NOTES

CHAPTER EIGHT


2 Paul Dorveaux, Le Sucre au Moyen Age, Bibliothèque Historique de la France Médicale (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1911), p. 3.

3 Dorveaux, p. 4.

4 Bondurand, p. 195.

'Diarrhodon' is translated as 'hepatica' by Du Cange. It probably belonged to that genus, commonly called liverleaf, which plants were once believed to have therapeutic value in the treatment of liver disease.


5 Fruit 'robs' - 'arop' in Catalan - were the concentrated juices of certain fruits, especially grapes, reduced by about three-quarters by evaporation. The equivalent in Italy was 'musto cocto' or 'sapa', an ingredient known to the Romans.

S.K.Hamarneh & G. Sonnedecker, "A pharmaceutical

6 Ciasca, p. 354.

7 Platina, Book II.


9 Rodinson, "Recherches," p. 139.

10 Arberry, pp. 208-214.

11 Arberry, p. 34.

12 Lozinski, pp. 18 & 21.

13 Jeanselme & Oeconomos, p. 164.

14 SS, R51 & R56.


16 Flandrin, "Internationalisme, nationalisme et régionalisme," p. 96.

17 AV, R5, R54, R60.

18 Leimgruber, p. 13.

19 MR, R75 & R125.

20 Pichon & Vicaire, pp. 197-199.

21 Brereton & Ferrier, p. 186; Dorveaux, p. 7.

22 Ciasca, p. 752.

23 'Dragees' were described in the *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongués* (1611) as "a kind of digestive powder ... and hence ... comfets or sweet
meats." One particular type of dragee prescribed for the wife of Francesco Datini contained cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, ginger, aniseed, sugar and galangal. (Origo, p. 328).


'Sucre en plate' was a thin, crystal-clear sheet of 'toffee' in which could be set small petals of roses, violets, etc. 'Paste de roy' was a paste of crystallised ginger. The composition of 'Manus Christi' cannot be discovered.

25 Cuoco Napolitano, f80r.


"Juni 9 (1344) pro 537 1/4 lb. tam manus Christi, zuccaris rozeati, anisi confecti, diacitron, feniculi confecti, amigdalarum, avellanarum confectarum, ostiarum deauratarum et oliandre (6s. pro libra) ... Juli 10 (1344) ... 521 1/2 lb. de diacitron, ostiarum deauratarum, manus Christi ... et aliarum specierum confectarum."

28 L. Faraudo de Saint-Germain, "Libre de totes maneres de confits": Un tratado manual cuatrocentista de arte de dulceria," Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, 19 (1946), 97-134.


30 Brereton & Ferrier, pp. 184-186.
32 Origo, p. 283,
33 Ciasca, p. 356. Similarly, the fourteenth-century English *Coud Kokery* describes in detail how "to make ymages in suger". (Hieatt & Butler, *Curveyng Inglysch*, p. 153)
34 Eiximenis, p. 123.
35 Eiximenis, p. 43.
36 SS, R49, R50, R56.
37 For example, Avellanat, MR, R50; Pinyonada, MR, R56; Sementa di Canipa, MM, R95.
38 AV, R5.
39 MM, R41; AV, R44; Liber, II:47; Rodinson, "Recherches," p. 139.
40 SS, R56; MR, R58; Rodinson, "Recherches," p. 139.
41 *Cuoco Napolitano*, R39.
42 MP, R114.
43 Flandrin, "Internationalisme, nationalisme et régionalisme," p. 87.
44 Flandrin, "Internationalisme, nationalisme et régionalisme," pp. 78-79.
45 Pichon & Vicaire, pp. 122-123; Scully, pp. 144-145.
46 Brereton & Ferrier, pp. 177, 179, 180; MP, R107.
47 Brereton & Ferrier, pp. 175-182.
Eiximenis, p. 43.

Cuoco Napolitano, f77r-f89r.


Scully, p. 177; SS, R160; AV, R62.

AT, R80.

AT, R86.

SS, R160; AT, R83, R84, R146.

MP, R261; MR, R142.

AM/B, R37.


SS, R159; MP, R264.

Arberry, p. 213.

Arberry, p. 201.

AV, R60; MR, R131.

MP, R258; Scully, pp. 177–178; MP, R260, R261.

Although recipes are not included in the text, 'ravioles' and 'ravioles lombardes' are mentioned in three menus in Le Menagier. (Brereton & Ferrier, pp. 176–178)

AV, R62; AT, R86.


MP, R259; LeV(XV), R41 & R45.


Pansier, V, 76.

Stouff, p. 35.

Scully, p. 163.
Eiximenis, p. 123.


Hieatt & Butler, Curye on Inglisch, p. 206.

Lacroix, p. 177.

MM, R9. Martino also explains how to make a 'pastello', without a pastry crust, in a frying pan, which confirms the structural role of the pastry. MM, R12.

LeV(XV), R106.


MM, R124.

AT, R125 & R143.

LeV(XV), R114 & R113; MM, R135 & R136; Cuoco Napolitano, R195.

Stouff, p. 239.


Deschamps, Oeuvres Complètes, V (1887), pp. 51-52.


Stouff, pp. 31 & 260.

Brereton & Ferrier, pp. 175-182.

MP, R162.

LeV(XV), R78; SS, R134.

SS, R134; AT, R116.
Most lexicographers give the mediaeval meaning of the French 'tourte' (torte, tortre) as a round loaf of bread (e.g. Godefroy: "espece de pain commun de forme ronde"). In examples of the use of of 'tourte' recorded by Tobler, all but two refer to coarse bread or, exceptionally, to the type of grain from which such bread was made. The two anomalous examples derive from Le Menagier, where the word describes a dish very like the Italian torta, and the recipe itself is very similar to the Italian recipes for Torta di herbe. 'Torta' does not seem to have referred to a loaf of bread in Italian.

The derivation of the terms 'tarte', 'torta', 'tourte' is uncertain, although a common origin seems to be agreed. Platina, in the fifteenth century, suggested that "torta has taken its name from the herbs which are twisted and cut up, from which almost all of these are made, I should think" (although he inferred that this practice was no longer current). (Platina, Book VIII) The source of the word is thus assumed to be the Latin 'torquere' (to turn, twist, knead), through its past participle, 'tortus', and more modern authorities have tended to agree. More recently, however, Corominas has
proposed a derivation via an ancient Greek word for bread; its contraction with the definite article gives both the Italian 'torta' and the French 'tarte'. (τὸ αρτίδιον ἄρτιδιον, torta; τὰ ἄρτιδια ἄρτιδια, tarte).
(Corominas, IV, 510-511)

'Torta' was apparently first documented in Italy in the thirteenth century, and in Spain about the same time. (Battisti, p. 3725; Corominas, IV, 510) The term 'tarte' appeared about a century later in these Mediterranean countries, and was derived ('indudablemente', according to Corominas) from the French noun.

These linguistic details support the hypothesis that 'torte' and 'tartes' were two distinct genres, each quite strictly geographically localised, and that — in a shining example of culinary reciprocity — the northern French borrowed from the Italians both the name and the recipe for 'torte', while the Mediterraneans borrowed 'tartes' from their northern neighbours. Henri Estienne's dialogues, written in the second half of the sixteenth century and satirising the adoption of Italianisms by French courtiers, confirm the French borrowing. "Quant aux viandes d'Italie, je ne vous donneray qu'un petit bouccon de cervelat des meilleurs qui se facent à Milan, et d'une tourte, que vous trouverez meilleure que toutes celles que vous avez jamais mangées ni à Boulogne, ni à Florence." (p.262)

By the sixteenth century, tourtes were well entrenched in the French culinary repertoire; Rabelais lists, under the heading of Patisserie, "Tourtes, de seize
facons" (Franklin, p. 89). Similarly, the first Italian recipes for 'tartes' appeared at the end of the fifteenth century (Cuoco Napolitano); significantly, they seem to have been one-crust tarts, in the French fashion, whereas most torte required top and bottom crusts, and one recipe was even entitled 'Tartare alla franzesa de pomme'. (Cuoco Napolitano, R195).


95 Italian-style 'torte' were not totally absent from northern French cuisine, but they were probably exceptional. The only 'tourte' in the sample menus of Le Menagier is Tourte pisaine (or 'lombarde') but this kind of tourte, for which recipes are given in other northern French texts, should perhaps be more properly regarded as a licence to culinary artistry and extravaganza. Le Menagier also gives a recipe for 'Arboulastre en tartre faicte en la paelle' (R231), which is very similar to Italian torte, even as regards cooking technique.

A recipe, simply entitled 'Tourte', is included in both the Bibliothèque Mazarine manuscript of Le Viandier
and Le Menagier, and is probably borrowed from an Italian source. The Vatican manuscript of Le Viandier includes a recipe for 'tourte de layt', but this has no similarity to either French 'tourtes' or Italian 'torte'.

96 MM, R124; Liber, V: 8.

97 Corinne Bossard, Franco d'Angelo & Bruna Maccari, "La ceramica per la cottura degli alimenti a Brucato (XIV secolo)," Atti, IX Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica, Albisola, 28-31 May, 1976, p. 41.

AV, R95 & R101; Nice MS, R6.

98 Cuoco Napolitano, R72.
99 Battisti, V, 3739.
100 AV, R112.
101 Tacuinum Sanitatis, Documenti, 215.
102 Herbeth, p. 91.
103 Bresc-Bautier, Bresc & Herbeth, p. 52.
104 Cuoco Napolitano, R 197.
105 SS, R138; MR, R127.
106 Le V(XV), R117 & R118; MP, R250.

110 Tractatus, II: 4 & II: 6.
111 Gilles le Bouvier, p. 59.
112 Stouff, p. 37.
113 Brunet & Redon, p. 21.
114 Franklin, p. 21.
115 Pichon & Vicaire, p. 119; MP, R248.
LeV(XV), R111 & R115.

AT, R124.

AV, R95, R102, R107; AM/B, R45; Nice MS, R39;

MM, R126 & R127.

MM, R124.

Platina, Book VII.

For example, AT, R123; LeV(XV), R111;

MP, R248.

AV, R98; MM, R144; AM/B, R23.

AV, R112; Scully, p. 156; Brereton & Ferrier, p. 176.

Scully, p. 157.

Pansier, V, 146.
NOTES

CHAPTER NINE

1 Eixemini, pp. 43-44.
2 Somme, p. 111.
3 Stouff, p. 261.
4 Mennell, p. 51.
5 At the end of the fifteenth century, the duke of Milan had three two-pronged silver forks.
Toussaint-Samas, p. 107.
Francesco Datini had twelve silver forks, in the fourteenth century. Origo, p. 254.
In one of Sacchetti's stories set in fourteenth-century Florence, forks were used to eat 'macaroni'. Brunet & Redon, p. 22.
6 Stouff, p. 272.
7 Tacuinum Sanitatis, p. 116 & Documenti, No. 173.
8 Eixemini, p. 122.
9 Stouff, p. 103.
10 Brereton & Ferrier, pp. 118-123.
12 Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry

516

Tacuinum Sanitatis, Documenti, No. 147.

13 Stouff, p. 263.
14 Eixeminis, p. 89.
15 Stouff, pp. 242-243.
16 Stouff, pp. 324-327.
17 Piponnier, "Recherches," p. 73.
18 Similarly, Byzantine cuisine ignored peas; its legumes included broad beans, chick peas, phaseole, vetch and lupin. Jeanelme & Oeconomos, p. 159.
20 Stouff, p. 105; Origo, p. 323.
21 Charbonnier, "L'alimentation," p. 82.
22 Shirley, pp. 135 passim; Stouff, p. 105.
23 Patrone, p. 127.
25 MP, R95; MM, R 75.
26 Although saffron, on a mass basis, was one of the most expensive of spices (at least in northern France and Toulouse), in the quantities in which it would have been used, to colour, it was probably comparatively cheap; 100 mg would give a good, rich colour to a kilogram of dried peas. Saffron was grown in mediaeval Tuscany and in Catalonia, and may well have been cheaper in these regions.
27 AT, R43.
28 Somme, p. 111.

Stouff, p. 226. 

29 'Gourds' is probably the best translation for 'zucche', or 'courges' in medieval French. The vegetables known as pumpkin and squash today came from the Americas, and were not available to medieval cooks.

30 'Navaz' or 'navetz' were a type of root vegetable, but it is difficult to know whether they were closer to turnips or parsnips.

31 *Cuoco Napolitano*, R 34 & R 36.

32 There is no recipe for cabbage in the Sent Sovi, but 'Colls verts ab gallines' and 'Colls ab brou e grex de bou' listed in the index of the Valencia manuscript. Grewe, *Sent Sovi*, p. 220.

33 SS, R117, R118, R119, R120; Valencia ms. R 51; AT, R16; Platina, Book IV; AM/A, R105 & R106.

34 Bendiscoli & Gallia, p. 267

35 Gottschalk, I, 286.


38 *Cuoco Napolitano*, R33.

39 SS, R94.

40 Platina, Book VII; AV, R121; AM/A, R113.

42 AT, R62; AV, R25.

43 *Cuoco Napolitano*, f80.

44 MP, R63; Le V(XV), R142.

45 Gibault, p. 83-84; MP, R 50.

46 Stouff, pp. 324-327.

47 Bondurand, p. 201.


49 Stouff, pp. 379-382.


51 Anonimo Toscano has one recipe for hearts of lettuce cooked with milk, egg yolks, pork meat and fat, and spices; Martino prepares them in the same way as gourds. AT, R17; MM, R64.

52 Platina, Book IV.

53 Bondurand, p. 203; d'Agnel, I, 301.

54 Stouff, p. 260.

55 The author of *Le Menagier* does suggest, however, eating raw the young, new leaves which grow from the stalk of a cabbage after the head had been cut off ("minces"), with herbs and vinegar, or cooking them and dressing with oil and vinegar. MP, R53.


58 Brereton & Ferrier, p. 301.


Stouff, p. 332.

Platina, Book VII.

Vesco, p. 27.

Anonimo Toscano, R68, "De la tria genovese per li'nfemi". Faccioli mistakenly interprets this as 'triglia', red mullet; but the recipe is one of a group for bland cereal purees, and since it is improbable that a fish would be cooked in almond milk with a little salt, it is more likely that some sort of pasta was meant.

Grewe, Sent Sovi, pp.182-183.


MR, R77.


Tacuinum Sanitatis, Documenti, Nos. 232 & 233.

MR, R78.

MR, R77; SS, R170 & R171.

SS, R 104, R 105, R 106, R 108.

Liber, II:63 & II:64.

MM, R69; MR, R46.
In the Arles region, the decade from 1424 to 1433 included 5 years of drought and two of flood. The severe conditions and the resulting famines are described in a letter dated 1433 from the bishop of Avignon to the bishop of Uzès. Drought and famine led to the emigration of many people, who moved to the areas around Toulouse, Avignon, and Montpellier to seek food. The scarcity of food led to an increase in the sale of luxuries and a decrease in the sale of necessities. This was reflected in the market prices of goods, which increased significantly. The lack of food also affected the production of wine and cheese, which were major exports of the region. During this period, the production of wine and cheese declined significantly, leading to a decrease in the revenue of the local authorities. The need for food and the lack of resources also led to an increase in the number of beggars, who relied on the charity of the local authorities for their survival. In this context, the letter of the bishop of Avignon to the bishop of Uzès is a valuable source of information for understanding the effects of the drought and famine on the local population.
Eggs played a similar role in Byzantine cuisine. Jeanselme & Oeconomos, p. 158.

Eggs cost 5 sous, 6 deniers per 100 at Bruges in 1450 (Sommé, p. 113) and 3-4 sous per 100 at Angoulême in 1462 (Maillard, p. 123).

Pierre de Crescens, Book 9; MP, R330.

Origo, p. 317.

Sent Sovi, R173.

Aldebrandin, p. 179.

AT, R140.

MM, R186; Platina, Book IX.

MP, R125 & R131. Both recipes instruct that the eggs be "pochez en huille".

Cummins, p. 113.

André, L'Alimentation, p. 214.

Perry, p. 44.
NOTES

CHAPTER TEN

1 Piponnier, *Costume*, p. 289.

2 Lozinski, pp. 1-23.


4 The work 'cocagne', of unknown origin, dates from at least the twelfth century, in France, and the early fourteenth century in England. The Italian form, 'cuccagna' appeared only in the fifteenth century, the Catalan 'cucanya' possibly later; both of these apparently derived from the French. The concept of a mythical gastronomic paradise may, however, be universal; in Boccaccio's imaginary land of Bengodi, the vines were tied with sausages and there was a mountain of grated Parmesan cheese. (Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. Charles Singleton, p. 472).

For the present work, the version consulted was 'Li Fabliaus de Coquaigne', in *Fabliaux et Contes des Poètes François des XI, XII, XIII, XIV et XV Siècles, tires des meilleurs auteurs* (Paris: B. Waree, 1808) IV, 175-181.

5 Brereton & Ferrier, pp. 35-37.

6 Phil. iii. 18-19.

7 Brereton & Ferrier, pp. 35-37.
8 Brunetto Latini, pp. 381-382; Eiximenis, pp. 66-88.
9 Nicholas, "Les nourritures terrestres" p. 213.
11 Guillaume de Lorris & Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose, I, 5-15.
14 Gottschalk, I, 346.
16 Toussaint-Samat, p. 113.
17 Werner Sombart, Luxury and Capitalism, trs.
18 Sombart, p. 48.
19 Sombart, p. 44.
20 Lafont, p. 157.
21 Nicholas, "Les nourritures terrestres", p. 219, n. 41 & n. 42.
22 Mennell, p. 30.
23 Origo, pp. 290, 203-204.
24 Baudrillart, III, 195.
26 Toussaint-Samat, p. 105.
29 Jeanne Wathelet-Willem, "Repression des excès de table et de vin à la fin du XVe siècle: 'La condamnation des bancquets a la louange de diepte et sobriete'," in Manger et Boire, II, 307-312.
31 Montaigne, p. 175.
33 Olivier de la Marche, p. 157.
34 Christoforo di Messisbugo, Banchetti: composizione di vivande et apparecchio generale (Ferrara: 1549)
   Giovanni Rosselli, Epulario (Venice: 1516).
35 Olivier de la Marche, p. 170.
36 Pierre Dec, Anthologie de la Prose Occitane du Moyen Age (XIIe-XVe siècle), Vol. I (Avignon: Aubanel, 1977), pp. 92-95,
37 De Loïs, pp. 341-347.
39 Luigi Cornaro, The Temperate Life, trans. of

40 Cornaro, p. 40.

41 Platina, Book I.


43 The definition of gastronomy, offered by Brillat-Savarin, is as follows: "La gastronomic est la connaissance raisonnée de tout ce qui a rapport à l'homme, en tant qu'il se nourrit." Brillat-Savarin, p. 42.
NOTES

CHAPTER ELEVEN

3 Messisbugo, (Index).
4 Stouff, p. 261.
5 Flandrin, "Internationalisme, nationalism et régionalisme," pp. 77-81.
6 In Le Menagier it is recommended that beans be sown in March (Brereton & Ferrier, p. 119). The anonymous fifteenth-century Parisian diarist mentions new beans and peas arriving at the same time as the cherries were beginning to redden, but before the grain crops were ripe, which was probably in June. (Shirley, p. 329).
10 Platina, Books I & II.

14 Joly, pp. 474-475.
15 Felix Platter, p. 52.

17 Thomas Platter, pp. 192, 209, 252, 44.
18 Joly, p. 482.
19 Montaigne, p. 64.
20 Eiximenis, p. 90.
22 Joly, p. 473.
23 Pierre Belon du Mans, p. 52.
24 Joly, p. 473.
25 Thomas Platter, p. 205.
26 Felix Platter, p. 53.
27 Thomas Platter, p. 46.
28 Montaigne, pp. 170 & 120.
29 Thomas Platter, p. 61.
30 Thomas Platter, p. 46.
31 Pierre Belon du Mans, p. 255.
32 Cited by Jean-Louis Flandrin & Philip Hyman, "Regional Tastes and Cuisines: Problems, Documents, and

33 Origo, p. 321; Montaigne, p. 199.
34 Stouff, pp. 235 & 330.
35 Boström, p. 83.
36 Joly, p. 475.
37 Thomas Platter, p. 191.
38 Montaigne, p. 85.
40 MM, R4.
41 SS, R4 & R12.
42 SS, R28; MR, R10; MM, R33.
43 Joly, p. 473.
44 Montaigne, p. 109.
45 AV, R107; *Cuoco Napolitano*, R69.
46 Montaigne, p. 119.
47 Felix Platter, p. 53.
48 Felix Platter, p. 53; Thomas Platter, p. 239.
49 Montaigne, p. 23.
50 Thomas Platter, p. 42.
51 Joly, p. 483.
52 Felix Platter, p. 52.
53 Joly, pp. 527 & 536.
54 Pierre Belon du Mans, p. 52.

529