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Edited by Sarah Peters Kernan and Helga Müllneritsch

Culinary Texts in Context, 1500-1800

Manuscript Recipe Books
in Early Modern Europe

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Culinary Texts in Context, 1500–1800



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Food Culture, Food History before 1900

The history and culture of food has been the object of wide-ranging methodological approaches: literary, cultural, economic, and material, to name just a few. The expanding interest that food has elicited in the past few decades confirms the importance of a field that is still very much in the making, while it continues to elicit contributions from all the major disciplines.

The series *Food Culture, Food History before 1900* publishes monographs in the history and culture of food, and invites contributions from different disciplines, historiographic perspectives and methodological approaches. It is open to a long chronological period running from the Middle Ages to the early 19th century, in order to respect the distinctive time frames of food history. A similar criteria is adopted in determining the extensive geographic parameters of this series: as of the late 15th century, food and cuisine traveled with extreme ease, not only within the European continent but between other parts of the world. The purview of this series thus comprises Europe, the Atlantic world, and exchanges with Asia and the Middle East. To this end, the *Food Culture, Food History before 1900* series welcomes both scholarly monographs and edited/collective volumes in English, by both established and early-career researchers.

Series editor

Allen J. Grieco is Senior Research Associate Emeritus at Villa i Tatti (The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies).



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Manuscript Recipe Books in Early Modern Europe

*Edited by
Sarah Peters Kernan and
Helga Müllneritsch*

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The publication of this book is made possible by a grant from Institutionen för moderna språk, Uppsala universitet

Cover illustration: Folio from Nicholas Webster's Recipe Book, ca. 1650. V.a.364, Fol. 4r, image 121783, Folger Shakespeare Library.

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 94 6372 779 2

e-ISBN 978 90 4855 789 9

DOI 10.5117/9789463727792

NUR 685

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Acknowledgements

The publication of this book was made possible through the kind support of the Department of Modern Languages at Uppsala University.

We would like to thank Amsterdam University Press, and especially commissioning editor Erika Gaffney for patiently fielding our questions and expertly shepherding this volume's preparation. We are grateful for series editor Allen Grieco's support of this volume from its earliest stages. His suggestions have been invaluable. We are also immensely appreciative of the feedback provided by the peer reviewer who helped us properly frame and contextualise this collection. At last, but not least, we want to thank our contributors for their excellent chapters, and we are excited to see where the future will lead us.

Sarah Kernan would like to thank the Newberry Library for including her in their community of scholars and supporting her efforts to engage broader audiences with historic recipes and cookery. She is also grateful for the Recipes Project community who opened her eyes to a world of recipe collections and the significance of recipes across time and place. Helga Müllneritsch has made the process of compiling and editing this project immensely enjoyable, and our conversation and collaboration have been a highlight of the past two years. Finally, Tom, Paul, John, and Dorothy, you provide such abundant love and excitement at home. Thank you for always reminding me what is most important.

Helga Müllneritsch would like to thank Thomas Grub for his guidance and support at the University of Uppsala, which helped to bring this volume into existence. Additionally, collaborating with Sarah Kernan has been a great pleasure, and this collection would not exist without her diligence as well as the many insights she has brought to the process. Helga is also forever grateful to Tom Johnson, whose questions and discussions have been an invaluable help in shaping and structuring this work.



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Introduction: Manuscript Recipe Books in Early Modern Europe

Sarah Peters Kernan and Helga Müllneritsch

Abstract

This introduction consists of three main parts. First, we offer a summary of current scholarship on early modern manuscript recipe books, including some distinctions in scholarship produced around Europe. We also point out the role of digitisation and digital projects in current scholarship and the formation of this volume. Second, we present several features of early modern European manuscript recipe books. Rather than focusing on the genre in a specific region, we provide a general survey describing a number of characteristics, such as the collection and authorship of the recipes and materiality of the manuscripts. Finally, we include an overview of the themes and concepts discussed in subsequent chapters of this book.

Keywords: early modern Europe, culinary recipes, manuscript recipe books, authorship, materiality

Around 1650, a teenaged Lady Anne Percy, born into one of England's most powerful families, compiled a recipe book gathering over four hundred medical and cookery recipes from friends, family, and contemporary printed cookery books.¹ After her death following the birth of her first child in 1654, her husband, Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, conserved the receipt book in his family's library. He lovingly noted inside the manuscript, "These receipts are writ in my dear Wife's / the Lady Ann Pircies own hand and have / been long kept as secrets in the / Northumberland Family." Other hands added more recipes in later pages and the inside covers. The pages show signs of active kitchen use: tucked in the binding edge of the manuscript

1 New York Public Library, MS Whitney 2.

are seeds, stems, and feathers; a few fingerprints appear on the pages; and a stain from a spoon or ladle clearly marks an attempt to hold a page open.² Eventually, a portion of the paper pasted on the front endcover was ripped away. In that ripped area, someone wrote a recipe for an “Egg Pie,” and another sketched a flower alongside the word “Sister.” Both have since been partly obscured by a Bradby Hall bookplate, indicating the manuscript’s home in the Stanhope library.

Over a century after Anne Percy recorded her family’s recipes, Leopold Kreuzer recorded an entire recipe book for Franziska Zwürtmayr, the calligraphic title page memorializing the offering: “Koch buch / Auch: / Von allerley Gutten Wäffern: / Angehörig: / der fränficä Zwürtmayrin / geschriben / Leopold Kreuzer im Jahre 1795” (Cookery Book, Also All Kinds of Good Waters, belonging to Franziska Zwürtmayr, written by Leopold Kreuzer in 1795).³ The recipes were meticulously documented in ink inside a penciled-in text frame. The fluent and skilled handwriting continues throughout the book, regularly dotted with the small ornaments of a trained penman. The book, unlike Anne Percy’s, shows little sign of use. The manuscript’s pages remain clean and lack personal notes or markings, or even additional recipes added in another hand in the blank pages at the end. As we do not know anything about Leopold Kreuzer or Franziska Zwürtmayr, it is difficult to tell whether the manuscript was a gift from one friend to another, a betrothal gift, or simply the product of a transaction between a scribe and customer.

These recipe books were composed in very different times, places, and situations. At first glance, the manuscripts may seem like they have little in common beyond their contents of culinary and medical recipes. Yet both of these books, particularly their material nature, provide clues about the lives of their authors and owners, and both contribute to broader discourse about the daily lives of early modern men and women and the importance of recipes in their households. The study of these manuscripts requires different skills and approaches, yet the outcomes are capable of enriching scholarship on the entire genre.

This is precisely what we hope to accomplish with this collection. This volume aims to make a new and significant contribution to the study of recipe books in the early modern period (ca. 1500–1800) by contextualising them in a broader European framework, traversing Catalonia, England, Finland, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and several French and German-speaking regions. The studies in this work centre around the manuscript

2 The large stain is located on fol. 149.

3 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. N. 26055, 1795.



recipe book, with a particular focus on volumes including culinary recipes, showcasing not only the various forms and functions of the recipe books, but also the different scholarly approaches that are predominant in different European countries. The forty-one recipe books highlighted in this collection span from the 1530s to after 1800, although there is a strong emphasis on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century works. This breadth allows us to make general statements about the genre in Europe, not just in a specific country or region, as well as tease out other similarities and differences in the materiality and use of recipe books. Furthermore, we aim to make these studies accessible to an English-speaking audience, providing a window into the methods, writing-styles, and approaches used across Europe and North America right now, offering valuable new perspectives for future studies.

In these chapters, authors trace the materiality of the books and the usage of the instructions within them, investigating patterns of recipe collection and their evolution over time; international transmission of recipes, ingredients, and artisanal knowledge; and women's manuscript culture. Contributions explore how localised traditions in book production and domestic record-keeping shaped the physical forms of the books, and how stains, folds, marginalia, items pressed between pages, and pasted-in additions reveal their many uses. The material nature of the manuscripts is critical to understanding how they were constructed, compiled, and used, and therefore providing a window into the cabinets and kitchens of the period. The inclusion of new ingredients and integrations of foreign recipes point to the ways in which people, food, ideas, and books travelled the globe.

Many of the authors have embraced the possibilities offered by digital collections that allow researchers to remotely access the facsimile, consult the edited text, provide annotated editions, and still achieve an understanding of the physicality of the objects. Several collections have generously provided the materials that have formed the basis of this volume, the largest of which being the Herzog August Library (Wolfenbüttel), the Folger Shakespeare Library (Washington), and the Wellcome Library (London). Digital access is not a comprehensive substitute for handling the physical items, particularly when considering certain aspects of materiality, but digitisation opens many doors for the kind of comparative work performed here.

Manuscript Recipe Books in Current Scholarship

Scholars working on manuscript cookery books come from a range of backgrounds, including linguistics, literature, history, and archaeology,

and this is reflected in the way they approach manuscripts and the kinds of questions they ask. These artefacts, especially those from the early modern period, often confront the scholar as “messy volumes” and “unruly books,” as Margaret Ezell points out.⁴ In her studies on so-called “invisible” books and social authorship, she invites us to change our perception of manuscripts as being “unfinished” or meant for the private sphere, and conversely, of the published book as being inherently finished, “trustworthy,” and fit for the eyes of the public.⁵ Questions of authorship, ownership, and social networking naturally intertwine with manuscript recipe books, and the answers can be difficult to re-construct due to lack of records.⁶ This lack of records also means that the vast majority of recipe books that are present in scholarship have been handed down to us from members of the upper- and middle classes.

The brief overview below gives an insight into the rich scholarship conducted in the past ten to twenty years and an overview of some of the most important works that have informed this volume, but is indeed by no means conclusive. As a first orientation, Henry Notaker’s *A History of Cookbooks* provides a solid contextualisation of the cookery book in Europe and gives an excellent overview of various topics concerning it, such as the cookery book genre, its origin and development from antiquity to the twenty-first century, its relationship to gender, the targeting of distinct audiences (for example, cookery books for the sick), and the recipe form itself.⁷

In English-language scholarship, Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell’s edited volume *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550–1800* remains one of the most significant works on the genre even ten years after its publication.⁸ It approaches the recipe book from various angles, invoking questions of authorship, family and friendship networks, circulation and transmission, and (inter)textuality. Drawing from a variety of disciplines to understand and position the recipe book in the premodern English world, it transcends the understanding of the recipe book as just a vessel containing recipes by analysing its materiality and contents other than recipes. Similarly, Madeline Shanahan’s work *Manuscript Recipe Books as Archaeological Objects: Text and Food in the Early Modern World* dissects a collection of Irish manuscript recipe books from an archaeological perspective, aiming to uncover the meanings those artefacts possessed and what they can tell us about instances

4 Especially Ezell, *Social Authorship*, and Ezell, “Invisible Books.” See also Pennell, “Making Livings.”

5 Cf. Ezell, “Invisible Books,” 66–67; and Ezell, *Social Authorship*, 38–39.

6 For example, see Thompson, “Uncovering the Traces,” 74.

7 Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*.

8 DiMeo and Pennell, *Reading and Writing*.

of change with regard to food and societal perceptions of and relations to the material dimension of food.⁹ Wendy Wall's 2016 volume *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern English Kitchen* also foregrounds the materiality of the manuscript recipe book and investigates the connection between cooking and writing, how literacy could be acquired outside of formal settings, and challenges definitions of literacy that are more connected with formal training than skill.¹⁰ Wall also makes visible the strong connections between cooking and experimental science.¹¹ Alisha Rankin, too, discusses the kitchen as a site of scientific experimentation and the involvement of women therein in her essay "Becoming an Expert Practitioner: Court Experimentalism and the Medical Skills of Anna of Saxony (1532–1585)."¹² Her study *Panacea's Daughters: Noblewomen as Healers in Early Modern Germany* expands on these topics and demonstrates the importance of noblewomen's contributions in the pharmaceutical sector, showing that their craft and knowledge was valued not despite, but because of their gender, which gave their creations and advice credibility.¹³ Rankin's volume provides an important insight into early modern healing practices in general, and centres the medical knowledge and skill of women.

In her 2018 study *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science, and the Household in Early Modern England*, Elaine Leong focuses on the contributions of both women and men in the making and usage of medical and scientific knowledge.¹⁴ Leong's work shows that the recipe book was of great importance for both sexes as a tool for understanding the connection between the material world and the human body, and her investigation touches upon the history of science, historical medicine and technology, gender studies, cultural history, and book history, as well as archival studies. Expanding on the kitchen as a site of scientific experimentation and a place of nourishment and healing, Madeline Basnett and Hillary Nunn present in their 2022 volume *In the Kitchen, 1550–1800: Reading English Cooking at Home and Abroad* a variety of essays on the important role of the body in cooking practices and methods, as well as the impact of colonialism and the early modern British empire on cooking and vice versa.¹⁵

9 Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*.

10 Wall, *Recipes for Thought*.

11 Cf. Wall, 207–50.

12 Rankin, "Expert Practitioner."

13 Rankin, *Panacea's Daughters*.

14 Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*.

15 Basnett and Nunn, *In the Kitchen*. It is worthwhile here to point towards the publications of the *Leeds Symposium on Food Histories and Traditions*, which also deal with topics such as the

Scholars in German-speaking countries are often heavily involved in provisioning editions of manuscript cookery books, and so naturally focus on the characteristics of single manuscripts, the building of databases, and the linguistic peculiarities of recipe texts.¹⁶ A recent study examining Romanian recipes, written by Ioan Milică and Sorin Guia and titled “Culinary Recipes: Orality and Scripturality,” also focuses on the linguistic aspects.¹⁷ Another recent English-language publication on Austrian manuscript recipe books, *The Austrian Manuscript Cookery Book in the Long Eighteenth Century: Studies of Form and Function*, builds on this approach and expands it to an analysis of the form and the functions of the manuscript books.¹⁸ Scholarship based on recipe books is also flourishing in Spain and Portugal, with a range of editions, recipe book studies, and monographs on early modern food culture incorporating recipe book sources.¹⁹ In France and Italy, scholarship on recipe books has been more concentrated on medieval and renaissance manuscripts rather than early modern. Additionally, scholarship from these regions on early modern recipe books tends to heavily emphasise medical pursuits.²⁰ It is also important to remember international projects such as

English kitchen, the country house kitchen, and different food stuffs. See “Recent Publications.” Similarly, the proceedings of the *Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery* engage with a multitude of topics, from food and power to food and material culture. See “Proceedings.”

16 See, for example, Kolmer and Kolmer, *Kochbuch Khumperger*; Morino, *Kochbuch der Ursulinen*; Bauer and Berthold, *Kochbuch der Eva König*; Gloning, *Kochbuch Lindnerin*; Gloning, “Wortgebrauch älterer Kochbücher und textbezogene Glossare”; Ramge, “Entstehung von Kochrezepten”; Ramge, “Kochbuch von Goethes Großmutter”; Gloning, “Textgebrauch”; Ritter, “Kochbuch Bornemisza”; Gloning, “Rezeptnachträge”; Windberger-Heidenkummer, “Rezeptnachträge”; Gloning, “Frauenkochbücher”; Glaser, “Textuelle Struktur”; and Liebman Parrinello, “Textsortengeschichte”; This phenomenon is also mentioned in Klumpp, “Culina Historica.”

17 Milică and Guia, “Culinary Recipes.”

18 For example, Gloning, *Kochbuch Lindnerin*; Gloning, “Frauenkochbücher”; Ramge, “Entstehung von Kochrezepten”; Glaser, “Textuelle Struktur”; and Müllneritsch, *The Austrian Manuscript Cookery Book*.

19 See Isabel Drummond Braga’s edition of Henriques, *Receitas de milhores doces*. Recipe book studies include Pérez Samper, “Los recetarios”; Pérez Samper, “Recetarios manuscritos”; and Braga, “O receituário de Francisco Borges Henriques.” Studies incorporating recipe books as sources include Pérez Samper, *La alimentación*; and Pérez Samper, *Mesas y cocinas*.

20 A majority of French scholarship on premodern manuscript recipe books has been published by Bruno Laurioux; while his work occasionally extends into the early modern period, his scholarly corpus focuses on medieval culinary recipe manuscripts. For recent examples of French studies of recipe books focused on medical and pharmaceutical preparations, see Bonnemain, “Un manuscrit inédit de 1757”; Hanafi, “Formules domestiques”; and Viaud, “Recettes de remèdes recueillis.” Recent studies by Italian scholars incorporating manuscript recipe books are likely to be English-language studies of the Renaissance, such as Mioni, “From Manuscript to Print.”

The Recipes Project, a blog founded by Elaine Leong and Lisa Smith in 2012 focusing on recipes from all over the world and covering an extremely long period of time.²¹

As this volume will show, several projects that build databases and focus on (digital) editions are or have been underway.²² The Centre for Gastrosophy at the University of Salzburg established a book series for food studies in 2013, which has published four editions of manuscript cookery books ranging from the fifteenth century to 1735.²³ Although not a strictly European project, the database *The Sifter*, originally the brainchild of Barbara Ketcham Wheaton, shows many fruitful collaborations happening at the present moment.²⁴ For example, the CoReMA project, itself a partnership between the Laboratoire CESR (Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance, University of Tours), the ZIMACDH (Zentrum für Informationsmodellierung – Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities, Graz), and the Department of Medieval German Studies at the University of Graz, has contributed data for Medieval French and German recipes, as well as community cookery books.²⁵ While the database does not include recipe texts, it allows for searching through the metadata of thousands of printed works and manuscripts concerned with food, reaching back to medieval times.

As is visible from the few examples given here, there is a lively scholarship on recipes and recipe books. But it is often inaccessible due to linguistic barriers. In this volume, established and early career scholars come together to share their work on manuscript recipe books, so that research practices, insights, and data need not be limited to linguistic or national borders.

European Recipe Books

Because of the breadth of studies and sources in this collection, we can comment broadly about recipe book production and use and identify many similarities between this wide sample of manuscripts produced in a large geographical area. We can now make claims not only of manuscripts produced in England, Germany, or other regions, but that these features and characteristics are true for recipe books created throughout much of

21 Clark et al., *The Recipes Project*.

22 For example, "Historische Rezeptdatenbank"; Jonasson et al., *Historiska recept*; Klug et al., *CoReMA – Cooking Recipes of the Middle Ages*; and "Monumenta Culinaria."

23 "Buchreihe: Gastrosophische Bibliothek."

24 "The Sifter."

25 Klug et al., *CoReMA – Cooking Recipes of the Middle Ages*.

Europe. Threads constantly run between the volume's studies, as there is notable thematic crossover between manuscripts in this collection despite their far-flung origins.

A recipe book contains, unsurprisingly, recipes. As recipes were commonly called "receipts," the books containing them were sometimes known as "receipt books." While some printed books are titled or considered recipe books, usually they are manuscripts. Although recipes and recipe collections have been recorded for much longer, this volume focuses on the heyday of the genre, ca. 1500–1800. Recipe books were created in all regions of Europe and its colonies; wherever Europeans travelled or colonised, they collected and recorded recipes. These books were fashioned in a range of sizes, could contain nearly any number of recipes, and could contain one type of recipe or many. Some manuscripts were carefully planned, others haphazardly written. A recipe book could be compiled by one or more people, by beginner or seasoned writers, or even professional scribes. And finally, these books could also contain other notes and documents, or just recipes.

Recipe books could contain culinary, medical, and household recipes, as well as many other categories. These recipe types are, in fact, quite difficult to separate. During the early modern period, there was no desire or point to distinguish culinary recipes from all other types. Rarely does an early modern manuscript recipe book deal exclusively with culinary themes. Furthermore, medical recipes are a natural pairing with culinary ones due to the close relationship between diet and health, and in many instances the recipes' appearance, construction, and contribution are identical.

While this collection of studies emphasises culinary recipes and recipe books, several chapters do describe and feature medical recipes, interwoven because of their nature, with culinary ones. For example, fourteen "Iberian recipes" by Martin Westcombe span culinary, medical, ink, and perfumery recipes.²⁶ The first section of Anne de Croy's recipes is almost exclusively medical, although culinary elements permeate the instructions.²⁷ Mary Leadbeater was an outlier in her recipe organization; she actually created separate recipe books for medical and culinary preparations.²⁸ Beyond this, however, the volume is focused primarily on culinary recipes.²⁹

26 See Valent, Chapter 3, esp. 108.

27 See Preston, Chapter 7, esp. 217–18.

28 See Ridolfo, Chapter 9, 256–57.

29 Many recent scholarly projects and publications are focused more heavily on the medical recipes found in manuscript recipe books. For example, see Allen, "Recipe Collections"; Beck, "Communities of Healing"; Begley and Goldberg, *The Medical World of Margaret Cavendish*; Boyle and Owens, *Health and Healing*; Buchanan, "The Politics of Medicine"; DiMeo, *Lady*

A range of literate men and women authored, compiled, and copied recipe books. At one extreme, royalty created recipe books. For example, in this collection we learn of the recipe book by Anne de Croy, Princess of Chimay. At the other extreme, culinary artisans and craftspeople also compiled recipe books. These men and women are represented here in studies of guild confectioners of Barcelona and a Portuguese cook. There are recipe collectors of all social classes in between. Here, this includes the educated and non-noble Irish writer Mary Leadbeater, as well as local elites like Maria Clara Dückher of Salzburg, or several Finnish families. So, too, are the many anonymous manuscripts and authors without any biographical information described throughout this book.

Recipe books were of such personal value that the original authors clearly stated their name in the manuscripts. This is largely consistent across geographical location and throughout the entirety of the early modern period. The attribution may be as simple as a name. Sometimes, as in the instance of Anne de Croy, a name and date are included, as well as a brief description of Anne's process of recipe collection. Other attributions detail not only the original author, but later contributors, as in Wellcome MS.2363, stating "This Recipe Book was begun by Mrs. Finger who died in 1770. And I began going on with it March 20th A.D. 1779. Anna Maria Reeve. Hends, Berks."³⁰ The matter of secondary authorship and individual recipe contributors can become quite murky, however, if a clear attribution is not made.

And as with any historical matter, some European recipe books, as well as their authors and contributors, have little to no related archival evidence, while others have enormous amounts. Two chapters in this collection rely on external documentation to a great degree: Elizabeth Ridolfo's study of Mary Leadbeater, the Irish writer known for her copious literature, poetry, letters, scrapbooks, account books, fifty-four volumes of journals, and recipe books; and Marta Manzaneres Mileo's work on the confectioner's guild of Barcelona. While other scholars have less documentation with which to work, even the smallest piece of evidence can play a major role in interpreting a recipe book, as Annamaria Valent demonstrates by comparing the hands of contemporary documents to verify Martin Westcombe's authorship of the Iberian recipes in Folger MS V.a.430.

Ranelagh; DiMeo and Pennell, *Reading and Writing*; Fissell, "Introduction"; Fox, *Giving Birth*; Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*; Leong and Rankin, *Secrets and Knowledge*; Rankin, *Panacea's Daughters*; and Stobart, *Household Medicine*.

30 Havard, 42.



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While men and women collected, recorded, and used recipes, women's roles in these activities have received outsized attention in recent scholarship, particularly in studies of English recipe books. It may even seem novel to learn of men's active recipe book production, such as the Portuguese cook Francisco Borges Henriques, the guild confectioners of Barcelona, or Martin Westcombe's contribution of recipes to Mary Granville's recipe book. This collection will hopefully show that across Europe, recipes were not the concern of a single gender, yet female authorship and ownership of recipe books is notable when considered more broadly. Many women, writing independently or on behalf of their families, can be confidently identified owning or contributing to recipe books; this can be more difficult with other textual genres.³¹ An entire section here is dedicated to women's recipe books, with an emphasis on non-English recipe books, and even still, other chapters return to the notability and importance of female recipe production.

This volume makes clear that there are far more similarities than differences in the recipe book genre produced throughout Europe. Recipe books, however, exhibit some differences in their materiality. There is a wide range of practices, the direct results of authorial intention and the recipe book's amount of use. For example, many manuscripts contain plentiful and enthusiastic marginal notes and annotations, but not all. Annotations hold special significance in English recipe books, in part because they indicate the trial or follow-through of a recipe, thus influencing the veracity of instruction.³² Similarly, marginal notes appeared to be a critical part of Spanish confectioners' manuscripts, again proving the efficacy of recipes and showing whether a confectioner had successfully learned a recipe.³³ Conversely, Anne de Croy's recipe book remained unannotated, suggesting that the manuscript was intended to be a display copy rather than a utilitarian one.³⁴

31 It is impossible to state how many, or even what percentage, of book and manuscript authors and owners were women. Unless there is written evidence of women's association with a specific book, such as a name recorded within, it can be very difficult to tie individuals to books centuries ago. However, there has been increasing scholarly activity on the topic. For example, the project *Early Modern Female Book Ownership #HerBook* provides valuable insight into the range of books and manuscripts early modern women marked as their own. Within this collection, Jonasson and Norrback note that some Finnish eighteenth-century cookery books have been creatively traced to women through estate inventories and auction protocols (129).

32 Havard, 45–47.

33 Manzanera Mileo, 167–69.

34 Preston, 215.



Early modern Europeans compiled manuscript recipe books for two main purposes: the collection, organization, and dissemination of knowledge, and the desire to strengthen and grow familiar and social networks. People across time and place have a natural tendency to collect, whether it is information, material goods, or memories. Culinary recipes, as practical information that produces a consumable good, all while creating memories during the performance and consumption of said recipe, sit in a sweet spot between pragmatism and nostalgia. Recipe books provide organisation and a method of disseminating the culinary knowledge that can outlive the original author.

While not all recipe books were tidily assembled, the urge to collect and organise is frequently manifested in the materiality of the recipe books. This volume's chapters include descriptions of features like labelled black and red coloured tabs in Wellcome MS.3088; Anne de Croy's index; and Mary Leadbeater's ruled pages, room in the margins for notes, and blank pages for future recipe additions.³⁵ Further examples include Katharine Palmer's statement in her manuscript's flyleaf, where additional recipes could be added in her book; Barbro Christina Hästesko-Fortuna's distinct recipe sections; and the division of the von Ackern-Wijkman Manuscript into not only separate sections for foods, dyes, distillations, and household advice but separate booklets for each section.³⁶ Recipe book writers may have used very different methods but typically collected and organised their manuscripts with some degree of thought and care.

Frequently, recipe books were collections of information gifted to and from family and friends. These manuscripts consistently highlight the importance of personal connections, showing the layers of influences between social, familial, and professional networks, whether dealing with a household, specific community, or across international borders. Networks and relationships are exhibited through gifts of books, sections of recipes, or individual recipes, with the recipe donor frequently indicated in the margins. Sometimes the recipes emphasise social hierarchies, through the provision of recipes with high value ingredients, performing as a signifier of wealth and status.³⁷ At other times, the recipes emphasise inclusion in a community; for example, the gifting of medical recipes and cures maintained family or community health, livelihood, and success. The relationships and networks codified by these manuscripts clearly reflect the social lives and statuses of recipe compilers and donors.

35 Havard, Figure 1.3; Preston, 212; and Ridolfo, 255.

36 Havard, 49; Jonasson and Norrback, 132, 133.

37 Preston, 215–16.

The gifting or contribution of recipe books and individual recipes runs throughout this volume; it is a key feature of the genre. Manuscripts with a large number of contributors signalled a large social circle; however, any contributed recipes with attributions are notable, as this not only identified the individuals within a given group but also served to verify recipes and establish a “culture of accountability in the realms of early modern domestic knowledge.”³⁸ In this volume, most recipe book authors participated in this practice. Maria Clara Dückher’s manuscript includes many names which point to the author’s and family’s network and background and indicate the status and activities of the Dückher von Haslau und Winckl family.³⁹ Even culinary professionals like Francisco Borges Henriques named specific people and places in contributed recipes, despite his own authority as a professional cook.⁴⁰

Sometimes large collections of recipes, as well as the recipe books themselves, are gifted, sometimes as an inheritance. This act of contribution and gift-giving serves the same purposes, particularly when passed through family lines. Intergenerational and familial use of a recipe book suggests family authority and the importance of maintaining domestic secrets of health, comfort, and hospitality. Examples of this can be found in many of this volume’s studies: Anne de Croy’s recipe book was likely completed by her daughter, multiple members of the Granville and Westcombe families contributed to a single manuscript, and the Stensböle household book may have been a betrothal gift to Barbro Christina Hästesko-Fortuna from her husband-to-be. The act of gifting and inheriting recipe collections was one that persisted in early modern Europe, regardless of time and place.

Just as there is consistency in the compilation of early modern recipe books, so too is there with source material. Sources, as seen above, regularly include family and friends. Sometimes a large section of another manuscript recipe book served as the source, such as the block of recipes in Maria Clara Dückher’s book which corresponds with a section in another manuscript now located in another collection attributed to “Frau Haggin.”⁴¹ The source may also be another complete recipe book, as in the professional manuscript of Joan Batista Jalabert, whose book is probably a copy of an earlier manuscript by a young druggist-confectioner, Agustí Saltiró.⁴² Recipes were also col-

38 Havard, 56.

39 Ernst, 241–44.

40 Braga, 195.

41 Ernst, 242–44.

42 Mileo Manzanares, 176.



lected from contemporary printed materials such as cookbooks, newspapers, and pamphlets. Some such instances involve the copying of printed material by hand, as in Mary Chantrell's adapted recipe from *The Queens Closet Opened*.⁴³ Or, a recipe book might include a printed paper recipe inserted or pasted into the manuscript, as in Francisco Borges Henriques' collection.⁴⁴

Contemporary printed cookbooks share many features of manuscript recipe books. The content, for example, included a wide variety of non-culinary recipes. Early modern cookbooks were printed for several classes of consumers and sold at many price points. The books often contained recipe attributions and named individuals connected to the author, printer, or publisher in the paratext, reflecting networks of recipe transmission. Cookbooks and recipes often overlapped in content, as mentioned above, as cookbooks could serve as sources for recipe books, and vice versa. And as with studies of recipe manuscripts, scholars have been increasingly interested in the writing and circulation of printed cookbooks, as well as the printing process and varied contents, including the recipes and paratext.⁴⁵ However, the very personal and unique nature of manuscript recipe books is our interest in this volume and printed cookbooks are not the primary focus.

Identifying the similarities, variations, and differences among European recipe books is not just a scholarly exercise; it speaks to the persistence and value of the genre. Each contributor to this volume peels back another layer of the material, textual, and culinary concerns of these manuscripts and encourages us to consider the personal and elaborate connections between people, recipes, and books.

Before compiling the chapters in this volume, we the editors were interested in filling a void we identified while working on our own research. That is, recipe books were produced throughout Europe during the entirety of the early modern period, yet today, English-language scholarship on these manuscripts is dominated by research on English exemplars. We sought to place recipe books in a truly European context, so we crafted a call for proposals that was broad in scope; we requested proposals on nearly any aspect of the materiality and use of recipe books from any part of Europe

43 Havard, 58–59.

44 Braga, 195.

45 Much of the scholarship cited in this chapter on manuscript recipe books also includes analysis and information about contemporary cookbooks. Henry Notaker, however, has been particularly focused on print cookbooks in his research. See Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*; and Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks*. While large numbers of early modern cookbooks have been digitised and made widely available in recent years, some publishers, like Prospect Books, have remained committed to producing printed editions and translations.

or its colonies at any point in early modern period. While we were open to a variety of methodological approaches and styles, we preferenced historical and bibliographical studies. After the call for proposals was circulated, we selected contributions which highlighted the diversity of European recipe books and compilers not regularly presented in English-language scholarship. Ultimately, the contributions herein display a range of methodologies and scholarly writing rooted in the varied traditions of academic training and writing across Europe, Australia, and North America, ranging from detailed bibliographic descriptions to historical narratives. The result is a collected volume which reflects the same regional diversity and European continuity in research present in the manuscripts being studied.

Collecting Recipes

The act of collection is inherent in the creation of a recipe book. So, too, is the desire to acquire not only recipes, but entire recipe books and cookbooks. The curation of recipes reveals a desire to organise knowledge and collect foods, relationships, and experiences into a single manuscript in a manner not unlike that of collecting books for a library. While all the volume's contributors speak to the act of collecting to some degree, two examine the acts of collecting recipes and collecting books with recipes in greater detail. The motivations for acquiring recipes to make up a book, or collecting entire recipe books to fill a library, can be profoundly similar. A collector may be influenced by household expectations, educational aspirations, social motivations, or even frivolity. And all collectors must consider the limits of their collection and defining when it is complete.

In an examination of twelve seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English recipe books held by the Wellcome Library, Lucy Havard hones in on the reasons why individuals collected recipes and how they wrote and exerted ownership over their collections. In "A Cake the Lady Anselys Way': the Complexities of Information Acquisition, Transfer and Authorship in English Early Modern Manuscript Recipe Books," Havard investigates the ownership and authorship of recipe books, how individuals determined the efficacy of recipes, and the role of social networks in the transfer of domestic knowledge. Havard carefully contextualises recipe books within other contemporary textual sources and traces how one informed the other, or more pointedly, how people collected recipes from many sources to create a new text. Part of collecting a useful recipe book was to test the efficacy or veracity of recipes; Havard sifts through the various statements used to annotate a recipe's



efficacy, showing that a methodical system of recipe trials was intended to enhance the collected object for not only personal use, but also the future use and dissemination of recipe collections. The varied acts of collecting resulted in unique physical manuscripts, with each recipe book adapted to individual users and situations.

Barbara Denicolò similarly probes the act of collecting in her examination of a seventeenth-century German collection of manuscript recipe books and print cookbooks in “The Cookery Books in the Herzog August Library Wolfenbüttel.” With the intention to inspire future research within the Library’s cookery holdings, Denicolò provides a detailed description of the collection habits of Duke August the Younger of Wolfenbüttel and his acquisition of cookery books within a broader collection of approximately 135,000 titles in 35,000 volumes of medieval and early modern books on all subjects, now known as the Herzog August Library. Denicolò’s specializations in bibliography and culinary data analysis converge here to present a detailed, data-driven evaluation of cookbooks and recipe books from a major European book collection. Furthermore, she provides a list and descriptions of twenty-nine printed cookbooks and eleven manuscript recipe books of culinary recipes collected by Duke August. She considers Duke August’s collecting habits and interests, how culinary materials entered the collection, and the ways in which Duke August’s methods of organization, cataloguing, and binding influenced and modified the physical objects and ways in which researchers might interact with the materials.

International Transmission

As material and textual manifestations of familial, friendship, and professional networks, recipe books contain traces of the places that people, ingredients, and recipes travel. The memories individual recipes evoke or the social connections they prove are powerful markers of past experiences and future aspirations. Often, scholarship reflects on how recipes from afar provide culinary excitement or a taste out of the ordinary. Indeed, this is present in many examples throughout this volume, ranging from the “Indian Pickles” and “Dumpack-Chickens” in Mary Leadbeater’s recipe book and recipes for couscous, tomatoes, potatoes, watermelon, coffee, and chocolate in Francisco Borges Henriques’ recipe book.⁴⁶ But recipes from a specific location help us consider the intercessory nature of a recipe to a recipe

46 Ridolfo, 262–63; Braga, 189–93.

book author. Several recipes mentioned throughout this volume are specific to a location, whether it is a village or convent in the same region as the manuscript or an ocean away. What is notable about Martin Westcombe's reference to a quince ripening at a certain moment each season in Spain?⁴⁷ Or Maria Clara Dückher's recipes from Spain, Hungary, and Germany?⁴⁸ Isabel Drumond Braga describes how recipes "from a certain place could be different from a 'recipe in the style of.'" This important distinction helps us separate the more fleeting and exciting foreignness of a single recipe, particularly one "in the style of," and the power of place, memory, and connection to a recipe from a specific faraway place. But what about the manuscripts themselves? What can entire recipe books reveal about the transmission of international culinary ideas, or even more poignantly, the relationships people build across international borders? Two contributions respond to these very questions and show how recipe book authors who move their manuscripts across international borders – or grapple with borders changing around them – display their attempts to weave together differing cultures, traditions, and experiences on the page.

In "Sir Martin Westcombe's Iberian Recipes," Annamaria Valent offers a close examination of fourteen recipes in Folger MS V.a.430 that Valent terms the "Iberian recipes." She traces these recipes back to Sir Martin Westcombe, a relation of Mary Granville, who is typically ascribed ownership of the manuscript. While much of the manuscript exhibits contents not entirely unlike other contemporary English recipe books, the addition of the Iberian recipes reveals distinct experiences of recipe transmission and the intersection of cultures recorded by Westcombe. The extensive mingling of English, Spanish, and some Portuguese is an exceptional aspect of the recipe book, and one that speaks to the fluidity of ideas and interest in other cultures present, as well as Westcombe's experiences as a diplomat.

While Westcombe acquires his recipes while temporarily in a foreign land, Maren Jonasson and Märtha Norrback introduce us to six Finnish recipe books written by individuals and families who remained in the same geographical location while the political and cultural borders shifted around them. In "Finnish Manuscript Recipe Books, ca. 1730–1850: Cross-Regional Influences, Copied Recipes, and Authorship Issues," Jonasson and Norrback describe the Finnish culinary identity forming within the context of changing Swedish and Russian borders. At the time these manuscripts were compiled, Finland was part of the Kingdom of Sweden until 1809 when

47 Valent, 114.

48 Ernst, 237.



it was designated as a territory within the Russian Empire. This regional history of shifting political allegiances results in complex and interwoven culinary cultures, shaped by social position, specific geographical locations, and the personal habits and business dealings of recipe collectors and contributors. This is laid bare in the recipe collections from this period, revealing the concerns, priorities, and comforts of several Finnish families. Jonasson and Norrback focus on cross-regional influences, recipe copying, and complex authorship issues, cataloguing these six recipe books as both material objects and vessels of culinary transmission. Jonasson and Norrback combine codicological and narrative descriptions throughout the course of their chapter, showcasing their scholarly backgrounds in bibliography, textual criticism, and curatorial work. The foundation of their study, detailed bibliographic descriptions, are situated within a larger narrative analysis. They have unearthed a wealth of information about the provenance and authorship of each manuscript; they not only detail codicological features and offer historical highlights of each recipe book but also compare common features and contents among the six books, like ingredients and cooking methods which are highly specific to the northernmost regions of Europe.

Professional and Trade Ownership

While early modern recipe books are now typically considered as personal and familial objects, these manuscripts, in fact, were also employed by early modern culinary professionals. These recipe books exhibit similar characteristics as non-professional recipe books; for example, the manuscripts contain the same kinds of marginalia, recipe attributions, and statements of efficacy. Furthermore, recipe books created for professional use also reveal that authors drew upon social networks and contemporary texts for recipes, just as in personal recipe books. The manuscripts detailed in this section, a group of recipe books by Barcelona confectioners and one by a professional cook in Portugal, contain recipe attributions and links to specific local, regional, and international sites. In both instances, the manuscripts suggest strong social networks from which authors collected recipes, and among the confectioners, especially, the recipe books transmitted guild knowledge throughout a professional group, even across generations of use.

A group of twelve recipe books created by guild confectioners in Barcelona serves as a remarkably rich resource for Marta Manzanera Mileo's chapter, "How to Be a Perfect Confectioner": Using Artisanal Recipe Books in Early Modern Barcelona." Manzanera Mileo bridges the domestic confectionery

production recorded in so many printed and personal manuscript recipe books with the business of professional confectioners, their craft, and their education. Specifically, she examines how the confectioners' recipe books contributed to the production and transmission of knowledge as young confectioners copied, exchanged, and used these texts to complement their hands-on learning. This corpus of recipe books encourages a reconsideration of the use of written recipes among food practitioners, as scholarship has thus far emphasised oral and performative teaching and learning practices. Manzanares Mileo traces readers' notes and marks to show how confectioner's recipe books were actively used and circulated across generations, networks of friendship, and geographic distance. She additionally connects these recipe books to broader conversations about early modern culinary knowledge production, an area which requires much more consideration and discussion of cooks and culinary artisans.

A manuscript by a professional cook in Portugal similarly connects a culinary professional and his written recipes to a global culinary space. In "Francisco Borges Henriques' Cookbook: Innovation and Globalisation in Eighteenth-Century Portugal," Isabel Drumond Braga considers how a recipe book's author-cook was part of local social circles as well as a wider network of culinary globalisation. In particular, Braga is concerned with what the recipes, ingredients, and instructions reveal about the author, his social environment, and broader cultural concerns of the period, namely globalisation. The manuscript's recipes include a surprising number of American ingredients still relatively new to Europe. Through a comparison of the recipe book with contemporary printed cookbooks, Braga suggests how and why these foods were included and how their appearance contributes to the social value of the prepared dishes. She furthermore distinguishes recipes "in the style of" from those actually from a specific locale, as Francisco Borges Henriques consistently and deliberately separates those two concepts. Several of the recipes identified as Brazilian (as opposed to being "in the style of") indicate Francisco Borges Henriques' intimate knowledge of life in the Portuguese colony. Braga's exploration of this distinction places the cook's perspective, mitigated through his recipe book, as central to understanding emerging global food systems and the ethics of considering such systems against the backdrop of colonialism.

Women's Manuscript Culture

A significant portion of recent recipe book scholarship has been focused on women's authorship and ownership of these manuscripts. There is much



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to be gleaned about early modern women's lives, relationships, agency, and knowledge production through their recipe books. However, the scholarship has been primarily focused on Englishwomen, despite the fact that women across Europe were also crafting these manuscripts. While several other chapters in this volume deal to some degree with women's contributions to recipe books, this section is dedicated to three studies of recipe books attributed to women in sixteenth-century Chimay, seventeenth-century Salzburg, and eighteenth-century Ireland. These texts, while presented in different languages and born from different customs and social positions, still exhibit similar physical and textual features, associations with friends and family, and a desire to care for one's self and family through food, medicine, and household recipes. Perhaps the most striking similarity is the desire to create, record, and use skilled and tested knowledge, despite time, place, class, and formal education. There is great value in understanding both the minor differences and significant similarities in these recipe books as we seek to learn more about the lives of women and recipe cultures throughout early modern Europe.

A sixteenth-century recipe book attributed to Anne de Croy demonstrates how women's roles in the domestic sphere influenced the ways in which they wrote recipes and asserted ownership over their knowledge and practice. Naomi Preston explores these roles in "Expressions of Female Ownership in the Manuscript Recipe Collection of the Princess of Chimay (1533)," emphasizing how the recipe book is a performative endeavour because Anne's social position influenced how she elected to signal her intellectual ownership.⁴⁹ While Anne was not the sole contributor to the book, the first section containing medical recipes is attributed to her. Anne's knowledge of ingredients and the process of making permeates the recipes; Preston's analysis adds to existing scholarship on women's creation of their own medical culture and adaptation of medical information. Preston especially highlights the place of food in the treatment of ailments and draws interesting connections between Anne's instructions for medical recipes and culinary ones, such as examining the same base knowledge for gathering and preparing ingredients and preparation processes. Readers can fully delve into these culinary traits through the valuable appendices of Preston's recipe translations.

If Anne de Croy's recipe book exhibits the characteristics of an author recording her intimate and extensive recipe knowledge, Maria Clara Dückher's manuscript is a case study in the dissemination of that kind of knowledge. Dückher's seventeenth-century recipe book is at the centre of a

49 Preston, 216.



web of culinary information. Starting with this manuscript, Marlene Ernst in “From Page to Table: Culinary Knowledge Transfer Based on an Example from Early Modern Salzburg” traces the dissemination of culinary knowledge among female recipe book authors, considering the role of social networks and personal backgrounds in that process. Gradually untangling the Dückher family’s noble history in Salzburg and the similarly complicated collection of hands, names, places, ingredients, dialects, and title conventions in the manuscript, Ernst explains the significance of these names in identifying compilers, family business practices, social connections, and changing status in Salzburg over time. She shows how many members of the Dückher family contributed to the manuscript and discovers complementary recipes, perhaps copied from the same source, in contemporary German recipe books. Ernst argues for the systematic processing of manuscript sources from Europe to trace the very complicated network of social connections across geographical areas and the transmission of culinary information through written recipes.

The recipe book of Irish writer Mary Leadbeater (1758–1826) also provides an example of women’s knowledge creation, particularly within the context of Leadbeater’s extensive yet dispersed archives. In the final chapter, “Culinary Culture and Community in the Manuscript Cookbook and Archives of Mary Leadbeater,” Elizabeth Ridolfo explores the connections between Leadbeater’s culinary life and her literary one by comparing the recipe book with her other writings: a large and notable collection of letters, journals, other recipe books, scrapbooks, and more, spread out among various collections and institutions. Leadbeater’s Quaker formation emphasised education and intellectual activity; she was supported by the men and women around her to read and record broadly. As a result, her recipes and food experiences can be tied to specific people and events in Leadbeater’s life through her other writings. In a way rarely possible with other recipe book authors, Ridolfo tracks Leadbeater’s recipe book contents alongside her friends and family, community, life experiences, and her own tastes. For example, Ridolfo connects Leadbeater’s sweet recipes to her thoughts about slave-produced sugar, a recipe trial for butter and her butter-making activities recorded in other writings, or her notes in Greek surrounding some recipes lining up with her journal and letters recording her effort in learning Greek. Ridolfo is even able to compare Leadbeater’s culinary recipe book to her medical recipe books, a feat rarely possible among early modern women.⁵⁰

These nine studies of early modern recipe books, though varied in scope, geography, and other matters, promote a more comprehensive consideration

50 Ridolfo, 256–57.



of the genre. As early modern recipes scholarship grows increasingly collaborative, more opportunities for researching and producing cooperative studies arise. This book is just one example of the effort to foster collaboration and connect disparate recipe research in a meaningful way. We hope this collection encourages scholars to consider the recipe book not just as a personal or local object but as part of a broader tradition and genre cultivated throughout Europe.

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