es el siguiente;</i> | The manner which you are to use in making upp the perfumes of Cyprus, is in manner following |
| 141. | <i>El modo para hacer pasta de ambar fina a de ser di dos maneras, en la cantidad siguiente;</i> | The manner to make past of fine amber to bee of two manners |
| 142. | <i>El modo que se a de tener para hacer Pastillas de rosas es el siguiente;</i> | The manner that you are to use, for, or, in making muske balls of roses is as following |
| 143. | <i>El modo que se a de tener para hacer Pasta, para guantes, o pomos, o enchir butones de pasta de ambar y rossas;</i> | The manner how to make past for beades; or pomander; and to set on buttones of past of Amber Greece, and roses; |
| 144. | <i>Receta para hacer Pastillas de Violetas boscanas de alquitrura, que son sin fuego como las que van aqui;</i> | A receipt to make muskballs of wood violets, of Dragan?; which are made without fire; as these here spoken of; |
| 145. | <i>Para hacer Pastillas de Alehey amarillos;</i> | To make musk-balls of yellow violets |
| 146. | <i>Para hacer Peuetas;</i> | To make small perfumes |
| 147. | <i>Para hacer Pastillas de fuego de las violetas boscanas que se llaman Coeidas;</i> | To make muskballs with fire, of wood violets; these that <u>they</u> call sodden |
| 148. | <i>Receta para hacer Pastillas;</i> | 60. A receipt to make muskballs |
| 149. | <i>Memoria del a Conservilla de Don Fedrique para los dientes;</i> | A memoriall of the conserve of Don Frederick, for the teethe |
| 150. | <i>Memoria de los guantes de Almiscle, de la condesa de Miranda;</i> | A memoriall for to dress the musk Gloves for the countess of Miranda |
| 151. | <i>Memoria de como se an de hacer los guantes de la Condesa de Miranda;</i> | A memoriall how you are (or how to dress) to dress the Gloves for the Countess of Miranda. |
| 152. | <i>Memoria de los Polvos de Gabriel para los dientes;</i> | A memoriall of the powders of Gabriell for the teeth |
| 153. | <i>Para hacer uns docina de Pastillas;</i> | 65. To make a dozen of muskballs |

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| 154. | <i>RECETAS AÑADIDAS, QUE SE OLVIDARON EN EL PRINCIPIO</i> | RECIPES ADDED WHICH WERE FORGOTTEN IN THE BEGINNING |
| 155. | <i>Aqua para quitar mancha y pano del rosto, y es la primera que se hizo;</i> | A water to take away freckles and duskyneess from the face; and this is the first, that way made |
| 156. | <i>Otra aqua maravillosa para el mismo efeto, y hace muy buena tez ?;</i> | An other excellent water for the same Effect; which makes a fine skinne |
| 157. | <i>Otra aqua para quitar manchas rebeldes;</i> | An other water to take away ? or ill formed freckles |
| 158. | <i>Cerilla para las grietas de los labios;</i> | <i>A kind of wax for the choppes of the lipps</i> |
| 159. | <i>Otro linimento para hacer nacer el pelo, y que este firme, fácil de hacer y de muy buen efecto;</i> | 70. An other liniment, or composition to make the haire to growe: which is firme and facill to make; and of good effect |
| 160. | <i>Tabletas que mi Señora ussa para las Ventosidades d'estomago;</i> | Little Tablets (a kind of marchpan or Diet bread) which my Lady used for the windiness in the stomach |
| 161. | <i>Xarau de acero Magistrall...¹</i> | Syrropp of g?oele... |
| 162. | <i>Cipadropa? Magistrall...²</i> | A playster |
| 163. | <i>Los remedios mexicanos que ay para los dientes. Polvos para limpiarlos;</i> | The best remedies that are for smelling teeth; powders to dress them; or cleane them |
| 164. | <i>75. Agua para lavar los dientes con la qual se limpian y fortalezan y preserven de dolor;</i> ³ | A water to wash the teeth, with the which <u>they</u> cleanse, and fortify them, and perserve from paine |
| 165. | <i>76. Otra aqua para los dientes...³</i> | An other water for the tooth, |

¹ “... que se hizo per mi Señora la Marquesa, por orden del Licenciado Cornesco, que por ser tan curioso aunque muchas recetas del me parecio ser justo poner esta por sus buenos efectos, y estar coneyda de enconventientes que otras tienen”; “...very Soureaigne which way made for my Lady Marques, at the discretion or by the order of the Licenciat Comexo, and for to bee so soveraigne, or curious, it seemed good to me to set downe this for its good operations; and for that it is free from the inconveniences which others have”.

² “... que mi Señora tiene siempre en su trecamara, que aprouecha a muchas enfermedades principalmente a dolores antiguos y a Ulceras y llagas viejas”; “...very soveraine which my lady hath over in her closet; which is good for many infirmities, chiefly for old sores, ulcers; and olde wounds”.

³ “... que los conforta y aprieta y sustenta blancos, y reprime qualquier mal haliente de la boca, y conforta el cerebro, y hace otros efectos maravillosos”; “... which strengtheneth them, and brings them together; and doth suppress any ill smell of the mouth; and confort the braine; and works other marvelous effects”.

Abbreviations

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| Add. MS. | Additional Manuscript |
| BL | British Library, London |
| BHO | British History Online |
| BNE | Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid |
| CELM | Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450– 1700 online |
| EEBO | Early English Books Online |
| FSL | Folger Shakespeare Library |
| ODNB | Oxford Dictionary of National Bibliography |
| RAE | Real Academia Española |
| TNA | The National Archives, London |
| WL | Wellcome Library, London |

Bibliography

This bibliography contains, in line with the regulations of the University of York, all the primary and secondary sources, manuscript and otherwise, consulted for this thesis. London is the place of publication, unless otherwise stated.

The bibliography is subdivided as follows:

❖ PRIMARY SOURCES

- Manuscript Recipe books, by language and in chronological order.
 - Catalan
 - Spanish
 - Portuguese
 - English
- Other Manuscript Sources
- Printed Recipe books, by language and in chronological order.
 - Spanish
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5. **c.1500**. Mss/2019. Called *Recetas Experimentadas Para Diversas Cosas* [“Experimented Recipes for Many Things”].

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MS. 3769
MS. 6812
MS. 7113
MS. 7391
MS. 8086
MS. 8575
MS. 8903

Other Manuscript Sources:

The British Library:

Add MS 41161
Add MS 78255
Add MS 37047
Stowe MS 745

The National Archives:

SP 94/210, item 44
SP 71/13/128

Printed Recipe Books

Spanish

1. **1525.** Nola, Ruberto de. *Libre del Coch* [also called *Libro de Guisados*]. Toledo: Ramon de Petras for Diego Pérez Davila.

Veronika Leimgruber, ed. *Roberto de Nola, Libre Del Coch: Tractat De Cuina Medieval* (Universitat de Barcelona, Departament de Filologia Catalana, 1977).

2. **1592.** Baeza, Miguel de. *Los Cuatro Libros del Arte de la Confiteria. Compuesto por Miguel de Baeza, Confitero, Vecino y Natural de la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo*. Alcalá de Henares: en Casa de Iuan Gracian.

Only one exemplar of this volume, now at the *Real Biblioteca del Monasterio del Escorial*, has survived the centuries. I have accessed its text via the transcription made by Ruperez, Mariano Garcia and Maria del Prado Olivares Sanchez. *Los Cuatro Libros...* Toledo: Antonio Pereja EDITOR, 2014, which unfortunately does not indicate the original pagination of the volume.

3. **1599.** Granado Maldonado, Diego. *Libro del Arte de Cozina: en el qual se contiene el modo de guisar de comer en qualquier tiempo, assi de carne como de pescado, para sanos y enfermos y conualecientes, assi de pasteles, tortas y salsas como de conseruas a la vsança española, italiana y tudesca de nuestros tiempos*. En Madrid. Luis Sánchez for Juan Berrillo.

4. **1607.** Hernández de Maceras, Domingo. *Libro del Arte de Cozina: en el qual se Contiene el Modo de Guisar de Comer en Qualquier Tiempo, ansi de Carne, como de Pescado, ansi de Pasteles, Tortas, y Salsas, como de Conservas, y de Principios, y Postres, a la Usança Española de Nuestro Tiempo*. Salamanca: En casa de Antonia Ramírez.

Pérez Samper, María de los Angeles, ed. *La alimentación en la España del Siglo de Oro. Domingo Hernández de Maceras "Libro del Arte de Cozina"*. Huesca: La Val de Osonera, 1998.

5. **1611.** Martínez Motiño, Francisco. *Arte de Cozina, Pastelería, Vizcochería y Conservería*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez.

The 1611 edition is available online at: <https://bit.ly/2BmEzUp>

- * **1747.** Mata, Juan de. *Arte de Repostería, en que se Contiene Todo Género de Hacer Dulces Secos, y en Líquido, Vizcochos, Turriones y Natas...* Madrid, Antonio Marín.

Portuguese

1. **1680.** Domingos, Rodriguez. *Arte de Cozinha, dividida em duas partes, a primeyra trata do modo de cozinhar varios pratos de toda a casta de carne, & de Fazer conservas, pasteis, tortas, & empadas. A Segunda trata de peyxes, mariscos, fruttas, hervas, lacticinos, conservas, e doces com a forma dos banquetes para qualquier tempo dp anno*. Lisboa: João Galvão.

- * **1780.** Rigaud, Lucas, *Cozinheiro Moderno, Ou Nova Arte de Cozinha, Onde se Ensina Pelo Methodo Mais Facil...* Lisboa: Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1780.

English

1. 1500. Anon. [*This is the boke of cokery*]. Rycharde Pynson, M.D.
→The collection has been edited by Mrs. Alexander Napier [Robina Napier] in 1882.
For full details see: Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*, 56.
2. 1545. Anon. *A Propre new booke of cokery*. Richard Lant and Richarde Bankes, M.D.XLV.
→ Frances, Catherine, Ed. *A Proper Newe Booke Of Cokerye. With Notes, Introduction And Glossary; Together With Some Account Of Domestic Life, Cookery And Feasts In Tudor Days, And Of The First Owner Of The Book, Matthew Parker, Archbishop Of Canterbury, And Margaret Parker His Wife*. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd. 1913.
3. 1558. Ruscelli, Girolamo. *The secretes of the reuerende Maister Alexis of Piemount Containyng excellent remedies against diuers diseases, woundes, and other accidents, with the manner to make distillations, parfumes, confitures, diynges, colours, fusions and meltynges. ... Translated out of Frenche into Englishe, by Wyllyam Warde*. Iohn Kingstone for Nicolas Inglande.
4. 1573. Partridge, John. *The treasure of commodious conceits. & hidden secrets and may be called, the huswiues closet, of healthfull prouision. Mete and necessarie for the profitable vse of all estates both men and women: and also pleasaunt for recreation, with a necessary table of all things herein contayned. Gathered out of sundrye experiments lately practised by men of great knowledge*. Richarde Iones.
5. 1586. [Partridge, John]. *The widowes treasure, plentifully furnished with secretes in phisicke: & chirurgery. Hereunto adioyned, sundrie prety practises of cookerie*. [J. Kingston] f. H. Dizle.
6. 1587. Dawson, Thomas. *The good huswifes Ievvell vwherein is to be found most excellent and rare deuises for conceits in cookerie, found out by the practise of thomas dawson. whereunto is adioyned sundry approued reseits for many soueraine oyles, and the way to distill many precious waters, with diuers approued medicines for many diseases. also certaine approued points of husbandry, very necessarie for all husbandmen to know*. Iohn Wolfe for Edward White.
7. 1587. A.W. *A book of cookrye: very necessary for all such as delight therein. Gathered by A.W. and now newlye enlarged with the seruing in of the table. With proper sauces to each of them conuenient*. Edward Allde.
8. 1588. Anon. *The good hous-wiues treasure Beeing a verye necessarie booke instructing to the dressing of meates. Hereunto is also annexed sundrie holsome medicines for diuers diseases*. Edward Allde.
9. 1597. Dawson, Thomas. *The second part of the good hus-wiues iewell. Where is to be found most apt and readiest wayes to distill many wholsome and sweet waters. In which likewise is shewed the best maner in preseruing of diuers sorts of fruits, & making of sirrops. With diuers conceits in cookerie with the booke of caruing*. Edward Allde for Edward White.
10. 1597. Anon. [*A booke of cookerie, otherwise called the good huswiues handmaid for the kitchin.*] E.[dward] Allde.
11. 1598. Rosselli, Giovanni De. *Epulario, or the Italian banquet: wherein is shewed the maner how to dresse and prepare all kind of flesh, foules or fishes. As also how to make sauces, tartes, pies, &c. After the maner of all countries. With an addition of many other profitable and necessary things. Translated out of Italian into English*. A[dam] I[slip] for William Barley.

12. **1602.** Platt, Hugh. *Delightes for ladies, to adorne their persons, tables, closets, and distillatories. VVith, bewties, banquetts, perfumes and waters. Read, practise, and censure.* Peter Short.
13. **1608.** Anon. *A closet for ladies and gentlewomen, or, The art of preseruing, conseruing, and candying. With the manner hovve to make diuers kinds of syrups: and all kind of banqueting stuffles. Also diuers soueraigne medicines and salues, for sundry diseases.* [H. Ballard] for Arthur Iohnson].
14. **1615.** Markham, Gervase. *Countrey contentments, in two bookes: the first, containing the whole art of riding great horses... The second intituled, The English husvwife: containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleate woman: as her phisicke, cookery, banqueting-stuffe, distillation, perfumes, wooll, hemp, flaxe, dairies, brewing, baking, and all other things belonging to an houshold. A worke very profitable and necessary for the generall good of this kingdome.* I[ohn] B[eale] for R. Iackson.
- N.B.: from 1623 the second book *The English husvwife* is often published separately.
15. **1615.** Murrell, John. *A nevv booke of cookerie. VVherein is set forth the newest and most commendable fashion for dressing or sowing, eyther flesh, fish, or fowle. Together with making of all forts of iellyes, and other made-dishes for seruice; both to beautifie and adorne eyther nobleman or gentlemans table. Hereunto also is added the most exquisite London cookerie. All set forth according to the now, new, English and French fashion. Set forth by the obseruation of a traueller.* I.M. John Browne.
16. **1617.** ____ *A Daily EXERCISE for LADIES and GENTLEWOMEN. Whereby they may learne and practise the whole Art of making Pastes, Preserues, Marmalades, Conserues, Tartstuffles, Gellies, Breads, Sucket Candies, Cordiall vvaters, Conceits in Sugar-vvorkes of seuerall kindes. As also to dry Lemonds, Orenge, or other Fruits.* [T. Snodham] for the vvidovv Helme.
17. **1621.** ____ *A delightfull daily excercise for ladies and gentlewomen.* [by Augustine Mathewes] for Tho[mas] Devve.
18. **1631.** ____ *Murrells Tvvo books of cookerie and carving.* M. F[lesher]. for Iohn Marriot.
19. **1639.** Anon. *The ladies cabinet opened. vvherein is found hidden severall experimts in preserving and conserving, physicke, and surgery, cookery and huswifery* M. P[arsons] for Richard Meighen.
20. **1653.** Anon. *A book of fruits and flowers. hewing the nature and use of them, either for meat or medicine. As also: to preserve, conserve, candy, and in wedges, or dry them. To make powders, civet bagges, all sort of sugar-works, turn'd works in sugar, hollow or frutages; and to pickell them. And for meat. To make pyes, biscat, maid dishes, marchpanes, leeches, and snow, craknels, caudels, cakes, broths, fritter-stuffe, puddings, tarts, syrupes, and sallets. For medicines. To make all sorts of poultisses, and serecloaths for any member swell'd or inflamed, ointments, waters for all wounds, and cancers, salves for aches, to take the ague out of any place burning or scalding; for the stopping of suddain bleeding, curing the piles, ulcers, ruptures, coughs, consumptions, and killing of warts, to dissolve the stone, killing the ring-worme, emroids, and dropsie, paine in the ears and teeth, deafnesse.* M.S. for Tho[mas] Jenner.
21. **1653.** Anon. *The ladies companion, or, A table furnished with sundry sorts of pies and tarts, gracefull at a feast, with many excellent receipts for preserving, conserving, and candying of all manner of fruits, with the making of marchpain, marmalet, and quindenis. By persons of quality whose names are mentioned.* W. Bentley for W. Shears.
22. **1653.** [†Kent, Elisabeth Talbot Grey, Countess of.] *A choice manual of rare and select secrets in physick and chyrurgery; collected, and practised by the Right Honorable, the Countesse of Kent, late deceased. As also most exquisite ways of preserving, conserving, candying, &c.* W.I. Gent.

23. 1653. W.J. *A true gentlewomans delight. Wherein is contained all manner of cookery: together with preserving, conserving, drying and candying. Very necessary for all ladies and gentlewomen. Publishes by W. I. Gent.*

N.B: the collection is often associated to [†Kent, Elisabeth Grey, Countess of] given that, after 1653, it was often bound together with 22. However, there is no trace of any reference to the Countess.

24. 1653. La Varenne, François Pierre. *The French cook. Prescribing the way of making ready of all sorts of meats, fish and flesh, with the proper sauces, either to procure appetite, or to advance the power of digestion. Also the preparation of all herbs and fruits, so as their naturall crudities are by art opposed; with the whole skil of pastry-work. Together with a treatise of conserves, both dry and liquid, a la mode de France. With an alphabeticall table explaining the hard words, and other usefull tables. Written in French by Monsieur De La Varenne, clerk of the kitchin to the Lord Marquesse of Uxelles. For Charles Adams.*

25. 1654. Cooper, Joseph. *The art of cookery refin'd and augmented.* J.G. for R. Lowndes.

26. 1655. Philiatros, [Aletheia Howard, Countess of Arundel]. *Natura exenterata: or Nature unbowelled by the most exquisite anatomizers of her. Wherein are contained, her choicest secrets digested into receipts, fitted for the cure of all sorts of infirmities, whether internal or external, acute or chronical, that are incident to the body of man. Collected and preserved by several persons of quality and great experience in the art of medicine, whose names are prefixed to the book. Containing in the whole, one thousand seven hundred and twenty. Very necessary for such as regard their owne health, or that of their friends. VVhereunto are annexed, many rare, hitherto un-impacted inventions, for gentlemen, ladies and others, in the recreations of their different employments. With an exact alphabetical table referring to the several diseases, and their proper cures.* Printed for, and are to be sold by H. Twiford.

27. 1655. W[alter] M[ontagu]? *The Queens closet opened. Incomparable secrets in physick, chirurgery, preserving, candying, and cookery; as they were presented to the Queen by the most experienced persons of our times, many whereof were honored with her own practice, when she pleased to descend to these more private recreations. Never before pulished [sic]. With additions. Transcribed from the true copies of her Majesties own receipt-books, by W. M.* For Nathaniel Brook.

N.B.: *A Queens Delight, or the Art of preserving, conserving, and candying; as also a right knowledge of making perfumes, and Distilling the most excellent waters. Never before published* was always bound together to the *Queens Closet Opened*, forming its second part (starting at page 193 in the 1665 edition).

28. 1655. Anon. *The Compleat Cook: expertly prescribing the most ready wayes, whether Italian, Spanish, or French, for dressing of flesh, and fish, ordering of sauces, or making of pastry.* For Nathaniel Brook.

N.B.: in 1679, 1683, 1684, 1696 and 1998 bound together with *The Queens Closet Opened*.

29. 1656. Marnette, Mounsieur. *The Perfect Cook, being the most exact directions for the making all kinds of pastes, with the perfect way teaching how to raise, season, and make all sorts of pies, pasties, tarts, and florentines, &c. now practised by the most famous and expert cooks, both French and English. As also the perfect English cook, or right method of the whole art of cookery, with the true ordering of French, Spanish, and Italian kickshaws, with alamode varieties for persons of honour. To which is added, the way of dressing all manner of flesh, fowl, and fish, and making admirable sauces, after the most refined way of French and English. The like never extant; with fifty-five ways of dressing of eggs. By Mounsieur Marnett'e.* For Nathaniel Brooks.

30. 1658. [Mayerne, Theodore Turquet de, Sir]? *Archimagirus anglo-gallicus: or, Excellent & approved receipts and experiments in cookery. Together with the best way of preserving. As also, rare formes of sugar-works: according to the French mode, and English manner.*

Copied from a choice manuscript of Sir Theodore Mayerne Knight, physician to the late K. Charles. Magistro artis, edere est esse. G. Bedell for T. Collins.

- 31. 1660.** May, Robert. *The accomplisht cook, or The art and mystery of cookery. Wherein the whole art is revealed in a more easie and perfect method, then hath been publisht in any language. Expert and ready wayes for the dressing of all sorts of flesh, fowl, and fish; the raising of pastes; the best directions for all manner of kickshaws, and the most poinant sauces; with the tearms of carving and sewing. An exact account of all dishes for the season; with other a la mode curiosities. Together with the lively illustrations of such necessary figures as are referred to practice. Approved by the fifty years experience and industry of Robert May, in his attendance on several persons of honour.* R.W. for Nathaniel Brooke.

→ Davidson, Alan, Marcus Bell, and Tom Jaine, ed. *The Accomplisht Cook or the Art and Mistery of Cooking by Robert May. A Facsimile of the 1685 Edition.* Prospect Books, 1994.

- 32. 1661.** Rabisha, William. *The whole body of cookery dissected, taught, and fully manifested, methodically, artificially, and according to the best tradition of the English, French, Italian, Dutch, &c. Or, A sympathie of all varieties in naturall compounds in that mysterie. Wherein is contained certain bills of fare for the seasons of the year, for feasts and common diets. Whereunto is annexed a second part of rare receipts of cookery: with certain useful traditions. With a book of preserving, conserving and candying, after the most exquisite and newest manner: delectable for ladies and gentlewomen.* R.W. for Giles Calver.

- 33. 1662.** Woolley, Hannah. *The ladies directory in choice experiments & curiosities of preserving in jellies, and candying both fruits & flowers. Also, an Excellent way of making Cakes, and other Confits: With Rarities of many Precious Waters (among which are several Consumption Drinks, Approved by the Doctors) and Perfumes.* By Hanna Woolley, Who Hath had the Honour to performe such things for the entertainment of His late MAJESTY, as well as the Nobility. T[homas] M[ilbourn] for Peter Dring.

N.B.: In 1661, *The ladies directory... Tho[mas] Milbourn for the authress.* This copy was destroyed during World War II.

- 34. 1664.** Anon. *The court & kitchin of Elizabeth, commonly called Joan Cromwel, the wife of the late usurper, truly described and represented, and now made publick for general satisfaction.* Tho[mas] M[ilbourn] for Randal Taylor.

- 35. 1664.** Woolley, Hannah. *The cooks guide, or Rare receipts for cookery. Published and set forth particularly for ladies and gentlwomen; being very beneficial for all those that desire the true way of dressing of all sorts of flesh, fowles, and fish; the best directions for all manner of kickshaws, and the most ho-good sawces: whereby noble persons and others in their hospitalities may be gratified in their gusto's. Never before printed. By Hannah Wolley.* for Peter Dring.

- 36. 1668.** † Digby, Kenelme. *Choice and experimented receipts in physick and chirurgery as also cordial and distilled waters and spirits, perfumes and other curiosities/ collected by Sir Kenelm Digby; translated out of several languages by G.H.* Printed for the author and are to be sold by H. Brome.

- 37. 1669.** ____ *The closet of the eminently learned Sir Kenelme Digbie Kt. opened: whereby is discovered several ways for making of metheglin, sider, cherry-wine, &c. Together with excellent directions for cookery: as also for preserving, conserving, candying, &c. Published by his son's consent.* E[llen] C[otes] for H. Brome.

→ Stevenson, Jane, and Peter Davidson, eds. *The Closet Of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digby Kt Opened (1669), Edited From The First Edition, With Introduction, Notes And Appendices.* Blackawton: Prospect books, 1997.

38. 1670. Woolley, Hannah. *The queen-like closet; or, Rich cabinet: stored with all manner of rare receipts for preserving, candying & cookery. Very pleasant and beneficial to all ingenious persons of the female sex. By Hannah Woolley.* For R. Lowndes.
39. 1672. ____ *The ladies delight: or, a rich closet of choice experiments & curiosities, containing the art of preserving & candying both fruits and flowers: together with the exact cook; or, the art of dressing all sorts of flesh, fowl, and fish. By Hannah Woolley. To which is added: the ladies physical closet: or, excellent receipts, and rare waters for beautifying the face and body.* By T[homas] Milbourn, for N[athaniel].
40. 1673. ____ *THE Gentlewomans Companion; OR, A GUIDE TO THE Female Sex: CONTAINING Directions of Behaviour, in all Places, Companies, Relations, and Conditions, from their Childhood down to Old Age.* Printed by A. Maxwell for Dorman Nowman.
41. 1674. ____ *A supplement to The queen-like closet; or a litte of everything presented to all Ingenious Ladies, and Gentlewomen, by Hannah Wolley.* T.R. for Richard Lownds.
42. 1675. Anon. *The accomplish'd lady's delight in preserving, physick, beautifying, and cookery. Containing, I. The art of preserving and candying fruits & flowers, and the making of all sorts of conserves, syrups, and Jellies. II. The physical cabinet, or, excellent receipts in physick and chirurgery; together with some rare beautifying waters, to adorn and add loveliness to the face and body: and also some new and excellent secrets and experiments in the art of angling. III. The compleat cooks guide, or, directions for dressing all sorts of flesh, fowl, and fish, both in the English and French mode, with all sauces and sallets; and the making pyes, pasties, tarts, and custards, with the forms and shapes of many of them.* B. Harris.
43. 1677. Anon. *The compleat servant-maid; or, The young maidens tutor Directing them how they may fit, and qualifie themselves for any of these employments. Viz. Waiting woman, house-keeper, chamber-maid, cook-maid, under cook-maid, nursery-maid, dairy-maid, laundry-maid, house-maid, scullery-maid. Composed for the great benefit and advantage of all young maidens.* For T. Passinger.
44. 1690. Tillinghast, Mary. *Rare and excellent receipts. Rare and excellent receipts Experienc'd, and taught by Mrs. Mary Tillinghast. And now printed for the use of her scholars only*

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Colmenero de Ledesma, Antonio. *Curioso Tratado de la Naturaleza y Calidad del Chocolate* (Madrid, 1631).

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Lodge, Thomas. *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado. The First Part. In which is Handled the Conuersion of a Sinner. Translated out of Latine into English, by T.L. Doctor of Phisicke* (1601).

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_____. *Theatrum Botanicum the theater of plantes. Or, an universall and compleate herball. / Composed by John Parkinson apothecarye of London and the kings herbalist* (1640).

Phelps, Thomas. *A true account of the captivity of Thomas Phelps at Machaness in Barbary and of his strange escape in company of Edmund Baxter and others, as also of the burning two of the greatest piratships belonging to that kingdom in the River of Mamora upon the thirteenth day of June 1685* (1685)

Wadsworth, James, translator. *A Curious Treatise of the Nature and Quality of Chocolate. VVritten in Spanish by Antonio Colmenero, Doctor in Physicke and Chirurgery. And Put Into English by Don Diego de Vades-forte* (London, 1640).

_____. *Chocolate: Or, An Indian drinke...Written originally in Spanish, by Antonio Colminero of Ledesma, Doctor in Physicke, and Faithfully Rendred in the English, by Capt. James Wadsworth* (1652).

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For consistency, I have capitalised foreign works. The bibliographical details of the works which I consulted in their original Italian version are given in their English translation, when available. Of reference works I give the most recent editions, when available.

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