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***From the history of fine cuisine
from Renaissance to present day.
Highlights of Sibiu***

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Cover: *The arcade garden – Împăratul Romanilor Hotel* (ante 1918)

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Market day in the Big Square in Sibiu (1940)

Foreword

The history of Sibiu awakens the feeling of pride of the locals and the admiration of those who want to know the city. Over 800 years of history speak of courage and heroism, about a fortress that faced its attackers and resisted. Equally, these centuries show the surprising economic and cultural development of a city that has found its way into the recent past by putting culture at the forefront, as a sum of past traditions and as a generator of development for the future.

The gastronomic culture is a part of Sibiu's history, but few know this side, even though they appreciate today's traditional Sibian cuisine. This book aims to bring to light the local cuisine throughout history, a welcome approach, especially in the context of the Sibiu European Gastronomy Program 2019. One of the main goals of this Program is precisely to highlight the local specificity of Sibiu cuisine, encompassing years of history and the influence of the ethnicities and cultures that gave Sibiu that unique character.

Congratulations to the authors who bring a less known side of Sibiu to the readers. The paper is wonderful as a theme, relevant as a research and enjoyable as a reading. I strongly recommend it to both Sibiu inhabitants and those who want to know Sibiu through its gastronomic culture.

Astrid Cora FODOR

Mayor of Sibiu

Market day in the Big Square in Sibiu (1930)



Foreword

The food is an important part of any culture, and traditional recipes are precious elements of intangible cultural heritage. The cuisine in the Transylvanian region, in general, and in the area of Sibiu in particular, highlights, once more, the given value of multiculturalism in this model space for modern society. In a multiethnic city like Sibiu, gastronomy is an axis of education, because it is part of that field that no one feels alien to.

Combining practical knowledge, history and theory, this book drives us into the extraordinary adventure of the Sibian cuisine, whose fame goes beyond the boundaries of the country, now in the year preceding the Project Sibiu the European Gastronomy Region 2019 at which "Lucian Blaga" University is partner.

Congratulations to the distinguished authors, members of the Sibiu academic community! A remarkable work from the historical point of view, doubled by a splendid art of narrative. We invite you to discover it.

Prof. Univ. Dr. Ing. Ioan BONDREA
Rector of „Lucian Blaga” University of Sibiu

Introduction



In the gastronomy of the European elites there have been inter-influences and important takeovers due to matrimonial relations, crusades, wars, pilgrimages etc. The trade also played a significant role, as along the commerce roads were transported, along with other commodities, food and recipes. Usually, printed books are based on older manuscripts. Cookbooks are an important source for researchers in cultural, social and economic history, allowing decoding of the gastronomic discourse of European elites, as they contain preparations considered prestigious and appropriate to a high social status. In gastronomy, as in fashion, prestigious products have been developed, used for representative purposes. Over time, classes placed lower in the social hierarchy - townspeople, as well as wealthy layers of villages - were contaminated by similar ideals, adopting elements from the gourmet behavior of the nobility. As for the old cookbooks, it can be said that they generally propagate an international cuisine with regional varieties.

In Transylvania, at the latest during the Principality - in other words, since the sixteenth century - fine cuisine has developed, based on European international cuisine and elements of indigenous ethnic cuisine.

In the 18th century, Sibiu was not only the capital of Transylvania but the city that houses the largest garrison of the Habsburg Empire after Wiener Neustadt. There is no prince in the city, but the city is the residence of the governor and the general comandor. Along with the Habsburg administration, many high ranking military officers from various provinces of the Empire, coming from illustrious families and many officials, also descendants from the elites, have been established here, giving the city a cosmopolitan look. They came with their chefs and Viennese dishes, and fine cuisine is taken over on a large scale. Thus, the Sibiu cuisine becomes a synthesis, in which the old, local recipes coexist with the sophisticated ones taken from Central and Western Europe.

If until World War I, the landmark was Vienna and its gastronomic profile, in the interwar period, the influence of Bucharest, with its French and Balkan-oriental cuisine, is becoming stronger, due to the wealth of cooking books that circulated throughout the country.

After the establishment of Communism, many recipes of fine cuisine were considered bourgeois and decadent, giving up some, and others renamed and simplified. There were few places that managed to keep, to some extent, the high standards of the past. Due to the food crisis of the last decade of the communist era, preparations were made for cooked dishes and desserts inspired by the war kitchen, using few ingredients and substitutes for missing ones. After 1989, the situation has changed radically, including culinary, making it possible to return to refinement and gastronomic diversity.

Authors

Market day in the Big Square in Sibiu
(1890)



CHAPTER I



Fine cuisine in the Italian Renaissance: from roots to blooming

Ad fontes

The *ad fontes* expression, which means "back to the springs" (in the sense of "sources"), appeared in the Renaissance, being an exhortation to return to Classical Antiquity, to its hidden values. The syntax is close to *ab initio* ("at the beginning") without being identical. While *ab initio* refers to the philosophical and theological spheres, and even to metaphysics, *ad fontes* is an exhortation to know their own history from the written and unwritten (archaeological, etc.) documents of the past.

Apicius, *De re coquinaria*: the roots of fine Italian cuisine have to be sought first and foremost in the world of ancient Rome. The Roman Empire, with its geographic expansion - the southern half of Europe, West Asia and North Africa - has been influenced by some of the areas that have joined it, especially with regard to ingredients, flavours or spices. In fact, the first century AD was the one, in which the oldest recipe book known today was written, *De re coquinaria* (About Recipes by extension, About cuisine), the author of which was the gourmet Marcus Gavius Apicius. The book, published in the days of Emperor Tiberius (14-37 AD), is not limited to presenting culinary recipes, but also suggests small culinary tricks, good to use in the kitchen¹, and the Romanian edition of the book is urging, provoking². Apicius's fame was due to the fact that he created and named with his own name both a series of cakes and various sauces. The Romanian edition, a bilingual one, offers the possibility of surmounting the difficulties of identifying plants, in the

¹ Sally Grainger, *The Myth of Apicius*, in "Gastronomica", 2007, 7 (2), p. 71–77.

² Apicius, *De re coquinaria sau bucătăria în Roma antică* [De re coquinaria or the cuisine in antique Rome], bilingual edition, translation, introduction, notes and indexes by Theodor Georgescu. Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 2003.

situation where a permanent reference can be made to the Latin text and names. The book is susceptible to being recommended to all, philologists and nonphilologists, ladies and gentlemen, with humor and without humor: everyone will be surprised to find out about the roses wine without roses and the platter of small fish without fish³.

The book is divided into eleven chapters, named by the author as books: *Epimeles*/The Chef, *Sarcoptes*/ Meat, *Cepuros*/Vegetables, *Pandecter*/Different types of food, *Ospreos*/Vegetables, [*Tropetes*] *Aeropetes*/Bird meat, *volatilia* [*voluntaria*] /Birds, *Tetrapus quadripedia*/Quadrupeds, *Thalassa mare*/Crabs, *Halleus piscatura*/Fish and *Excerpta a Vinidario*. Book I includes, for example, about forty recipes of preparations, from spiced wine to honey cakes or simple medications, to methods of preserving fish and fruits. The second book deals with the various uses of minced meat, including twenty-five recipes of sausages or bloodshots. In Chapter III we meet not less than fifty-nine recipes for vegetables, from asparagus to pumpkin, cucumber, leeks, radishes, turnips, cardon and others. The fourth chapter contains fifty-three recipes about the dishes made through boiling fish, vegetables or fruits, including barley soup. In Chapter V, we find thirty-two recipes for legumes, especially beans and peas, these sorts being called *conchicla*, a term with Greek root meaning shell. The name may refer to the containers where the dishes were served, shells in shell. The sixth chapter has forty-one recipes for the preparation of birds, wild or from backyard, from the exotic ostrich to chicken. In most cases, birds are cooked or roasted and cooked with sauces. Chapters VII and VIII constitute the strength of Apicius' works, with the greatest number of recipes, seventy-eight, and sixty-eight. The books (chapters) X and XI, one with thirty-five, the others with thirty-six recipes seem to be added later, focusing on fish and seafood. There are plenty of recipes for lobster and tuna and the different ways to prepare them aren't missing: turban, squid, cuttlefish, oysters, sea urchins, mussels or sardines. Chapter X approaches almost exclusively the sauces for boiled or roasted fish.

Judging by what Apicius mentioned, the Romans seemed to have loved the pepper, present in three quarters of the recipes, which they even put in the desert, but at the same time they were also crazy about *garum*⁴.

In ancient Rome, a true food industry of *garum* has emerged, apparently the second after baking. His role in the kitchen was very important since it was generally used in Roman cuisine, not reserved exclusively for the aristocracy. Still, for the *fine cuisine* was used the Carthago Nova one (Carthago Nova from Spain), made from mackerels macerated in a concentrated salt water with sea salt. *Garum*, a Greek-Oriental food, was brought to the West by the Carthaginians. Apicius notes that it was used to condense the stuffed pumpkin, peas, chicken, lamb liver or a specific dish of cow meat⁵.

³ <http://www.clasice.ro/images/assets/12462003-05%20CopistulIntre%20tragedie%20si%20Gastronomie.pdf>

⁴ Melitta Weiss Adamson, *The Greco Roman World*, in Melitta Weiss Adamson (ed.), *Regional Cuisines of Medieval Europe*, New York, London, Routledge, 2002, p. 1–19, at p. 8–10; Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages*, The Boydell Press, 2005, p. 257.

⁵ Robert Etienne, *Viața cotidiană la Pompei* [Everyday life in Pompei] translated and noted by Horia Vasilescu, București, Editura Științifică, 1970, p. 145

Petronius, *Satyricon*: The work of Petronius introduces us to the world of the newcomers, the rich in ancient Rome, and through this work we have the opportunity to "participate" at the banquet offered by one of them, *Trimalchio*, on his behalf. A banquet where fine cuisine blends with the host's bad manners. The starter snack was brought to a tray on which a Corinth bronze colt was holding a double plate which had white olives in one side and the other black olives. Until now, everything flawless, except that the two plates that covered the colt had the name of the host and the silver weight they were made of; indisputably, a bad taste. At the time of the meal's debut, some iron backyards were brought to support the hack-hooks sprinkled with honey and poppy, this kind of food being a true truffle for the Romans. In addition, Syrian plums - the ones of Damascus being highly appreciated - and pomegranate seeds⁶ were placed on the table.

As Trimalchio's banquet respects the unwritten rules of such simian manifestations, its conduct corresponded to the diner. And so at the *prima cena* (the "first service") a wooden hen with its wings was brought in such a way that it suggested that, in the basket in which it was brought, it breeds. Immediately two slaves approached, who, in the deceptive music arrangements, and while Trimalchio, who played dice, shuffled all the curses of the weavers (famous for that, like the birgarians to us), began to stir up the straw and take out peacock eggs they offered to their guests. They received scoops, apparently for the breakage of the hulls, but as they had been made from the hull, the other became the role of the respective utensils. Trimalchio, wishing to anticipate the offer, appeared circumspect – but in his own way and with the vocabulary that characterized him – that the eggs might be ready to come loose. Beneath the shell were cooked pitchers, super fatty and wrapped in spiced yolk; everything sprinkled with a wine mixed with honey⁷.

In the next stage, a large plateau with zodiacal signs was brought: Above Aries was chickpeas horned (in other words, the sign of the zodiacal sign), above the Taurus a piece of ox meat, over the Gemini testicles and kidneys, above the Cancer a crown (the crab has crooked legs in in shape of a crown), above the Lion an African fig, above the Virgin a sap of a sow, above the Balance a weighing scale with a cheese cake on one side and a pie on the other, above Scorpio a sea fish, above the Sagittarius a raven, above Capricorn a marine lobster (in the sense that the lobster fights with his pliers like the capricorn with the horns), above the Aquarius a goose (a bird that prefers water), over the Fish two fish, more exactly two red mullets. An Egyptian slave walks among the tables, dividing bread from a silver furnace⁸.

After this *prima cena*, a cluster of slaves with raincoats adorned with hunting breeches, having in the hands spikes and other hunting weapons, entered the *triclinium*. Not long after, there was a great uproar caused by some hunting dogs that began to run madly through the tables. They were followed by the servants carrying

⁶ Petroniu, *Satyricon*, in Seneca, *Apokolokyntosis*, Petroniu, *Satyricon*, translation, preface and notes by Eugen Cizek, București, Editura pentru Literatură, 1967, p. 80-81.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 82-83. The wine mixed with honey was called *mulsum* and was made from three parts wine and one part honey. The mix was drunk in the first part of the meal, from here the name *promulsis* („ before mulsum”), given to the appetizers.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 85-87.

a huge tray on which there was a wild boar, hanging on his horns two palm leaf baskets, one full of Caria dates, the other with a different sort of dates from Teba⁹. The dish was approached by the host's verses, recited by a beautiful slave who put the grapes on the tables.

The *tertia cena* ("third service") was followed during which we could follow the conversations between the banquet participants, except for the dishes, after which the *cena quarta* ("the fourth service") began with the bringing of a huge pig sitting on a tray. Finding the host that, accidentally and quickly, that animal was not cleansed of the innards, he called on the cook to punish him in front of everyone. A stupid farce, of course, because when the chef, sad and with shaking hands, slammed the knife into the pig, *sausages mixed with liver sausages*¹⁰ were poured out instead of the viscera.

And, to conclude in the same note in which that *cena* was held, we chose a fragment of a dialogue from the end of the *Satyricon*: just seek to close your eyes and pretend that you are eating not the innards [...], but a million *serterti*¹¹.

From the Royal Ostrogothic Court in Ravenna to the fork of Empress Theophano (6th - 10th centuries)

After the collapse of the Roman Empire and the penetration of migrants, the Italian kitchen was influenced by the Ostrogoths, Longobards and Byzantines, in the north, respectively by Arabs and Normans in the south. The sixteenth century Italy will witness the emergence of the first medieval state in its territory, the kingdom of Longobards (*Regnum Langobardorum* or *Regnum totius Italiae*), a state formation with the capital of Pavia, which ended its existence in 774 under the strikes received from the francs of Charles the Great¹². Throughout their history, the Longobards will adopt Roman names and titles, as well as some of the traditions of the Empire. Interestingly, our theme is that the kingdom of Longobards was divided into a series of dukedoms led by semi-autonomous dukes to central power, breaking the political unity of the Italian Peninsula for the first time. Because of that, the Renaissance Italy, later on, will show its splendor through the art, culture, architecture or culinary refinement of each of the Renaissance Courts and Seniorities¹³.

It is generally believed that once the contact between the migrants and the Roman Empire was realized, even before they had penetrated the *limes*, but

⁹ The Caria dates (Small Asia) were yellow or black, round, big as an apple and very sweet, while the Teba dates (Egypt) were white, small and very nourishing (*Ibidem*, p. 94, n. 5 și 6).

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 113.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 285.

¹² Girolamo Arnaldi, *Italy and its Invaders*, translated by Antony Shugaar, Cambridge/Massachusetts, London/England, Harvard University Press, 2005, p. 30–53.

¹³ G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, Oleg Grabar (eds.), *Interpreting Late Antiquity. Essays on Postclassical World*, Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 125–126.

especially when they were placed on the ruins of the empire, there was a *melange* between the Roman cuisine and the German one. In other words, the contact between the Roman model, with the triad of bread, wine, oil, and the German, based on meat, beer and dairy products. The resulting model is more clearly identified during the Carolingians, its main components being bread, wine and flesh. Of course, this is the generally case, without forgetting a number of regional peculiarities, such as the preference for beer in the so-called *Atlantic Europe*, the region north of the Mediterranean basin, or the geographical areas in which food fats were of great value.

Anthimus, *De observatione ciborum*: In this context, the Greek physician Anthimus will write a treaty on healthy eating, called *De observatione ciborum*¹⁴, dedicated to the Merovingian king Theuderic / Theoderich I (511-533 / 534), in which he highly recommends the boiling of meat. The author began his work with the following clarifications: *I tried, as far as I could, to make a general presentation following the instructions of the medical experts. People's health is primarily based on the tolerability of foods [...] if they are not cooked properly, they cause stomach and abdominal pain [...] and cause ulcers. [...] On the other hand, if food is properly prepared, it is well distributed and enjoyable [...] This is the state of health. Whoever takes care of himself in this way does not need any remedy*¹⁵.

A lot of ink was wasted in terms of the treaty, known today only because of late copies and the author, whom some believe was either the ambassador of Theodoric the Great, the King of the Ostrogoths, or the envoy of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius at the Court of the Frankish Kings - none of the hypotheses being completely overlooked until today¹⁶. It is possible that the former is closer to the truth, in the sense that, after leaving Byzantium - voluntarily or forcibly, sent to exile¹⁷ - Anthimus had first arrived at the Ostrogothic Court in Ravenna and only thereafter at the Frank one of Merovingians. It is assumed that the Greek physician did not learn the elevated Latin taught at one of the Constantinopolitan schools but acquired the *late Latin*, it is not known how a reference is the excessive use of the preposition followed by the accusative when, in an elegant formula, preposition is avoided: *ad gloriosissimum theudoricum* instead of *gloriosissimo theudorico*¹⁸. Regardless of his existing or non-existent diplomatic status, the physician Anthimus is regarded as the initiator of a stream that will later flourish in the Renaissance, which

¹⁴ The complete title being *De observatione ciborum ad Theodoricum regem Francorum epistula*.

¹⁵ http://de.mittelalter.wikia.com/wiki/De_observatione_ciborum

¹⁶ John Wilkins, Robin Nadeau (eds.), *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World*, Wiley Blackwell, 2015, p. 380.

¹⁷ Malchus, *Historia*, in I. Bekker, B. G. Niebuhr (eds.), *Dexippi, Eunapij, Petri Patricij, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri, Historiarum quae supersunt*, Bonn, 1829, p. 238; Jiri Šubr, *Hagiografic romance: novelistic narrative strategy in Jerome's Lives of Hermits*, in Marilia P. Futre Pinheiro, Gareth Schmeling, Edmund P. Cueva, *The Ancient Novel and the Frontiers of Genre*, 2014, p. 205–214, at p. 210 and 213.

¹⁸ Veerle Pauline Verhagen, *The Non-Latin Lexis in the Cooking Terminology of Anthimus' De Observatione Ciborum*, Universiteit Leiden, 2016, p. 3.

is to mark some seemingly just personal considerations regarding diet, cooking and eating¹⁹.

Not being a Roman aristocratic descendant, one of the native languages, Anthimus embraced the text with the usual terms of time and the geopolitical spaces he lived in, so that in his treaty there are German, Greek or Celtic words or expressions. Where did Anthimus learn Latin? In ostrogothic and longobardian Italy, say specialists, because formulations such as *nam non* instead of *sed non*, in its text, are found only in Latin of longobard official documents (not in others)²⁰. Where did the Anthimus write his gourmet treat in the form of a letter? According to some opinions, not in the Frankish kingdom; in his phrase *de crudo vero larido quod solent ut audio domni franci comedere [...]*, attention falls on the *ut audio*, which suggests that he has heard, has not seen, that Franks eat raw bacon (*crudo vero larido*) with great pleasure, being considered by them a delicacy. In this respect, it is considered that the *epistola* was regarded by the author as a kind of letter of accreditation at the Frankish King's Court, based on his medical-gastronomic knowledge. According to others point of view, the Greek in exile was already at the Merovingian Court, otherwise it would not be explained that he calls himself *legatus* (envoy, ambassador)²¹. In addition, formulations such as *de pisciune ratione que in his partibus sunt* ('fish species in those parts'), instead of *illis partibus* (in those 'parts'), would be an argument in favor of that obliteration. In addition, after mentioning the existence of the fish that are *in these parts*, they follow a list of them, one with *sonderbare provinciale Namen* ('strange local names'), denoting that the author knows them because he knows those lands. The two hypotheses about the place where the letter was written remain open, since both the Ostrogoths and Franks have introduced words from their languages into Latin texts, or it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the origin of those Germanic borrowed words²². But when Theuderic / Theoderich I wanted to learn from Anthimus more about the *mores* of classical antiquity (meaning the customs, not the "Roman" whims), the French king referred to the Ravenna Ostrogothic Court, the one of to Theodoric the Great (471-526), where the personalities of the true Roman world, such as Boethius - born in Rome, before his tragic end, the *Consul ordinarius sine collega*, then *Magister officiorum*, the supreme administrative function - or his disciple, Cassiodorus, became the private secretary of the king²³. About Theodoric's daughter, Amalasantha (queen of the ostrogoths between 526-534) is known to have been strongly influenced by the

¹⁹ Edwin Clarke, *Anthimi de Observatione Ciborum ad Theodoricum Regem Francorum Epistola*, edited and translated by Eduard Liechtenhan, Berlin, Academy of Sciences, 1963, in "Cambridge Journal. Medical History", 8 (2), April 1964, p. 196. Paulus Diaconus, *Istoria longobardorum* [History of the Langobards], bilingual text, Iași, Polirom, 2011, p. 33, 38, 43.

²⁰ N. J. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 443.

²¹ Pierre Flobert, *Le Latin à la cour de Clovis selon Anthime*, in H. Petersmann, R. Kettmann (eds.), *Latin vulgaire - latin tardif. Actes du V^e Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire e tardif, Heidelberg, 5-8 septembre 1997*, Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag, 1997, p. 20.

²² Verhagen, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²³ Adrian Agachi, „Mângâierile” poetice ale lui Boethius, in „Ziarul Lumina”, 18 January 2010 (<http://ziarulumina.ro/mangaierile-poetice-ale-lui-boethius-34992.html>).

ancient Roman culture, being acquainted with Latin, Greek and Gothic²⁴, which is why she gave her son, Athalaric, the young king of the Ostrogoths, a refined education with a strong inclination towards classical literature. Ostrogothic nobles have exerted pressure on Amalasantha for the royal offspring to be brought up in their warrior traditions. In other words, not one in which was the gourmet refinement borrowed from the Romans, but one in which the ostrogoth fighter's grip of *throwing himself on food such as the wolf on the prey* was worthy to follow²⁵. The result was disastrous, Athalaric, reached the throne at the age of ten, in 526, became a drunkard, destroying his health and dying young in 534²⁶.

Next, we propose a selection of non-Latin terms encountered in Anthimus's work in *De observatione ciborum*, stating that 17 such words have been identified in the text discussed²⁷.

Afratus; in Greek (*afratus grece quod latine dicitur spumeo* - "in Greek *afratus*, which in Latin is called *spumeo*", actually *spumeum*). It would be about suflé with whipped egg-white foam. The word, written in this way, is not found in any other source, but it does not mean that it did not exist in Anthimus' time. Hispanic bishop Isidor de Sevilla (560-636) writes *aphratum*, translating it with *spumeum*²⁸.

Alfita; in Greek (*fit etiam de ordeo opus bonum quod nos greci dicimus alfita* - "a good food, which we Greeks call the *alfit* made of barley"). A barley dish, probably a barley soup. The equivalent in Gothic for the *alphita* would have been *fenea*. The context suggests that Anthimus introduced the Greek term not because it was necessary, but because it seemed interesting to him, being himself a Greek²⁹.

Bradonis, German (and *assatum fuerit ad horam quomodo brad(r)onis* - "if it is fresh fried, how would you make a steak?"). Probably a kind of steak, a bunch of flesh and ham; possibly from the frank, from *brado*, a word not encountered in Latin before Anthimus; in Proto-Germanic - untested by a text, but built by comparative methods - **bræda* or **brēda*³⁰, in the middle German *brâde*, respectively *braon* in the old French and the middle French³¹. It is supposed to be a legacy of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) in the form of **bhreh1*-³².

²⁴ Philologists argue that there was only one Gothic language, one with two dialects, ostrogoth, in Italy, and visigoth in Spain. The dialect from Italy will be falling not only because of the military defeats of the Ostrogoths in front of the Franks, but also due to the fact that the Ostrogoths will be assimilated by the Roman population of the peninsula, more numerous and superior cultured (Fausto Cercignani, *The Elaboration of the Gothic Alphabet and Orthography*, in "Indogermanische Forschungen" nr. 93, 1988, p. 168-185).

²⁵ Thomas S. Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1991, p. 108.

²⁶ Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter vom V. bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*, s. l., e-Artnow, 2014.

²⁷ Verhagen, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 13-14.

³⁰ *Dialekte, Konzepte, Kontakte*, Ergebnisse des Arbeitstreffens der Gesellschaft für Sprache und Sprachen, GeSuS e.V., 31.Mai - 1. Juni 2013 in Freiburg/Breisgau, in „Sprache & Sprachen“, Sonderheft 2014, p. 36.

³¹ Verhagen, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 18.

Cracatiu; probably Celtic (*de pisce cracatiu caro fortior est* - "sturgeon meat is quite hard"). Note that in the sturgeon family the scales are replaced with bone grains, sporadically located all over the body, forming longitudinal bones shields³³. Researchers who admit the Celtic version have a connection with the *cairgeach* ("hard") in Irish - *cairrcech* in the old Irish. It would be also *creigiog* (originally meaning "rocky", "abrupt") in the Welsh, but this variant seems to lose ground in front of the Welsh *crag* ("hard crust"). The word *cracatiu*, at least so written, is met only at Anthimus. Specialists opted for the sturgeon, taking as a benchmark the *cragacus* form of a Latin-Anglo Saxon glossary at the end of the eighth century, in which it gives *styria* ('sturgeon') as the equivalent of the Latin name. The word *cragacus* appears in several variants, such as *creacum*, *creatum* and *creatium*, where it can be seen as intervocalic *c* loss³⁴.

Fenea; in Gothic, with the meaning of: barley food, probably a barley soup, a word I met at the *alfita* (*fit etiam de ordeo opus bonum quod nos greci dicimus alfita* [...] *gothi vero barbarice fenea* – "one good food of barley, which we, the Greeks, call the *alfita* [...] in the foreign language of the Goths *fenea*. "Of course, the question arises, why did the author make mention of this kind of food? Probably, to show to the Frank host, that he does not only have Gothic knowledge, but can even suggest a peninsular delicacy in the world of the Franks³⁵. Of course, the examples could continue, but that is not the purpose of our approach.

All of the above statements or considerations lead us to give less credit to those who claim that Anthimus' treaty is the ultimate cookbook of classical antiquity, and to rely on those who see it as the first treaty from the dawn of the Middle Ages.

Since the 9th century, there has been a change in gastronomic perceptions in Western Europe, a reference being the disappearance of *garum*, so sought in the classic antiquity, missing in the royal documents that guaranteed the commercialization of products ment to be fed at the Corbie monastery. This information is important because we are talking about a royal abbey founded in the seventh century by Queen Balthild (later sanctified as Saint Balthild), the widow of King Clovis II and the mother of three kings, Clotar III, Childeric II and Theuderic III³⁶. It is true that we meet the *garum* in the medical prescriptions of time, but this is not a guarantee of its use, since *in these recipes it was blindly copied from others, much older*. Instead, in the Eastern Roman Empire, then Byzantine, the *garum* was still a product of consumption, cause the longobard Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona,

³³ *Familia sturionilor-acipenseridae*, in <http://www.novarainvest.ro/familia-sturionilor-acipenseridae>

³⁴ Verhagen, *op. cit.*, p. 21–22.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 25.

³⁶ Shawn Madigan, *Mystics, Visionaries, and Prophets: A Historical Anthology of Women's Spiritual Writings*, Augsburg Fortress, Minneapolis, 1998, p. 60. The last longobard king Desiderius and his wife, Ansa, sent to the monastery by Charles the Great, after he abolished their kingdom in 774, will die at Corbie (Paulus Diaconus, *History of the Longbars*, bilingual edition, introduction, introductory note, chronological charts, notes and post – papers by Emanuel Grosu, Iași, Polirom, 2011, p. 376).

Ambassador of the Emperor Otto II (961 King of Germany, 973-983 Emperor of Of the Holy Empire) expressed openly the disgust for such a product³⁷.

Liutprand's attitude must be taken with caution if we consider that he has manifested himself as an opponent of Byzantium in all his diplomatic missions in Constantinople, despite the fact that both his father and his stepfather had been ambassadors there. After a first round of failed negotiations, to which Liutprand has his guilty part³⁸, a Dynastic alliance is reached between the Holy Roman Empire and Byzantium, meaning that Otto II will marry Theophano. She was not even the princess he Ottonian Court expected, because she was not a *porphyrogeneta* (born in purple: emperor's daughter), but only a *nepsis* (niece) of Basileus Ioannes Tzimiskes - the daughter of Sofia Focaina, the cousin of Tzimiskes and of Constantin Skleros, the brother-in-law of the same Tzimiskes -, reaching the West in 972³⁹. In the context of our theme, Theophano is important for the criticisms that chronographs have brought to her, namely that she has introduced the fork in Western Europe, that is, *she used a fork with two gold teeth to bring her food to her mouth*⁴⁰. From a modern perspective, however, the Ottonian dynasty is considered the historic era of the first Byzantine influence on Western Europe

The Universe of the Italian Renaissance

The gourmet literature first appeared in the 13th and 14th centuries in Italy, spreading to the other European countries. It was a lasting evolutionary process, during which the culinary patrimony of ancient Rome was replaced by the medieval one. The *fine cuisine* of the Middle Ages has become somewhat continental-European for at least two reasons: on the one hand, the nobility, cultivating the art of hunting, was proud to prepare and consume the hunted animal by their own skills, plus the consumption of fish, of the noble ponds, or from the rivers that crossed their domains; on the other hand, the dignitaries, who, passing from one Seniorial Court to the other, carried with them information about the gastronomic realities they had experienced elsewhere.

Cookbooks are primarily literature, say specialists, which is why archiving and revalorization of medieval recipes has now reached the stage of art. Thus, in order to find a vintage recipe – for example, cereals prepared in various ways with milk, that is, a delicacy of time – the researcher is obliged to go through minor information

³⁷ Wilkins, Nadeau, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

³⁸ John Block Friedman, Kristen Mossler Figg, *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages*, New York, Routledge, 2000, p. 201; cf. B. Scott (ed.), *Bishop of Cremona Liudprand: Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, Bristol Classical Press, 1992.

³⁹ Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers, The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages*, London, Batsford, 1983, p. 90 and 105.

⁴⁰ *Theophano – Holy Roman Empress*, in "History of the Royal Women", 20 Dec. 2016 (<https://www.historyofroyalwomen.com/theophano/theophano-holy-roman-empress/>).

pages. In addition, the medieval didactic literature insists, preventively, against the greed of the belly – in peninsular language, on the "sin of the throat" (*peccato di gola*, a term that appeared in the last quarter of the 13th century) – or for moderation (*ni trop mangiar ni poco, ma temperadamente*, the end of the thirteenth century)⁴¹. Information about what is good for eating or what is not advisable to consume can be found in medical and dietetic treatises, where topics that today are viewed as belonging to different areas. It is not a coincidence that, for example, *Liber de coquina* (approx 1250-1300) has the source of a manuscript that includes, in its first part, surgical information from Henri de Mondeville (about 1260-1316), considered the father of French surgery since the beginning of the 14th century, or *Regimen sanitatis*, of 1280⁴². Data about this kind of "composite books" is provided by custom tariffs or merchant notes, such as Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, merchant and Florentine politician, author *Practica della mercatura* treaty, for which he worked between 1335 and 1343⁴³.

The gourmet literature of the time has as its mainstay three cookbooks, the first of which is *Liber de coquina*, a miscellaneum text from the beginning of the 14th century, dedicated to Charles II d'Anjou, King of Naples (1285-1309), in his last years of reign. The second cookbook is *Libro della cucina Bolognese*, written in the Tuscan dialect based on an angevin text, and the third one is called *Libro per cuoco*, the author being an anonymous venetian from the end of the 14th century. There are other minor texts, such as *Frammenti di del cucina del secolo XIV* (Fragment of a 15th Century Cookbook) – we are in *Quattrocento*, that is, in the fifteenth century, in our coordinates, that of the *early Renaissance*.

The sixteenth century witnessed the emergence of two important cookbooks, the first being *Libro de coquinaria*, a true technical cooking guide, the author being Maestro Martino of Como, the whim of the patriarchate of Aquileia, while the second *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, which transformed the information provided by Martino of Como into an authentic culinary doctrine. Written in all likelihood around 1450 - the original being kept at the Washington DC Congress Library -, the book of that Maestro Martino was the most complete and systematically gastronomic treaty of the epoch, which is why it was intensely plagiarized. Thus, in Venice an almost identical text by *Maestro Giovanni de 'Rosselli, francese*, printed in 1516 and then in 1517 under the title *Opera nova chiamata "Epulario"* appears in Venice, after which it was reprinted in seventeen editions until the middle of the eighteenth - when he was replaced by his "original" mentioned above.

Bartolomeo Platina (on his true name Bartolomeo Sacchi: 1421-1481)⁴⁴ admired Maestro Martino, saying he was the best gastronomy connoisseur of the time *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* will see the light of the printing in Rome in 1474, in

⁴¹ Frankwalt Möhren, *Il libro de la cocina. Un ricettario tra Oriente e Occidente*, Heidelberg, University Publishing, 2016, p. 12–13.

⁴² A copy of *Regimen sanitatis*, printed by Johann Bämmler at Augsburg, in 1476, is preserved at the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia (Elena-Maria Schatz, Roberina Stoica, *Catalogul colectiv al incunabilelor din România*, CIMEC – Institutul de Memorie Culturală, 2007, p. 331).

⁴³ Möhren, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁴⁴ The name Platina originates from his hometown, Piadena, nowadays in Cremona province.

Latin, the printer being *Udalricus (or Uldericus) Gallus alias Hann Alamanus*, that is, the German, perhaps coming from Ingolstadt, Ulrich Han⁴⁵. It is the first cookbook to circulate throughout the Italian Peninsula, after which an Italian edition will be printed in Venice in 1487 - in the *officina*⁴⁶ of Laurentius de Aquila and Sibylinus Umber⁴⁷ - continuing to know other editions in French, German and English⁴⁸. One of the reasons why the work originally appeared in Rome in the Papal State is due to Platina himself, this erudite from modest backgrounds, became a professor at Mantua, at the Marquis of Gonzaga Court. After an internship in Florence, Bartolomeo Platina will follow his princely disciple, Francesco Gonzaga⁴⁹, in Rome, when he will be lifted to the cardinal dignity by the humanist pope Pius II (Enea Silvio de 'Piccolomini). From 1475, during the pontificate of Sixtus IV - the Roman pontiff who will have a correspondence with Stephen the Great of Moldova -, Platina will act as prefect of the Pontifical Library in Rome⁵⁰. The success of Platina's book was due to the unprecedented way in which the author decided to address the subject, as we encounter preconceptions about culinary art, nutrition, safety and food ethics, without neglecting aspects of the *purification of our sorrows*⁵¹ through an adequate individual behavior. It was, of course, about *the honest pleasure*, the one based on measure and balance in the actions of the Renaissance man, in which the medical thinking intertwined with the philosophical reflection. In order to better understand Bartolomeo Platina's approaches, we must remember that the Medici family of Florence had the humanist Ioannis Argyropoulos (Giovanni Argiropulo in Italian, about 1415-1487), one of the scholars who left the Byzantine Empire in front of the Ottoman threat. Argyropoulos, the translator of Aristotle from Greek to Latin, was the head of the Greek Department of the University of Florence, where he taught some *inaudita* ('unheard of')⁵² courses, between 1456 and 1471, as one of his disciples said. For our part, it is sufficient to remember that Argyropoulos began his lessons about Aristotle in Florence with *Nicomahic Ethics*, a work in which the Stagiritus affirms that the virtuous man cannot be neither the mediocre nor the opportunist, but the superior man; it depends on the person itself to be good or bad, virtuous or not,

⁴⁵ Mary Kay Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula. Printers and Type*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, University of California Press, 1992, p. 80.

⁴⁶ In the Middle Ages, *officina* means typography, (for example, *officina Sylvani Otmani*, means „[printed] in Silvan Otman's tiphography" (Constantin Ittu, *Instantia crucis*, Sibiu, Editura Andreiana, Editura Universității „Lucian Blaga", 2017, p. 234).

⁴⁷ Malcom Walsby, Natasha Constantinidou, *Documenting the Early Modern Book World*, Leiden, Boston, 2013, p. 399; Robin Healey, *Italian Literature before 1900 in English Translation. An Annotated Bibliography 1929–2008*, Toronto, Buffalo, London, University of Toronto Press, 2011, p. 324.

⁴⁸ *Renaissance Gastronomic Literature* în <http://www.academiabarilla.com/the-italian-food-academy/books-italian-cuisine/renaissance-gastronomic-literature-1.aspx>

⁴⁹ Harald Zimmermann, *Papalitatea în Evul Mediu. O istorie a pontifilor romani din perspective istoriografice* [The Papacy in the Middle Ages, A History of the Roman Pontiffs from the Historiographical Perspective], Iași, Polirom, 2004, p. 197-198; Jiří Louda, Michael Maclagan, *Lines of Succession. Heraldry of the Royal families of Europe*, London, 1991, p. 257–258.

⁵⁰ Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁵¹ Alexander Baumgarten, *Ideji inrâuritoare ale lui Aristotel*, București, Humanitas, 2012, p. 25.

⁵² Arthur M. Field, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy in Florence*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988, p. 123.

because he has the freedom of choice⁵³. With Ioannis Argyropoulos we have an example of the role played in the Italian Renaissance by the self-exiled Byzantines, who brought with them, in the new homeland, the philosophical tradition of the ancient Greece, preserved, enriched and, at the same time, filtered by the world of the Byzantine East⁵⁴.

From a gourmet point of view, *Libro de arte coquinaria* and *De Honesta voluptate et valetudine* are the first to documents in which sugar appears in the Italian cuisine, considered a *new spice*, usually in combination with a series of spices. In addition, Martino de Como's butter-based preparations - originally developed in Northern Europe - to replace overly spicy foods, will be accepted by Italian cuisine, and then, over the centuries, will make their presence also in other European areas⁵⁵. The sobriety suggested by Platinus has not raised any interest among the aristocracy for which meal and food were regarded as one of the best opportunities to display wealth, power, or influence.

Another reference name in the field of scientific culinary education was the professor of medicine of the universities of Turin and Pavia, Pantaleone da Confienza (about 1420-post 1477), responsible for the health of the Savoy House, a family raised in 1416 at the ducal rank by the Roman-German Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg⁵⁶. Pantaleone da Confienza was the author of *Summa lacticinorum*, printed in 1477 by Jean Fabre di Langres (Giovanni Fabri) in Torino, the capital of the savoyard dynasty. It is the first renaissance printed monography on milk and products, the author having an experience gained *on his skin* after his many trips to Northern Italy. In 1595, Giovanni Costeo, a professor at the University of Bologna, followed the example by publishing *De lactis serique natura, et in medicina usu*, the editor being Joanes Rossius (Giovanni de Rossi, librarian and editor), he opened the way for specialized publications, oriented rather to scientific or technical aspects and less to gastronomy⁵⁷.

Battista Fiera (1450-1540), a physician from Mantua (*theologus, medicus et poeta*)⁵⁸, is part of a new generation of authors, the peculiarity of which consists in the fact that in his work *Coena: delle virtù delle erbe e quella parte dell'arte medica che consiste nella regola del vitto* – published in Rome around 1490 and edited by Eucharius Silber *alias* Frank, German printer from Würzburg⁵⁹ – he describes in Latin,

⁵³ Aristotel, *Etica Nicomahicã*, translated from Greek language by Traian Brãileanu, Antet Press, 12.

⁵⁴ Constance Blackwell, Sachiko Kusugawa (eds.), *Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Conversation with Aristotle*, Routledge, 2016, p. 86.

⁵⁵ *Renaissance Gastronomic Literature* in <http://www.academiabarilla.com/the-italian-food-academy/books-italian-cuisine/renaissance-gastronomic-literature-1.aspx>

⁵⁶ Matthew Vester, *Introduction: The Sabaudian Lands and Sabaudian Studies*, in Matthew Vester (ed.), *Sabaudian Studies: Political Culture, Dynasty, and Territory (1400–1700)*, Truman State University Press, 2013, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Marina Bersano Begey, *Le cinquecentine piemontesi. Torino*, Torino, Tipografia Torinese Editrice, 1961, p. 160.

⁵⁸ https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_Cc28KXUNjxIC

⁵⁹ Patricia J. Osmond, *Pomponio Leto's Unpublished Commentary on Sallust: Five Witnesses (and More)*, in Bettina Wagner, Marcia Reed (eds.), *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, Proceedings of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section, München, 19–21 August 2009, p. 135–149, at p. 135.

in the style of Martial's epigrams, whole varieties of fruits, vegetables, birds, fish, products obtained from meat of domestic animals, sauces, flavors, spices and wines. In addition, the book includes dietary counseling and food safety information⁶⁰.

A true personality in the field was Bartolomeo Scappi (ca 1500-1570), a gastronomist and author who was in the service of no less than six popes at the same time that Michelangelo was working on the Sistine Chapel. It is not known exactly where he was born, with Bologna, Venice or Varese in Lombardy being some hypotheses. It is known, however, that in April 1536 he was in the service of Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, considered to be a true politician of his time, the day before the banquet took place, offered by the high hierarch in honor of Emperor Charles V. After Campeggio's death, in 1539, Scappi will come to the entourage of another cardinal, in all likelihood, of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, a humanist and protector of arts. He will then work for Pope Paul III, who will die on November 13 in 1549, for Scappi to give details of preparing dishes for cardinals gathered in the conclave convened to elect the future Pontiff sovereign. The conclave lasted about two months, between November 29, 1549 and February 8, 1559, and our author describes the complex procedure of the participants' meals, because not only the problem of food sources, but also the elimination of dangers: poisoning or transmitting the secret messages to the gathered ones, to deliberate in an isolated frame. It is no less true that Scappi does not suffer from modesty, because if he suggests that only because of the excellent dishes cooked by him, the cardinals extended the conclave so much⁶¹.

As I have already mentioned, the culinary sobriety suggested by prestigious authors has not raised any interest in princes and seniors of the Renaissance, for which the banquet was the best opportunity to capitalize its taste, wealth and power in front of their subjects, enemies, or foreigners. If we want to "see" the participants in the banquets of the respective centuries – hosts and guests, rows of servants bringing various dishes, dancers animating the atmosphere - we should look at works of art on this subject matter. Consider, for example, *the Herod's Banquet* the realization of Filippo Lippi, in the cathedral of Prato in Tuscany, with Salome dancing before Herod on his birthday, and holding John the Baptist's⁶² head in his her hands. The Renaissance banquet became a real show, meant to be a landmark for many of the daily events. For example, at the marriage banquet of Duke of Ferrara (1471-1505), in 1473 with Eleonora d'Aragona (of Aragon), the daughter of King Ferdinand I of Naples (1458-1494), the dishes were specially cast in silver blown with gold. Documents also talk about the two thousand gold pieces that were needed to pour stewed steaks. Birds, of which the peanut meat seems to have been one of the tasty, were brought out of the beaks, with their feathers back, which aroused admiration. In addition, the entrance to the hall, at the same time, a hundred valets wearing

⁶⁰ Dennis E. Rhodes, *The Early Editions of Baptista Fiera* in Anna Laura Lepschy, John Took, Dennis E. Rhodes (eds.), *Book Production and Letters in the Western European Renaissance*, London, The Modern Humanities Research Association, 1986, p. 234–244, at p. 234.

⁶¹ *Bartolomeo Scappi*, in „Cooksinfo.com“, 11 02. 2006 (<http://www.cooksinfo.com/bartolomeo-scappi>).

⁶² Alexandru Marcu, *Valoarea artei în Renaștere* [The Value of Art in the Renaissance], București, Editura Scrisul Românesc, 1942, p. 148.

around eighty silver trays full of goodies ... standing, on ingeniously hidden supports, real peacocks and the like edible rarities, was a real show⁶³.

Other banquets brought birds accompanied by chickens, followed by pheasants, storks, boars or deer cooked in wonderful attitudes. They did not miss the sculptures of meat, inspired, according to the trend of time, in the classical mythology; in other words, on the tables of the convicts could be admired scenes such as the one in which Andromeda escapes the dragon or that of Orpheus playing the harp. In a later stage of the meals, the candies were offered to the guests in boxes specially decorated by the artists of the Seniorial Courts, while the sweets, true sculptures in sugar, were painted by the same artists in the most diverse colors, representing mythological scenes - *Laocoon with his sons* or *Hercules with the child in his arms* - either busts, of characters of Antiquity, or of characters present at the feast. All this, for us, today betrays the need for the art of Renaissance man, a need in which he does not care that he touches the *kitsch* in the various details of the daily. So that the cutlery to be complete, not a few times, the banquets were extended with theatrical performances, which generated a crisis of authentic art theater – *in what way could an eschilian tragedy be appreciated at the end or during such banquets?* – but this is another theme, one that does not subsume the subject of this book⁶⁴.

The Renaissance cultivated the art of receptions and as an instrument of diplomatic game in the Peninsula. However, in order to understand this game, an insurrection, even brief, in the network of the political-dynastic strategies of northern Italy would be welcomed. Ludovico il Moro Sforza, the Duke of Milan (duke 1494-1499, dead in 1508 as a French prisoner)⁶⁵, married in January 1491 with Beatrice, the youngest daughter of Ercole I d'Este, duke of Ferrara. On his turn, Beatrice's brother, Alfonso d'Este, married Anna Sforza, her husband's niece, the wedding ceremony of the two being orchestrated by Leonardo da Vinci⁶⁶. We add the marriage of Isabelle d'Este, Beatrice and Alfonso's sister, with Francesco II Gonzaga, marquis of Mantova, and that of Bianca Maria Sforza, the older sister of Anna Sforza, with Emperor Maximian I of the Holy Roman-German Empire⁶⁷.

When Beatrice d'Este, the wife, who was almost a child, of Ludovico il Moro Sforza of Milan made a diplomatic trip to Venice⁶⁸, the banquet offered by the hosts on a stage covered, according to Beatrice's testimony: *the various dishes and sweets were brought to the sound of the trumpets, accompanied by a vast array of torches. First of all, the figures of the Pope, the Doge, and the Duke of Milan were brought in armor, as well as your Excellency; then, St. Mark, Viper and the Diamond [allusion to coats of arms with such heraldic charges] and many other of colored and polished*

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 149.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 149–150.

⁶⁵ Machiavelli also wrote about the conflict between Ludovico il Moro and the King of France, Louis XII (N. Machiavelli, *Principele* [The Prince], Rome, Istituto di Studi Filosofici, Bucharest, Romanian Society of Philosophy, s. a., p. 7–9).

⁶⁶ Richard Brown, *The Reception of Anna Sforza in Ferrara, February 1491*, in "Renaissance Studies", Vol. 2, nr. 2, Oct.1988, p. 231–239.

⁶⁷ Louda, Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 253–260.

⁶⁸ John E. Morby, *The Sobriquets of Medieval European Princes*, in "Canadian Journal of History/Annales Canadiennes d'Histoire", 13:1, 1978, p. 13.

*sugar, about three hundred of all, with a large crowd of gold and silver cups, which, they made an unforgettable effect. Among other things, I saw a pope's sugar figure, surrounded by ten cardinals, which was said to have been an early announcement of the ten cardinals the Pope would soon make*⁶⁹.

Beatrice d'Este told her sister, Isabella, about the show of their relatives' wedding, Bianca Maria Sforza (sister of Anna Sforza) with the Emperor Maximilian I in 1493: *everywhere only true gold and silver brocade [...] without talking about the many dishes carried by the servants*⁷⁰. At the other bridal banquet in Innsbruck - where Emperor Maximilian I moved the Court from 1490 - when the bride arrived at the destination, the feast was no less dazzling. Among other things, the memory of a *gigantic, monstrous, like in stories* fish was preserved, which entered the hall in the sound of trumpets, at the same time with the bride, known as a gourmand without a pair⁷¹.

Ippolita Maria Sforza, the aunt of Bianca Maria Sforza, married at nineteen years old with Alfonso de Aragon, the duke of Calabria, the future king of Naples, Alfonso II. As he reigned between 1494 and 1495, and Ippolita died in 1484, she was never crowned as a queen. Instead, she was a queen of letters, with Greek and Philosophy studies, under the guidance of the famous Constantine Lascaris, born in Constantinople, self-exiled in Italy, himself the disciple of Ioannes Argyropoulos. Ippolita brought with her, from the duchy of Milan - she was born in Cremona - in the kingdom of Naples, the tradition of a very refined cuisine, with professionals in the field, who set and transmitted their recipes in writing⁷².

Instead, through a cooking manuscript at the end of the fifteenth century, *Cuoco Napoletano*, written by an anonymous master of Neapolitan cuisine art, we can understand what Ippolita met at the Court. The 220 recipes of the manuscript, give an idea of that area of confluence between South-Italian, traditional and the most refined Catalan of the Naples dynasty in Naples, a Catalan gastronomy known in the rest of the Italian peninsula, especially in pontifical Rome, for political, diplomatic and matrimonial reasons. The first Catalan that should be mentioned is Cardinal Alonso de Borja (Borgia, 1378-1458), who later became Pope Calixtus III (1455-1458), who in his youth, was the secretary of Alfonso de Aragon in Naples. Alonso's nephew, Cardinal Rodrigo de Borja (Borgia), became Vice Chancellor of the Holy Seat (1456-1492), eventually becoming Pope under the name of Alexander VI (1492-1503). Borgia was from Jativa, in Valencia, being subject to the Catalan-Aragonese dynasty, and the components of this family brought with them to Italy, to both Naples and Rome, the fine Catalan cuisine⁷³.

I mentioned in the above lines both the marriage between Beatrice d'Este and Ludovico il Moro Sforza, and that of Alfonso d'Este, brother of Beatrice, with Anna

⁶⁹ Marcu, *op. cit.*, p. 150-151.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 153.

⁷¹ Robert de la Sizeranne, *Béatrice d'Este et sa Cour*, Paris, Hachette, 1923, p. 178.

⁷² Katherine A. McIver, *Women, Art, and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520-1580: Negotiating Power*, in „Renaissance Quarterly”, vol. 59, nr. 4, Winter 2006, p. 1196-1198.

⁷³ Terence Scully, *The Neapolitan Recipe Collection. Cuoco Napoletano*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2000, p. 22.

Sforza, her husband's niece. Anna was the youngest sister of Bianca Maria Sforza, married in 1493 with the Emperor Maximilian I. After Anna Sforza died giving birth to their child, Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, will get married with Lucrezia Borgia, daughter of the Pope Alexander VI, she being at her 3rd marriage, the first with Giovanni Sforza, Conte de Pesaro, the niece of Ludovico il Moro⁷⁴ –, therefore, due to a political marriage, the Catalan cuisine will get installed also much further north of Rome in the Pad river area⁷⁵. Despite such dynastic links, the specialists in the field reject the idea of a homogeneous fine kitchen in the Italian Renaissance, identifying on the other hand, based on cookbooks, regional cuisines as: Tuscan, Piedmontese, Venetian, Milanese and Neapolitan⁷⁶.

Another worthy matrimonial union to our theme is that between Caterina de Medici and the King of France, Henry II, from 1533, because so, the fine Renaissance cuisine from Italy was exported to France. Catherine was the daughter of Lorenzo II de' Medici, ruler of Urbino, nephew of Pope Leo X (Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici) and of noble Madeleine de La Tour d'Auvergne, a relative of King Francis of France (1515- 1547)⁷⁷. Once as a queen, she showed great discontent about the kitchen from the Court of Henry II and measures were taken – placing of the Florentine gastronomy, the separation of salted and sweet foods or the use of fork at the table-, Catherine de Medici is seen as the founder of fine French cuisine⁷⁸.



⁷⁴ Amanda Tradwick, *The Marriages and Scandals of Lucrezia Borgia (1480–1519)*, in „History and Women”, 14 March, 2016

<http://www.historyandwomen.com/2011/12/lucrezia-borgia-1480-1519.html>

⁷⁵ Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, London, 2004, p. 242.

⁷⁶ *Idem* (ed.), *Regional Cuisines of Medieval Europe. A Book of Essays*, New York, London, 2002, p. XIII.

⁷⁷ Louda, Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p.129–133.

⁷⁸ <https://www.emmeti.it/Cucina/Toscana/Storia/Toscana.ART.36.it.html>

Ein new Kochbuch/

Was ist ein gründliche Beschreibung

wie man recht vnd wol / nicht allein von vierfüßigen / heymischen
vnd wilden Thieren / sondern auch von mancherley Vögel vnd Federwildpret / dar-
zu von allem grünen vnd durren Fischwerck / allerley Speiß / als gesotten / gebraten / gebacken / Pres-
solen / Cartonaden / mancherley Pasteten vnd Füllwerck / Gallrat / etc. auff Teutsche / Vngarische / Hispanische / Ita-
lianische vnd Französische weis / kochen vnd zubereiten solle: Auch wie allerley Gemüß /
Obst / Salsen / Senff / Confect vnd Latwergen / zuzurichten seye.

Auch ist darinnen zu vernehmen / wie man herrliche grosse Pancketen / sampt
gemeinen Gastereyen / ordentlich anrichten vnd bestellen soll.

Allen Menschen / hohes vnd nidriges Standes / Weibs vnd Manns Personen / zu nutz
sehndt zum ersten in Druck gegeben / dergleichen vor nie ist außgegangen /

Durch

M. Marren Rumpolt / Churf. Metzischen Mundtkoch.

Mit Röm. Keyserlicher Maiestat special Priuilegio.



Sampt einem gründlichen Bericht / wie man alle Wein vor allen zusällen

Kochbuch M. Marx Rumpolts/
Von einem Caninichen.



D Von einem Caninichen kanstu alle Speiß/ die du von einem Küniglein
gemacht/ zurichten/ denn sie seind einander nicht fast vnehnlich.

Von einem Eichhorn.



Von einem Eichhorn kanstu nehmen zum Gebraten/ eymachen/
vnd in ein Pasteten eyngeschlagen/ vnd kalt lassen wer-
den/ so ist es gut vnd wolge-
schmack.

CHAPTER II



Fine French cuisine from the Renaissance until the end of the 19th century

Indeed, product selection is the main element of cooking, at least in France. Without this first step nothing can be done; if the products are of high quality, the following is easy to do; if, on the contrary, they are mediocre or even of poor quality, expecting results, be it just satisfaction, it would be a vain hope - says Georges Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935) in his *Le Guide Culinaire* treaty, originally appeared in 1903, which, with his over five thousand recipes, becomes a landmark of culinary history⁷⁹.

Culinary landscape of medieval France

A brief look at the culinary landscape of medieval France offers a mosaic view, one with significant differences between the north and south. The fact that the phenomenon of cookbooks was not spread until the fourteenth century shows the high degree of orality in the transmission of specialized knowledge as manuscripts were rare, expensive, and difficult to obtain. As a regional one, it should be noted that, for example, the Norman cuisine in the northwest of France was close to the Sicilian and South-Italian ones, due to the fact that the Normans, the descendants of the Vikings established in Normandy in the 10th century, not only have they reached the south of the Italic peninsula, but have created a state there, the Kingdom of

⁷⁹ A. Escoffier, *A Guide to Modern Cookery*, London, William Heinemann, 1907, p. 1.

Sicily⁸⁰. Unlike the conquest of England, which sends us in 1066, the year of the Battle of Hastings, the conquests of the *Mezzogiorno* lasted for decades. Sicily will become a Norman possession following successive battles, waged between 1061 and 1091, and with the proclamation of the kingdom on Christmas Day of 1130, the island will become the center of Norman power in the Mediterranean, with Palermo as capital⁸¹.

Despite the local cuisine, supplemented by the Arabic one, due to the Saracens, or the Greek one, by the presence of the Byzantine Empire in the area, the Norman conservative cuisine, will be kept in the area for a long time. So that we initially encounter, both in Normandy as in *Mezzogiorno*, a kitchen based on products/oatmeal bread, fresh vegetables, small amounts of meat, the rabbit one being of great honor. Honey was indigenous and used only for the preparation of mead. The participation of the Normans at the crusades will result in a gastronomic diversification, both through the return of the Crusaders at home, but also through the emergence of Crusader states in the Near East, states that will keep in touch with the political formations in Europe. At the first crusade, one of the four army bodies of the nobility was ruled by Robert Courte Heuse, duke of Normandy, the eldest son of the King of England, William the Conqueror. Another Norman, Bohemund/ Bohemond of Tarent, from southern Italy, will lay the foundations for the Antiochian principality, which will last for seventy years (1098-1168)⁸².

Norman elites will have access to wheat and rye bread and enjoy three daily meals, the first one being the breakfast, the second around lunch, and the third, the most consistent one, for dinner. Without a rule, the breakfast included white bread with three kinds of meat dishes, filled in – not all Normandy, nor all of South Italy - with so many fish dishes. Lunch consisted largely of three kinds, each with several dishes. Dinner was somewhat like lunch, with the difference that some delicacies of time, such as those of dove meat, were being placed on the table. In their native Normandy, the nobles will add sturgeon and snipe⁸³, the latter being a migratory bird which spend the winter in the wet forests on the Atlantic coast, *a bird that is nowadays, as for hundreds of years, still consumed with all its innards*⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ Einar Joranson, *The Inception of Career of the Normans in Italy: Legend and History*, in "Speculum", vol. 23, No. 3, July 1948, p. 353-396, p. 355 and footnote 19). Amato de Montecassino is the author of the first chronicle about the arrival of Normans in Italy, titled *Ystoire de li Normant*, (The History of Normans), written between 1071 and 1086 in eight books in Latin, but kept in a french medieval copy (John Howe, *Amatus of Montecassino: the History of the Normans*, in „English Historical Review”, CXXI, 2006, p. 268).

⁸¹ Jiří Louda, Michael Maclagan, *Lines of Succession. Heraldry of the Royal families of Europe*, London, 1991, p. 246–248.

⁸² Bohemund/ Bohemond's birthname was Marcus, but, in his childhood, was given the nickname Bohemund by his father, so he got wellknown in his life as in the history (Constantin Ittu, *Cruciadele clasice: teologia politică a Europei heraldice între domniile regilor Ierusalimului Balduin I și Henric al II-lea (1100–1324)*, Sibiu, Editura Universității Lucian Blaga, 2000, p. 57–65).

⁸³ <http://cookit.e2bn.org/historycookbook/27-315-normans-medieval-Food-facts.html>

⁸⁴ Nicolae Racolța, *Intestine de pasăre considerate delicatese* [Bird intestines considered delicatese], in „BuzzNews”, 9 August 2014

<http://www.buzznews.ro/140970-intestine-de-pasare-considerate-delicatese/>

The presence of the Pope in Avignon, a papal fief surrounded by French territories, gives us the opportunity to stop us, even in passing, over the banquet that followed the enthronement of Pope Clement VI (1342-1352). He will buy Avignon from the Angevine queen Joanna of Naples (1343-1382) and, as a reward, will accept that Joanna to be crowned as the sole monarch of Naples in 1344, despite having a husband, Andrew, the son of the Hungary king, Charles I d'Anjou⁸⁵. The Etiquette of the Pontifical Court of Avignon provided for the Pope to sit alone at the head of the table, the cardinal bishops, along with the cardinal priests, to sit at the table on his right, and the cardinal deacons on the left. The rest of the guests, including the foreign guests, were served in other rooms near the one where the pontiff was located. The socio-political importance of the new Pope was underlined by the order of precedence, because the high ranking noblemen were seated *after* the cardinals. Interestingly, at Clement VI's banquet, the order of importance of the guests was suggested by the menu itself: thus, only the Pontiff served sweet mustard, and when fruit arrived, the important guests received the pears, the others only apples⁸⁶. On the other hand, Papal papers from Avignon, from the years 1305-1378, also mentioned the daily charity that the papacy offered to the poor. Generally, the pious offer consists of bread, vegetables and some wine, occasionally supplemented with cheeses, fish, olive oil and meat, not of the highest quality⁸⁷.

And with this, we reach the gastronomic area of southern France, an area that specialists see as an heir to Occitan cuisine, and which is closer to the Italian and Spanish culinary landscapes, but less to the central-northern part of France. Occitan, stretching over the geographical area from the Pyrenees to the Alps and from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, had a mosaic kitchen. But, in general, included meat, fish, vegetables and olive oil, both products from the Atlantic coastal area, such as butter, cheeses and generally high calories foods, as well as those in the Mediterranean area, where olives and wine were greatly appreciated⁸⁸. To keep in mind that, today's southern French products, such as *escabeche*, fish dishes or pickled meat in vinegar, or *aillade* (aioli), garlic sauce with walnut oil, come from the Middle Ages. Specialists say that, up to this moment, we can only speak of a single collection of culinary recipes of a certain South-French range reaching us. This is about *Modus viaticorum preparandorum et salsarum*, with fifty-one recipes written in Latin between 1380 and 1390, a collection that also keeps a few expressions in Occitan, such as *salsa de cerpol* (wild thyme sauce) or *cofiment anguille* (confit eel)⁸⁹.

⁸⁵ Louda, Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 248–252.

⁸⁶ B. Schimmelpfennig, *Papal Coronation in Avignon, Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarhic Ritual*, Berkeley, Oxford, 1989, p. 179–95, at p. 190–191.

⁸⁷ Constantin Ittu, *Heraldica vie și rolul ei social* [Living Heraldry and its Social Role], Sibiu, Techno Media, 2008, p. 127.

⁸⁸ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occitania#Gastronomy>

⁸⁹ Terence Scully, *Cuoco Napoletano. The Neapolitan Recipe Collection*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2003, p. 39.

The advent of fine cuisine in the European Middle Ages

This occurrence is due to the fact that there were not only permanent contacts, but also strong connections between the imperial, royal, princely or noble courts on the Continent, despite the fact that the holders of the power at that time waged, not a few times, wars between them. The reciprocal influences overwhelmed local influences, those of classes, layers, or social strata led by feudal elites. However, the respective Court influences included, not a few times, the transfer of gastronomic knowledge of high standard, recipes, not at least, cookbooks⁹⁰. At the level of the Middle Ages, *local cuisine* required the use of existing raw materials on the spot or, at most, adjacent areas. Instead, *fine cuisine* was reserved for the elites who, through the sophisticated dosage of political-dynastic-matrimonial alliances, received it and spread it in the areas, where these elites lived and exercised their power, capitalizing it in castles and family palaces⁹¹. Its landmark, rather, the landstone that led to the replacement of traditional French medieval cuisine with a genuine *fine cuisine*, was the wedding of Caterina de Medici, in 1533, with the future king of France, Henry II (1547-1559). This daughter of Lorenzo II of Medici who lead Urbino, the nephew of Pope Leon X (Giovanni di Lorenzo de 'Medici) and of the noble Madeleine de La Tour d'Auvergne, the relative of King Francis of France (1515- 1547), becoming Queen of France, introduced Florentine cuisine to the kingdom, including the use of fork at the table⁹².

Along with the monarchs, the nobles represented the *elites* of time, and among the instruments of displaying the *power* of these elites were the ceremonies, in which they were displayed, including banquets, the splendor of those Noble Courts. For centuries, the great nobility (dukes, counts, marquis) was stronger and richer than the middle nobility (the barons, and in England the baronets) or the little nobility (knights), which is why this great nobility has also aroused the mecenate, one that looked not only at art in the classical sense (architecture, painting, sculpture, literature, poetry), but also at the *culinary art*. A culinary art that perhaps was not sung but, at least, praised, in the midst of the medieval troubadas, which thanked the seniors for their generosity with which they were treated at their courts. The banquets and the chosen dishes were meant to emphasize the splendor of a Court, as well as to emphasize its noble grandeur.

⁹⁰ Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1996, p. 60.

⁹¹ Amy B. Trubek, *Haute Cuisine. How the French Invented the Culinary Profession*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, p. 3.

⁹² Louda, Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p.129–133.

The Burgundy Court - the ducal, vassal of the Kingdom of France, not the homonymous county under the suzerainty of the Holy Roman-German Empire - has become a landmark in the original landscape of the *French vassal cuisine*, if it is allowed to use the phrase. This phenomenon lasted until Charles the disappearance, in 1477, the last duke of Burgundy – a *Valois* himself, as well as the royal dynasty (1328-1589). From that year, the Burgundy Duchy returned to the French kingdom, being regarded as a component of the royal domain, which allows us to analyze its gastronomic landscape in the wider context of fine French cuisine itself. The early fifteenth-century documents show us that, important at the banquets at the Bourgogne Court was *the quantity, not the quality of the food*. The noble table contained several dishes, each of them containing a large number of products, all of them placed in the form of a pyramid on a single plateau, a large one, brought to the table. Usually, meat was cooked- *pork, calf, or ox - was usually fried*⁹³. Gradually, the House of Burgundy, as well as other Houses of the great French nobility, will channel its attention to the refining of culinary tastes, a phenomenon to be seen as another way of accentuating the power of local elites.

If, initially, the knowledge of the field has spread both through orality, which has given free reincarnation to personal innovations, because memory sometimes plays tricks, and through the wanderings of cooks from one place to another⁹⁴, at the turn of the 13th-14th centuries, begin to appear the first manuscripts - rather with a dietetic profile -, which also addresses the culinary aspect. Let us not forget that by the end of the eighteenth century, ideas about nutrition did not have a physiological foundation, only in that time, it was discovered that food is the source of energy through which the organism copes with the vital needs⁹⁵. A 13th-century manuscript, *Le Régime du corps*, written in vernacular French, was authored by Aldobrandino da Siena, stating that the title was given by the subsequent copyists of the manuscript. The volume also includes an apocryphal dedication to Beatrice of Savoy, Countess of Provence (c. 1198 c. 1267), the mother-in-law of King Louis IX of France (St. Louis, 1226-1270), dedication added to the chronological arch 1257–1261⁹⁶. *Le Régime du corps* is a dietetic treaty largely based on the contributions of predecessors who lived centuries ago, such as Avicenna (ibn Sina 980-1037), Rhases (Al Rhazi 854/ 865-925), the Persian influenced in medicine of the ideas of Hippocrates and considered a *Galen of the Arabs* (because he wrote in Arabic) or Isaac Judaeus (c. 832 - c. 932).

As a consequence, it is not surprising that Aldobrandino da Sienna's manuscript encounters echoes of *humor theory* or *the theory of four humors*, coming from Hippocrates' ancient school, the source being *the Empedocle's theory of elements*, in which the fundamental elements were *the earth, water, air and fire*. The word comes from Latin, more precisely from *umor*, but the root comes from the old Greek,

⁹³ Mennell, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁹⁴ Terence Scully, Carole Lambert, *Medieval France*, in Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Regional Cuisines of Medieval Europe*, New York, London, Routledge, 2002, p. 50.

⁹⁵ Iulian Mincu, *Alimentația dietetică a omului sănătos și a omului bolnav* [The dietetic nutrition of the healthy and sick man], București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2007, *passim*.

⁹⁶ Danielle Jacquart, *Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienna*, in „Recueil des Commémorations nationales”, 2006 (<https://francearchives.fr/commemo/recueil-2006/39148>).

meaning "liquid" but also "brew" or "aroma". Thus, *the humorous theory* became *the theory of the four temperaments*, with a strong impact on Galenus' medical conceptions (131-201 AD), concluding that humor is formed in the body, so that the factors of influence - until their weight changes - are food, climatic conditions, even certain periods of life. Galen thought dichotomically, meaning that *dyscrasia*, the imbalance of the four humors, was the cause of illness, while *eucrasia* or the balance, maintained or brought health. In Islamic medicine, Avicenna (980-1037), in his *Canon of Medicine*, from 1025, will assume *the theory of four temperaments* and extend it to emotions, mental states, consciousness and physical body⁹⁷.

In this key, the work of Aldobrandino da Siena must be read. The first part of the *Le Régime du corps* resolves dietary issues in order to protect health; the second one studies the different parts of the human body, while the third part of the book calls into question the food and beverages⁹⁸. We believe that an insurrection, even brief, in a text of old age, one written in the old French, characteristic of the X-XIV centuries⁹⁹, would be both interesting and useful. For example, the chapter devoted to water: *Water, as connoisseurs say, is cold and humid from nature and does not feed, but it helps to circulate food through all parts of the body*¹⁰⁰. The beginning of the next chapter, the one about vinegar sends us, from the earliest times, to Avicenna's considerations on the subject: *Vinegar is, by its nature, both cold and warm, as Avicenna has said*¹⁰¹. It is the one reserved for the meat, in which, from the very beginning, we are warned: *You must know that of all nourishing things, it is the flesh that most nourishes the human body*¹⁰². The text does not forget the importance of the poultrymeat with the distribution of *flying birds* in *water birds* and *domestic birds*, but with the following statement: *domestic birds are more nutritious than the water ones, so we will first talk about domestic birds*. Of course, there could not lack from the flying landscape, a fragment reserved for pigeons, the author stating *the pigeon's meat is warm and dry, and that of the old pigeons is very hard. For this reason their meat is heavy for the stomach and gives little energy*¹⁰³.

After these sources of food, we were presented with others, which fall into the category of fruits, vegetables, spices, the last mentioned product being salt. We find out details, not as vast as how Aldobrandino da Siena used in the previous pages,

⁹⁷ Mona Nasser, Aida Tibi, Emilie Savage-Smith, *Ibn Sina's "Canon of Medicine": 11th century rules for assessing the effects of drugs*, in "Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine", Febr. 1, 102 (2), 2009, p. 78–80.

⁹⁸ *Le Régime du Corps de Maître Aldebrandin de Sienna*. Texte français de XIII^e siècle. Publié pour la première fois.. par... Louis Landouzy et Roger Pépin, Paris, Champion, 1911 (<http://www.staff.uni-giessen.de/gloning/tx/aldosien.htm> accessed 22. 05. 2018).

⁹⁹ Some centuries later, in the time of the middle french language (sec. XIV-XVI), Carol Quintul, the Emperor of the Roman-German Empire, will confess: *I learned Italian to speak to the Pope, Spanish to speak to my mother [Ioana de Castilia], English to speak to my aunt [Caterina de Aragon, the wife of Henry VIII of England], German to speak with my friends, and the French to talk to myself* (http://tinread.usarb.md:8888/tinread/fulltext/expo_tem3/lb_fr.pdf).

¹⁰⁰ *Le regime dou corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienna, Capiteles d'ewe*, p. 117, in http://www.diachronie.be/textes_gastronomie/1296-aldebrandin/index.html, accessed 24.05. 2018

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 120.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 121.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 128.

about pomegranates about which we find out that there are several varieties, some sweet, others sour¹⁰⁴, nuts, also two kinds, which, if digested, are nourishing, 'nourish well'¹⁰⁵, almonds, which *sont de .ij. manieres, ameres et douces* ('are of two kinds, bitter and sweet')¹⁰⁶. He then goes to spinach¹⁰⁷, parsley, which from its nature, is less nourishing¹⁰⁸, and ginger, the quality of which is to help with the good digestion of meat¹⁰⁹. Finally, we find out something about cinnamon, which is also of two kinds, large and fine¹¹⁰, and saffrain, which 'is of two varieties: one cultivated in the garden, the other oriental'¹¹¹ and ends with salt¹¹².

Another manuscript, circa 1300, *unquestionably written in Paris and possibly dating to a period much older than the beginning of the 16th century*¹¹³, *Enseignements qui enseignent a apareillier toutes manieres de viande*, shortly *Enseingnemenz* or *Enseignements*, is a collection of medieval recipes, being considered the oldest cookbook in French and, thus, a valuable source in the knowledge of medieval gastronomy¹¹⁴. (As we have seen, *Le Régime du corps* is considered a dietetic treaty, not a cookbook in the true sense of the word)¹¹⁵. From the very beginning we are invited to learn how to prepare all sorts of meat first of all, all kinds of suitable meat and sauces, such as pork, beef, sheep, calf. In addition to these, the passionate people should not forget that there are many other birds, such as clapons, hens, geese, domestic and wild ducks. The opening pages from the cookbook do not neglect the dishes of chicken, rabbit, fish from saltwater and freshwater¹¹⁶.

Then, we can find under subchapters, recipes for preparing pork, other parts of pork, beef, calf, and sheep, lamb, and examples could continue. After further details, we are advised to fry the onion in fat, add pepper and other spices, do not neglect toasted bread (*pain ars*)¹¹⁷.

For freshly cut beef, the recommendations are brief, on only two lines, recommending for the preparation the use of white garlic, salt and mustard¹¹⁸. We must not be surprised by the presence of the mustard because its preparation became an art for the Parisian monks in Saint-Germain-des-Pres and the first

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 148.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 154.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 164.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 167.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 184.

¹¹⁰ *Idem*.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 187.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, p. 190.

¹¹³ Bruno Laurioux, *Une Histoire culinaire du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2005, p. 36.

¹¹⁴ *Enseignements qui enseignent a apareillier toutes manieres de viande*, în G. Lozinski (ed.), *La bataille de caresme et de charnage*, edition critique avec introduction et glossaire, Paris 1933, p. 181–187.

¹¹⁵ For those who are interested about the topic cf. Iulian Mincu, *Tratat de dietetică*, Editura Medicală, 1974, 1079 p.

¹¹⁶ *Enseignements*, the rows 1–12 (further r. [followed by no.]) and http://www.diachronie.be/textes_gastronomie/1300-enseingnemenz/index.html, accessed 25.05.2018.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, r. 13–18.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, r. 30–31.

documentary attestation of the existence of the mustard producers in the capital of the kingdom dates from 1292. In that thirteenth century, the city of Dijon had become known for producing the mustard, and Pope John XXII (1316-1334) created in Avignon the dignity of *Grand Moutardier du Pape*, the great master of the mustard, dignity given to his nephew residing near Dijon¹¹⁹.

For calf meat, the recommendation is to eat it roasted, with green garlic and pepper. If, however, it is desired to be chopped, then fry it in fat or bacon, over which pour whipped eggs and sprinkle pepper¹²⁰. As for sheep meat, recommended in both winter and summer, it is suggested to cook it with sage, hyssop and parsley, and to be eaten with green sauce¹²¹. Instead - and with this we end the approach of this manuscript - for lamb it is preferable the pepper sauce or wild fruit juice without neglecting the pepper¹²².

Culinary collections have a distinctive feature, in that, beyond a high degree of homogeneity, almost each of them contains some special recipes, characteristic to either a place or a chef. Additionally, even those recipes found uniformly in collections appear under different culinary variants, from manuscript to manuscript, from one publication to another. Whether we browse *Enseignements* sau *Le viandier*, or *Du Fait de cuisine* of Chiquart master, we can meet dishes like *Chaudun de porc*¹²³, *Haste menue*¹²⁴, *Sauce Cameline*¹²⁵ or *Faux grenon*¹²⁶. As a general note, all involved took into account some unwritten laws, some nutritionist-gastronomic principles, from the quality of food, to the health of consumers. Thus, the items mentioned in the above rows were considered to be in accordance with the principles or unwritten rules of that society¹²⁷.

The recipe collection, known by the gourmets historians as *Le Viandier de Taillevent*, named after Guillaume Tirel, nicknamed Taillevent ("wind-cut" probably the most appropriate, in English it would be "blowing wind"), the second half of the fourteenth century, or *Viandier de Sion*, according to the place where it has been preserved, has a special place in the history of elite gastronomy. However, the first assignment is wrong because the original version of the manuscript appeared around 1300, a decade before Guillaume Tirel was born. The authentic author remained unknown, but it was a custom in the Middle Ages to copy manuscripts, add them with additional material and then present them as their own work, their own creation. *Le*

¹¹⁹ Patrick Dalmaz, *Le grand moutardier du pape*, 2002, *passim*.

¹²⁰ *Enseignements*, r. 32–38.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, r. 39–41.

¹²² *Ibidem*, r. 42–45.

¹²³ *Chaudun*, *chaudin* or *chauduin* refers to an animal intestine. In the recipes from England in XVth century, *chawdwyn* and *chaudoun* meant the intestins of fish and swan (Terence Scully (ed.), *The Viandier of Taillevent*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1988, p. 50).

¹²⁴ *Haste menue c'est la rate*, a culinary dish from small meat pieces and a lot of animal organs – in some recipes, at least three –, including the spleen (*Ibidem*, p. 63).

¹²⁵ *Sauce Cameline* was a very popular souce in Europa of Middle Ages, its color being similar with that of camels (*Sauce médiévale: Cameline*, in <http://www.ecolopop.info/2010/07/recette-sauce-cameline/11003> accessed 5. 06. 2018).

¹²⁶ *Faux grenon* is a pastry of spiced meat, consistent with yellow colour, having a sour taste (*Ibidem*, p. 114).

¹²⁷ Scully, Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 49–50.

Viandier is one of the oldest and, at the same time, well-known recipes book of the Middle Ages, which, among other things, contains the first detailed description of a dessert. Guillaume Tirel was a chef at the French Court in the days of the first kings of Valois, beginning his career as an *enfant de cuisine* of Queen Jeanne d'Évreux (1310-1371), the third wife of Charles IV, the last Capetian sovereign¹²⁸. From 1326 he became *queux* (chef) in the service of Philip VI, the first Valois who reached the royal throne of France, in 1347 the Dauphin's (the heir to the throne) page, and from 1349 became his *queux*. His career continued in the service of other sovereigns, but it is less important for the purpose of this contribution. It is important that he influenced French cuisine through his position at the Royal Court, so that, for example, during the time of Philip VI, he succeeded in imposing red wines from southern France as well as those of Burgundy¹²⁹.

Four manuscripts *Le Viandier* are known, the oldest, found in the cantonal archives of Valais in Sion, written to the end of the thirteenth century, or at the beginning of the next century, was neglected until the 50s of the 20th century. His exploitation questioned the authenticity of his assignment to Taillevent, but due to the fact that it lacks the beginning, the manuscript can not be dated or attributed to a particular author. Another copy, found in the collections of the National Library of Paris, was originally considered to be the oldest. The copy found in the *Vatican Library* is dated as of the 15th century as well as the one in the Mazarine Library in Paris. It is true that there was a fifth copy of the fifteenth century in the *Archives de Manche* in Saint-Lô, mentioned in 1892, but this one was destroyed on June 6, 1944, after The Landings in Normandy. It is no less true that the number of recipes differs from one manuscript to another, the one in the Valais containing about one hundred and thirty¹³⁰.

Le Viandier is one of the first *fine cuisine* cookbooks, providing information not only about how to cook the dishes, but also about how they should be brought to the table. As a master chef of the kings of France, Taillevent divided his book in several sections, some reserved especially for the preparation of main dishes, other desserts, fish dishes, sauces, etc. In addition, it provides details of the spices to be used and how they can be used. From its point of view, a unique one for that time, *fine cuisine* involves the pursuit of three main themes: the use of spices, the separate preparation of the meat and fish dishes of the sauces which should accompany them, and the manner in which the dishes are served at the table. Taillevent also puts emphasis on the flavor and color, saying that the sauces must have certain nuances, even artificially obtained, and the steaks must be covered with gold and silver foil (over centuries, the place of gold and silver will be taken by the coat of breadcrumbs, the Viennese Schnitzel being the more handy example)¹³¹.

¹²⁸ Jiří Louda, Michael Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 123–127.

¹²⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guillaume_Tirel

¹³⁰ Terence Scully (ed.), *The „Viandier“ of Taillevent: An Edition of All extant Manuscripts*, Ottawa, Ottawa University Press, 1988, p. 305.

¹³¹ Amy B. Trubek, *How the French Invented the Culinary Profession*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, p. 4–6.

About *Le Ménagier de Paris*, written around 1390, his editor, Jérôme Pichon, claims to be a *moral and domestic economy treaty, composed around 1393 by a Parisian bourgeoisie, containing moral precepts, some historical facts, advice on the art of leading a house [...] at the end of the fourteenth century, advice on gardening and horse choices; a very extensive kitchen treaty and another, less complete, about hawk hunting*. Since this treaty does not concern a royal court, none of the noble elites of the time, being written in the environment of the Parisian bourgeoisie at the end of the 14th century, can be said that *fine cuisine* has begun to spread to other social strata, mostly urban. *How can such a phenomenon be explained, both socially and culturally?*¹³² After a time when power was filled with wealth, and the two were in the possession of the political elite of time, changing socio-economic coordinates led not only to the emergence of the bourgeoisie but also to the strengthening of it. One of the bureaucracy's storylines in accentuating the new statute consisted in capitalizing its economic potential through external manifestations, in other words, through festivities, ceremonies, or banquetes. From the accumulation phase, the new class has gone to a higher stage, the refining of tastes – artistic, architectural, musical, culinary, etc. – and so came to the appearance of a genuine gastronomic treaty like the one mentioned here, one that for the first time, was referring to a bourgeois in Paris; with the mention that it was, however, of a bourgeoisie with close ties to the Court¹³³.

The Savoyard art and culinary science

Going to the fifteenth century, in the preface to the *Du Fait de cuisine* manuscript, Master Chiquart, the chef of Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy, said that he wanted to harness both art and culinary science. Before, however, to enter the details of the book, we mention that Amadeus was the first Ruler (from the age of eight, 1391-1416), then duke of Savoy (1416-1440), the first bearer of the ducal title in the family of Savoy, after which he became pope by the name Felix V (1439-1449). This historical context would be irrelevant to our theme if we did not specify that Amadeus married in 1393 with Mary, the daughter of Philip II the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy (1342-1404), so that Mary could bring items of the burgundy cuisine - mentioned in the previous pages - at the savoyard court¹³⁴.

Returning to Master Chiquart, the author of the *Du fait de cuisine* book, he states that he did not write it, but dictated it, and the one who wrote it was Jehan de

¹³² Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1996, p. 59.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

¹³⁴ Berend Wispelwey, *Biographical Index of the Middle Ages/ Biographischer Index des Mittelalters/ Index Biographique du Moyen-Âge*, vol. I, A-I, K. G. Saur, München, 2008, p. 748; Samuel Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la Royale Maison de Savoie*, Turin, chez Jean-Michel Briolo, MDCCLXXVIII [1778], p. 21.

Dudens, scribe and notary of Annency. The manuscript contains the description of two banquets hosted by Amadeus VIII, followed by aphorisms, etymological annotations and glosses. The manuscript belonged, at one point, to the library of Bishop Walter Supersaxo (about 1402-1482), and then to his son Georges' library (about 1450-1529). The only witness of the original manuscript is a copy of 122 tabs, 292 x 211 mm format, kept in the Cantonal Library of Valais in Sion, written on watermarked paper from Savoy from 1438–1444, a watermark whose central element is the bunch of grapes, sometimes placed by mistake, upside-down¹³⁵.

Chiquart offers seventy-eight recipes to his counterparts. At the same time, he describes in detail both how to get products and the possibilities to keep them as supplies for celebrations for several days. We only stop at a particular event, held over two days, in October 1403, on the occasion of the arrival of Mary of Burgundy (1386-1428) at the Court of Savoy. Although the marriage was contracted as early as 1393, as mentioned above, due to political complications, the bride could not leave the Burgundy until 1403. It is stated that the purpose of the author was not primarily to give advice but to emphasize the greatness, power and grandeur of the House of Savoy. Let us not forget that the celebrations of 1403 celebrate a marriage between a groom with the status of Ruler – Savoy will be dukedom in 1416, the ducal title being granted by the Roman emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg (1368-1437) – and the bride was not only Duchess, but also the niece of the king (her father, Philip II being the youngest son of the King of France, John II, and thus the founder of the Valois-Burgundy House)¹³⁶. Even though it was not entirely true, not least in terms of guest ranks, the author does not miss the opportunity to compliment the host in the first paragraph of his book, but we must bear in mind that the text was written at seventeen years after that matrimonial event – in 1420 and Savoy became a dukedom in 1416 – when the bridegroom was eight, the bride of seven (the eighth of Philip's nine children), and her father, the duke of Burgundy, sought allies in the time of the One Hundred Years' War (1337-1453):

*Et premierement Dieu premis a faire une teshonnable feste en laquelle y soient roys, roynes, ducz, duchesses, contes, contesses, princes, princesses, marquis, marquises, barons, baronesses et prelatz de mains estatz, et nobles / aussy grant nombre, faut, pour le ordinayre de la cuisine et pour faire la feste honorablement a l'onneur du seigneur qui fait ladicte feste, les choses que s'ensuivent*¹³⁷. ('First of all, God has made it possible to make a grandiose celebration gathering kings, queens, dukes, duchesses, rulers, princes, princesses, marquis, marquesses, barons, baronesses and prelates from many countries and noblemen in a great number [for which] for the used ones of the kitchen and to celebrate honorably, in honor of the seniors who organize this festivity, the following things:').

¹³⁵ Charles Moise Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, Amsterdam, 1968, vol. I, no 12995; Sion, Switzerland, Médiathèque Valais, MS Supersaxo 103, fol. 11r.

¹³⁶ Louda, Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

¹³⁷ *Du fait de cuisine de Maistre Chiquart*, traduction d'après l'édition de T. Scully, http://www.diachronie.be/textes_gastronomie/1420-chiquart/index.html

Du fait de cuisine has some peculiarities, the first of which is the description of the kitchen's preparation for prestigious events. The author gives a fairly large space to the topic, in the manuscript, which is presented between the folios (not pages)¹³⁸ 12av and 18r. The master talks about the necessary kitchen staff, the procurement procedures from various suppliers, the amount of food to be ordered, the pots and, in general, the utensils needed for cooking, as well as the dishes to be prepared. This section of the manuscript seems rather an essay on the art of cooking, not necessarily the mirror of what to cook. Only another manuscript contains such a rich sequence of cooking art tips, but it is about the manuscript, *Le Ménagier de Paris*, around 1390, written for a wealthy clerk, not for a noble house like Savoy¹³⁹.

Another aspect that emphasizes the particularity of Chiquart's book in the contemporary landscape is the high level of information contained in recipes, including those reserved for desserts. Some cover a whole folio, while others are described on eight folios. Other cookbooks that also describe refined desserts - such as *Viandier de Taillevent* - fade in front of the details contained in the master savoyard's work. To the particularity from above are added the non-culinary texts accompanying the recipes, these being either verses composed by Chiquart in honor of Amadeus VIII and his family - such as those on the 107r-109r folio - or final notes on the last nine pages of the manuscript. The latter include lyrics against the plague, then fragments from Vergilius' *Georgics*, continued with aphorisms. The author, with a false modesty, typical of time, states that he felt the need to write them, despite the fact that he is not rich in teaching or in spirit - *n'ay grand science ne sens*¹⁴⁰.

Culinary recipes in printed texts

The appearance of the printing, at the middle of the fifteenth century - conventionally fixed in the year 1440¹⁴¹ - allowed the spread of ideas with an unprecedented rapidity uncommon until then. Thus, in the first phase, the *incunabula*, that is, around 1500, about two hundred and fifty cities in Europe had printing offices, and among their products there are also a number of culinary treatises¹⁴². Maybe, the first cookbook printed on the European continent was *Kuchenmeisterey* in Nürnberg in 1485, and it consisted of fifty-six editions, of which thirteen only as *incunabula*¹⁴³.

¹³⁸ Virgil Olteanu *Din istoria și arta cărții* [From the History and Art of Books], București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1992, p. 157, 310, 378.

¹³⁹ Peters Kernan, *op. cit., loc. cit.*; cf. Sion, Switzerland, Médiathèque Valais, MS Supersaxo 103, fol. 11r.

¹⁴⁰ *Idem.*

¹⁴¹ Olteanu, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

¹⁴² Mennell, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹⁴³ <http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/179-2-quod-3/start.htm>

From the middle of the sixteenth century, to the century of the Religious Reformation, which brought with it the introduction of national languages into the church, in the books of worship and by diffusion in the printed literature of the time, printers printed books in various languages of the continent, having topics as food, nutrition and cooking. From now on, texts are no longer just meant to inform, to provide prescriptions, but as printed texts, to become sources of income through marketing. This does not mean that we, today, have complete answers to questions about how the first cookbooks were used, and especially by whom. From another point of view: have they been written by professionals for professionals or printed to be kept in the personal libraries of some snobs or rich ones to be proud with them? Since most have been written in the tongues of time, and too few in Latin, it is supposed that editing such prints was for practical purposes¹⁴⁴. The letter press has led not only to an informational explosion – we are strictly referring to culinary – but to the spread of recipes in previously unimaginable areas in a relatively short period of time. Like everywhere, two tendencies have emerged in this area, one that has tended to conserve and capitalize upon old recipes, and the second to find a good opportunity to give free rein to culinary imagination. However, exaggerating the changes made in the first century after the invention would be a mistake¹⁴⁵.

Meanwhile, we are witnessing in sixteenth and seventeenth century France, the replacement of exotic and highly aromatic spices, inherited from the Middle Ages, with the natural flavors of local food. In other words, saffron, cinnamon, cumin, ginger, nutmeg, cardamom have been replaced with parsley, thyme or tarragon. In addition, new products as: cauliflower, asparagus, peas, cucumbers, or artichokes, have been introduced into the food chain. Increased attention was paid to the cooking of meat products, the vegetables had to be fresh, and with the improvement of the means of transportation, only fresh fish were cooked. Now, in this chronological arch, a strict separation between the salty and sweet dishes is introduced, the first reaching the table before the sweet ones, thus removing a Renaissance tradition according to which it was considered a true art mastery to combine the two categories of ingredients in the same dish¹⁴⁶.

In this historical context, the printing of La Varenne's book, *Le Cuisinier François*, in 1651, which appeared, in other words, during the reign of King Ludovic XIV (1643-1725), is regarded as a turning point in the culinary history of the kingdom, because it breaks from the medieval tradition in the field, becoming the first landmark of *modern French fine cuisine*, a fine kitchen that exceeds three centuries at the moment. La Varenne is considered to be the first of a plethora of culinary professionals from the time of the long reign of the *The Sun King* that has become the milestone for the newly-emerged modern French cuisine. Among them, we mention Nicolas de Bonnefons, with *Le Jardinier françois* (1651) and *Les Délices de la campagne* (1654) and François Massialot respectively, with *Le Cuisinier royal et*

¹⁴⁴ Mennell, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 67.

¹⁴⁶ Ken Albala, *Food: A Cultural Culinary History*, Chantilly, Virginia, The Teaching Company, 2013, p. 99–100.

bourgeois (1691 and *Nouvelle instruction pour les confitures, les liqueurs et les fruits* (1652), stating that they will be the landmark of the French Revolution of the late eighteenth century, a revolution that will vanish their work and memory, but will be rediscovered later. Everyone has in common, when it comes of innovations, the interest in butter-based cooking recipes¹⁴⁷.

Nicolas de Bonnefons, *valet de chambre du Roi* and gardening specialist, is handling in *Le Jardinier françois*, the art of plant cultivation. In fact, the book includes three treatises: the first concerns the fruit trees, the second one is of interest to the world of vegetables, aromatic plants and *soil fruits*, such as strawberries, raspberries, currants, mushrooms or truffles, while the last is actually a collection of canned recipes of dried fruit, jams, jellies, etc. In a precious, time-honored style, the author dedicates his work to ladies, but also to the bourgeoisie, *who have secondary residences near Paris, and whom hiring a gardener does not seem too expensive*. After the first appearance, in 1651, Bonnefons' work, had numerous reprints, both in Paris and Amsterdam. His second book *Les Délices de la campagne* is considered a *complete cookbook* for the seventeenth century, as it teaches those interested - in fact, most dedicated to ladies - to harness everything which is or can become edible from soil or from water¹⁴⁸.

Francois Massialot, a *chef* who has wandered over to many nobiliary courts and bourgeois houses, each time being kingly paid for his work, is the author of the *Le Cuisinier royal et bourgeois* treaty. It is believed that this book revolutionized the history of gastronomy, primarily due to the fact that the recipes are arranged in alphabetical order, as in a true gastronomic dictionary; secondly, products and menus are sorted by season, including information and advice on cutlery and their use; thirdly, the book contains refined recipes originally used exclusively at the Court, but Francois Massialot rethinks them in such a way as to be accessible to the public – generally bourgeois in the eighteenth century – willing to put to their culinary life in line with new gastronomic tips. In the *Nouvelle instruction pour les confitures, les liqueurs et les fruits*, Massialot has collected recipes of confectionery products of the time, offering extremely interesting and precise details¹⁴⁹.

The book of La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier Francois*, mentioned in the above lines, was translated into English as *The French Cook*, in 1653, and his great success led to his third edition in 1673, remaining a landmark for the new French kitchen for half a century. Reprinted thirty times in three quarters of a century across Europe, the book famed its author well beyond his death in 1678. Not only the food and dishes described by Burgundian François Pierre Sieur (noble) of La Varenne, on his whole name, betrays another approach, but even the structure of the book is unprecedented. Thus, in *epistola dedicatoria* addressed to Nicolas Chalon du Blé Marchez d'Uxelles, general, foreign minister, Marshal of France, to whom La Varenne was an *écuyer de cuisine*, the tone of a submissive mingles with the pride of the

¹⁴⁷ Mennell, *op. cit.*, p. 72–73.

¹⁴⁸ Pierre Gagnaire, Hervé This, Rip Hopkins, *Alchimistes aux fourneaux*, Paris, Flammarion, 2007.

¹⁴⁹ Gérard Oberlé, *Les Fastes de Bacchus et de Comus ou Histoire du boire et du manger en Europe, de l'Antiquité à nos jours à travers des livres*, Editions Belfond, 1898, p. 78.

professional, conscious of its value: *Monsieur, although my [social] condition does not allow me to adopt a heroic spirit, [instead] undoubtedly gives me enough courtesy to not forget my duties. In your house, I had the opportunity, over ten years of service, to acquire the secrets of the most delicate dishes.* I cutefully say, that I have mastered my profession with the full approval of the princes, the French marshals, and other high-ranking persons who have admired the tables offered by your Most Honourable in both Paris and on the battlefields¹⁵⁰.

Instead, in *the Introduction*, La Varenne states that he writes the book *for my work colleagues [...] for those without experience [who] do not want or are too shy to learn things that they do not know.* La Varenne has made a real *aid memoire* for high-skilled cooks, and this is actually an ambitious and radical project. Until that time, the cook's job was taught by an apprentice from an experienced man who gave advice to his disciple. The emergence of the printed book changed the paradigm, the knowledge acquired exclusively through masters-disciple personal relations, within the (now) narrow of a guild, and could be replaced with reading. Thus, the *exclusivist caste principle* (the guild), which kept the secrets of cooking only among its members, was replaced by free access to the culinary information for anyone who could read it. La Varenne knew from his own experience the long way from his apprenticeship to the status of maestro, because he, born in 1615, began his novitiate in aristocratic cuisine, ascending to coveted master chef and culinary supervisor of service in 1640. For a young man from the common people, reaching a position reserved for few only was a special social achievement¹⁵¹.

Le Cuisinier François encompasses over eight hundred recipes for fasting days, for those in which meat was allowed to be consumed, for Easter Fasting, focusing on the system one of four kinds of meal at the table. Not missing are the soups, appetizers – arranged in the book after soups – as well as light dishes. In recipes one can see a diminution of both the role of sugar and expensive spices taken from Italian cuisine. Instead, the focus falls on local products like parsley, onion, leek and cabbage, but not anyway, but depending on the season. Aroma, the flavor is La Varenne's main concern in his recipes, he introducing, among other things, the broth and juices to reach the refinement of those flavors. For the food to become spicy, he uses the juice and lemon zest, orange juice, certain varieties of grapes, and caper. Stew and richly flavored vegetables, which, before La Varenne's time, did not enjoy great honor, appear in this culinary treaty.

¹⁵⁰ Mennell, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁵¹ Polly Russell, *The history cook: Le Cuisinier François, by La Varenne*, in "Financial Times", 19 Sept. 2014 (<https://www.ft.com/content/a2a61b4c-3f84-11e4-a5f5-00144feabdc0>). The author is curator at the British Library.

Courtiers, food merchants – cooking and serving styles

Of course, the question arises whether culinary treats or gourmet recipe books have spread to France solely because of the appearance and spread of printing, or there are other causes that have contributed to this phenomenon. The answer is affirmative in the sense that, on the one hand, France will become, over the centuries, a kingdom capable of recovering territories (see the case of Normandy recovered from the English monarchs) and will become a centralized state, one that will give the world the *nation state* model in which the warriors and turbulent nobles, from the time of the feudal anarchy, will become *courtiers*. Nobles interested, from now on, to cultivate manners, including at the table, not concerned with the art of war or the tournament, as was the case in the previous centuries. On the other hand, the French kingdom had not only social strata able to spend money, but also a solid structure of producers and merchants, able to produce and sell dairy vegetables and various sorts of wine¹⁵². The only gastronomic testimony about France at the end of the sixteenth century can be found in the satire *Description of the Isle of Hermaphrodites*, published in 1605¹⁵³, which describes, in a bizarre way, the Court of Henry III (King of Poland 1573-1574, King of France 1574-1589), where effeminate characters use the fork at the table¹⁵⁴. It is supposed that the satire was written during the reign of Henry III, but it was not printed until later. The first edition is extremely rare, but on the back of the title page of the second edition and the following is an engraving that depicts a hermaphrodite placed above a cartridge with the following text: *I am neither a man nor a woman*¹⁵⁵.

The 16th century, the one of the Religious Reformation in Europe, was the century of religious wars in France (1559-1598), between Catholics and Huguenots of Calvin extraction. The involvement of the foreign forces - of Spain on the part of the Catholics, of England on the part of the Huguenots - has accentuated the crisis, and the internal bloody conflict involved the great nobility, for example the House of Lorraine in the Catholic camp, namely Bourbon, Condé and Chatillon in the hugenot one. Dramatism is reached in 1572 when the Huguenists, present in Paris in large numbers to witness the marriage between Huguenot Henric de Bourbon, the future of Henry IV of France - who will return to Catholicism in 1593 - and Catholic Margaret of Valois, the daughter of King Henry II, were slaughtered on the night of St.

¹⁵² Albala, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

¹⁵³ *De l'Isle Des Hermaphrodites Nouvellement Decouverte. Contenant des Moeurs, les Coutumes & les Ordonnances des Habitans de cette isle... Pour servir de Supplement au Journal de Henri III.*

¹⁵⁴ *De l'Isle Des Hermaphrodites Nouvellement Decouverte.*, a Cologne [Köln], Chez les Heritiers de Herman Demen, MDCCXXVI [1726], p. 101, 111.

¹⁵⁵ <https://www.edition-originale.com/en/antique-books-1455-1820/history/artus-description-de-lisle-des-1724-20968>

Bartholomew (August 23/24). Subsequent historical events - which we do not insist on, and which are not the topic of this approach – put an end to the Catholic-Hughenot conflict by the Edict of Nantes on April 13, 1598¹⁵⁶. The aforementioned context explains why, after the first incunabula cookbook in Europe, *Kuchenmeisterey* (Nürnberg, 1485), in France the first printed cookbook will appear, only in 1651, that of La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier François*, epoch which corresponds to the reign of the Sun King¹⁵⁷.

And so, we acceded in a time when social differences were not reflected only in the difference in the quality of dishes, but more refined, in the styles of cooking and manners to serve. There are as many dishes to disprize, as there are dishes in vogue. Food becomes, in the *sociological jargon* (Mennell), a landmark for socializing, on the one hand, and for keeping distance, on the other. The most at hand example for those who have dealt with this is Molière's comedy *The Bourgeois Gentleman* (1622-1673). The comedy was first put on stage in 1670 at the Louis XVI Court. It is said that the Sun King was very amused and appreciated much this piece, in which he recognized the satire of a type of character very common in his era. *The Bourgeois Gentleman* - in itself, a manifestly contradictory, ironic phrase - is a wealthy, but has a vulgar character who tries to display a culture he does not have and a fake refinement that is totally inappropriate for him, making him just ridiculous¹⁵⁸.

In these chronological coordinates, one has to remember the man who began his work as an apprentice, and then became a master chef in the world of blood nobility in France: François Vatel. Born in Switzerland and recorded in documents as Fritz Karl Vatel - his family name being frequently met in the Zurich area - he is employed by Nicolas Fouquet, marquis de Belle-Île, viscount de Melun and Vaux (1615-1680), at his castle in Vaux-le-Vicomte. Fouquet has spent a tremendous amount of money for the construction of this castle, which, by magnificence and splendor, is considered the precursor of Versailles. Louis XIV, envious of the opulence and extravagance manifested by his finance minister in the years 1653-1661, which he suspects of a poorly disguised ambition, will imprison him for life, the condemned being also dying in jail in 1680¹⁵⁹. Around 1667, Francois Vatel will go to serve Louis II of Bourbon, Prince Condé (1621-1686), to whom he will be the *maître d'hôtel* - a butler, not a *chef*, as some sources mislead - at his castle in Chantilly, being highly prized. His senior will grant him the right to wear a sword, a real privilege for those times¹⁶⁰.

At the beginning of April 1671, King Louis XIV announced Prince Condé that he would honor him with a visite from April 23 to Saturday, April 25, 1671. The royal initiative was not an ordinary one, especially since the monarch invited all the high nobility of France, and their companions, to accompany him to Chantilly. The gesture of the king was a rather political one, the aim being to have the great nobility under

¹⁵⁶ Jean Teulé, *Noaptea Sfântului Bartolomeu*, Editura Alfa All, 2014.

¹⁵⁷ Albala, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

¹⁵⁸ Mennell, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹⁵⁹ https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicolas_Fouquet

¹⁶⁰ *About Chef François Vatel*, in „Food History”
<http://www.kitchenproject.com/history/aboutVatel.htm>

his eyes, under control, as he would later and more efficiently do when he built Versailles, thus having all the magnates united in the same place, not spread at their castles. Vatel and Condé had only fifteen days at their disposal - extremely short time - and Vatel slept very little on the nights before the royal visit. As *maître d'hôtel*, as a butler, he had the duty to arrange accommodation and food for six hundred nobles and for several other thousand of their companions. A series of small organizational mistakes, such as the fireworks show during a foggy weather, brought Vatel into such a state of stress that, when he was informed that the fish for the banquet was delayed, he took his life. The irony of fate, shortly after the tragic gesture, the fish transport arrived at the destination. In fact, in one of her letters to Mrs. Grignan, who was her daughter-in-law, dated Friday, April 24, 1671, Mrs. Sévigné writes: *You know, this morning at eight o'clock, fish transport has not arrived yet [and Vatel] could not bear the humiliation [...] and, to shorten the story, he committed suicide stabbing himself. And, imagine, the transport of fish have arrived just in the moments in which he gave his spirit*¹⁶¹. Note that Vatel is attributed, the paternity of *Chantilly Cream* (whipped, sweetened and aromatized cream), even if, *no text at that time, not even the letters of Mrs. Sévigné, confirms this fact*. Only about a century later, more precisely in 1750, will appear the name *Chantilly* in the cookbooks, the author being Menon, but then it was about *the Chantilly cheese*¹⁶².

Gastronomy of the Regency (18th century)

A new stage in consolidating *the modern fine French cuisine* and breaking it from the culinary traditions of the Middle Ages, as many had survived during Louis XIV (1643-1715), is the one, during the reign of the Duke of Orleans, Philip al II (1674-1723). He was the grandson of the deceased *Sun King* and became Regent of France for Louis XV, from 1715 to 1723. In order to understand the historical context, it is worthy to mention that Philip II had three stepsiblings; from the first marriage of his father, Philip of France, duke d'Orléans, the offspring were Marie Louise d'Orléans, the future queen of Spain, Philippe Charles of Valois (1664-1666) and Anne Marie d'Orléans, the future wife of King Victor Amadeus II of Sardinia. From the second marriage of his father were born Alexandre Louis, who lived a little, and Philip II d'Orléans, the future regent. Princess Marie Adélaïde of Savoy, the older daughter of Philip II's sister-in-law, will marry in 1697 with the son of the *Dolphin* (the heir to the throne) of France, the bearer of the name and title of Louis of France. The new couple will give the kingdom two *Dolphins* of France: Ludovic duke of Brittany, who

¹⁶¹ James Harisson (ed.), *Letters of Madame de Sévigné*, Boston, 1899, p. 34–35.

¹⁶² <http://www.ville-chantilly.fr/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/creme-internet.pdf>

will die in 1712, respectively, Ludovic du d'Anjou, the future of Louis XV (1715-1774)¹⁶³.

In this context, it should not be surprising that *the elegant, exclusive and refined tables offered by the Duke d'Orléans to his guests had the reputation of raising the level of the fine cuisine to unprecedented standards*¹⁶⁴. Surprisingly, there are no new cookbooks in this stage, but some prestigious ones have been reprinted and augmented in the world, especially La Varenne. Neither Massialot's book was neglected, because after its first edition, in 1691, it was reprinted with minor changes until 1712, when its second volume appears, in 1730, then the third and the last volume was published¹⁶⁵.

Meanwhile, a new generation of cook chefs, as well as new treatises such as *The Modern Cook*, appeared in 1733, authoring Vincent La Chapelle, Lord Chesterfield's *chef*, a book translated into French two years later when La Chapelle will become the master chef of the Prince of Orania. By making a history of gourmet treatises in France, Vincent La Chapelle argues that a new bibliography in the field is needed because the old one no longer corresponds to the lifestyle of his contemporaries. As an argument, he brings into discussion Massialot's contribution: *the culinary treaty entitled "Le Cuisinier royal et bourgeois", written so long ago, is no longer appropriate to the current situation*¹⁶⁶. The new contributions are the *Le Cuisinier Gascon* Treaty of 1740, as well as Menon's publications, which I mentioned when I spoke about François Vatel and *Chantilly cream*. In fact, Menon was the nickname of an anonymous chef, and we mention a few of his books, namely *Nouveau Traité de Cuisine*, Paris, 1739, *La Cuisinière bourgeoise*, Paris, 1746, in two volumes, *La Science du Maître d'Hôtel cuisinier, avec des Observations sur la connaissance et la propriété des aliments*, Paris, 1749 or *Les Soupers de la Cour, ou l'art de travailler toutes sortes d'aliments pour servir les meilleures tables*, Paris, 1758, in four volumes¹⁶⁷.

The Treaty of *Le Cuisinier Gascon* has a dedication, *une Epître dédicatoire*, addressed *A Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince De Dombes* and signed *De Votre Altesse Serenissime/ Le très-humble & très-obéissant Serviteur le Cuisinier Gascon* ('Your Serenissime Highness/ too humble and too-submissive servant [master] chef Gascon '). There follows a *Aviz au lecteur*, in which the author warns that *this work is very different from others that have appeared with the same subject, full of common recipes, boring in length; others bordering on simple dressings [...]*¹⁶⁸. His spiritual patron was Louis Auguste de Bourbon, the prince of Dombes (1700-1755), the grandson of King Louis XIV, namely the son of one of the sons of the French monarch with Françoise-Athénaïs de Montespan, his mistress, both having six children, whom the sovereign acknowledged despite the laws of time. The Marquis of Montespan succeeded, in the heart of the King, Louise of Vallière,

¹⁶³ Louda, Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 134–136.

¹⁶⁴ Mennell, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹⁶⁵ *Idem*.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 76–77.

¹⁶⁷ Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine*, 2004, p.40-43.

¹⁶⁸ http://vintagecookbooks.healthyeatingandlifestyle.org/books/1740fr_lecuisiner.html

who will remain at the Court serving as a cover for the two, and will be replaced by the marquise de Maintenon. In fact, Louis Auguste Boubon's coat of arms, shows due to the red bar, a royal bastard in the House of Boubon¹⁶⁹.

Founders of gourmet schools: Carême and Escoffier

The new generation is made up of cultured authors, subtle connoisseurs of classical antiquity. Even though the author of the culinary treaty *Les dons de Comus* ('The Gifts of Comus'), printed in 1739, was unknown to his contemporaries - although the paternity of the book was cleared in the epoch - one thing was certain to them: the preface was written by an well educated intellectual, belonging to the exquisite society, which was acquainted of classical antiquity, who addressed a cultured and educated public. An audience who knew that, according to ancient mythology, Comus was at the same time the Roman god of cooking and comedy, the equivalent of the Greek god Komos¹⁷⁰, but also the patron of chaos and anarchy. Considered the son of one of the cupholder of Bacchus, Comus was the god of excesses of all kinds - unlike the carnal Pan, the sheep and shepherd's protector, or Bacchus, the god of harvesting grapes, wine, fertility – an opinion started by sophist Philostratus the Elder of Lemnos (about 190 - about 230 AD). Later, in the view of John Milton (1608-1674), Comus was considered to be Bacchus's son with Circe¹⁷¹, a fantasy known to the cultivated readers of the eighteenth century. Without a certain author, *Les dons de Comus* was attributed by contemporaries to François Marin, first master chef to the Dukes of Gesvres¹⁷² and Soubise¹⁷³ princes, then the protected one of Mrs. Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson of Pompadour, mistress of Louis XVI's¹⁷⁴, with the note that the studies of nowadays give two authors for the foreword: Pierre

¹⁶⁹ Lisa Hilton, *Athénaïs the Real Queen of France*, London, 2002, p. 5 and 302.

¹⁷⁰ E. C. Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment. Food and the Sciences in Paris 1670–1760*, Chicago and London, Chicago University Press, 2012 p. 199.

¹⁷¹ Dominique Côté, *The Two Sophistics of Philostratus/ Les deux sophistiques de Philostrate*, in "Rhetorica. Journal of the History of Rhetoric", University of California Press, Vol. 24, Nr. 1, Winter 2006, p. 1–35.

¹⁷² J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des Français. La France sous les Bourbons*, Bruxelles, Société Typographique Belge, 1844, p. 3.

¹⁷³ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliomania or Book Madness*, London, 1811, p. 129.

¹⁷⁴ When the Madame de Pompadour found the opportunity to approach the sovereign, he was in the mourning after the death of the third official mistress, Marie Anne de Mailly, Duchess of Châteauroux. She was the youngest and most beautiful sister of the five sisters of *Nesle*, four of them becoming mistress of King Louis XV (Amanda Foreman, Nancy Mitford, *Madame de Pompadour*, New York, 2001, p. 203).

Brumoy (1688-1742), who published the *Journal of Trévoux*¹⁷⁵, and Guillaume-Hyacinthe Bougeant (1690-1743), a writer and playwright¹⁷⁶.

It can be said that the changes made on the architectural, artistic and cultural plane are also reflected in the gastronomic one, as we witness the sliding of Louis XIV (1684-1715), in other words, from the Baroque of the Sun King, inspired by Antiquity, characterized by symmetry, essence and color, to the new Rococo style, from the reign of Louis XV (1715-1774), recognized after the avalanche of curves and asymmetric sinuosities, a style that embraces a relaxed, playful atmosphere¹⁷⁷. But the epoch of Louis XV was also that of his wife, Maria Leszczyńska, queen for forty-two years (1725-1768), being remarked to her subjects by piety and generosity. Maria Leszczyńska was also the grandmother of sovereigns Louis XVI (1774-1791, assassinated in 1793), Louis XVIII (1814-1824), and Charles X of France (1824-1830). One of the royal kitchen products of Maria Leszczyńska was *bouchée à la Reine*, a pastry product with various ingredients - small slices of poultry, sweets, ham, mushrooms, sauce – whose variants in Switzerland and Belgium are called *vol au vent*¹⁷⁸. Also under the influence of the sovereign - who is said to have introduced the lentils in the French diet - appeared *consommé à la Reine* și *filet d'aloiau braisé à la royale*. The first type mentioned, *consommé in Reine* was essentially, a chicken soup with rice cream, to which various chefs have added or removed ingredients¹⁷⁹, while the second is based on sliced calves prepared with onions and with various spices. In addition, French wines will become almost compulsory ifrom the meals of the elites¹⁸⁰.

Marie-Antoine Carême (1784-1833) is considered to be the founder of the famed *la grande cuisine française*, noting that today the style is regarded as opulent, even exaggerated. As *chef* and culinary writer, he was a celebrity of his time, cooked for great political figures, brought important improvements to cooking techniques, menus and serving meals, being the author of an important treaty for French pastry. The beginnings of his career were not the brightest because of the fact that, coming from a poor and numerous family in Paris – he was the sixteenth child of the family, abandoned in 1792 during the French Revolution – he initially found shelter at a tavern where he worked for six years as a shop boy washing the dishes in exchange for a roof over his head and a daily meal. Around the age of seventeen, Carême enters as apprentice at Sylvian Bailly, a famous patisser from Rue Vivienne, near the Palais Royal. Here he acquires a job, but he has the opportunity to learn writing and

¹⁷⁵ *Journal de Trévoux* sau *Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences & des Beaux-Arts* was a periodical with a monthly appearance in 1701–1782 France.

¹⁷⁶ Spary, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

¹⁷⁷ Mennell, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁷⁸ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bouch%C3%A9_%C3%A0_la_reine

¹⁷⁹ *Culinary Archaeology: The Food of Love. Soupe de la Reine*, in <https://2manycookbooks.wordpress.com/2008/06/01/culinary-archaeology-the-food-of-love-soupe-a-la-reine/> June 1st, 2008.

¹⁸⁰ *Filet d'aloiau braisé à la royale*, in „Grand dictionnaire de cuisine from 1873”, <http://www.borlanduniversity.com/index.php/term/Grand+dictionnaire+de+cuisine+from+1873,4782-filet-d-aloiau-braise-a-la-royale.xhtml>

reading, skills that allow him to attend the National Library¹⁸¹. At the library he will focus on the study of the concepts of design and architecture, and will give them an unprecedented practical dimension, as they will display, in the showcase of their pastry, real monumental "constructions" – temples of classical antiquity or of the Orient, Egyptian pyramids, ruins of castles, romantic fountains - from dough, sugar or marzipan, thus raising the prestige of the place. For these, all of them were inspired by architects such as Palladio, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, or Sebastiano Serlio, the last two of whom were the leading *Mannerism or Late Renaissance representatives*, what is important, the propagation vectors of the Italian Renaissance in the rest of Europe¹⁸².

After two years, Marie-Antoine Carême reaches the service of the famous politician Talleyrand - Charles-Maurice of Talleyrand-Périgord, on his full name, who, as bishop d'Autun and politician, will borrow from Illuminism the idea of political equilibrium between the Great Powers of Europe – where Carême will learn from chef François Boucher to cook something other than sweets. After a Londonese episode, he will become the *chef* of Prince George, the future King of England, George IV (1820-1830) – Carême returns to Paris and will publish in 1815 the work *Le pâtissier royal parisien* in two volumes, with a total of 400 pages. Richly illustrated by the author himself, the book will have a resounding success, so a second edition will appear three months after its first appearance. But the most famous book is *L'art de la cuisine française au dix-neuvième siècle*, in five volumes (1833-1847, completed after the death of the author), and among his contributions to the gastronomy are the famous *croquembouche* – from *croque-en-bouche* crunchy in the mouth, a dessert consisting of chocolate bars and caramel, sweet *charlotte russe*, being also the creator of the Napoleon cake or *mille feuille*¹⁸³.

Marie-Antoine Carême also introduces the tunic and the high chef's bonnet, choosing the white color for them, because he considers it appropriate to reflect two concepts introduced in the gastronomy itself, *cleanliness and hygiene*. This famous culinary master establishes four basic sauces: *the bechamel, espagnol, velouté* and *allemande sauce* will also implement the cold buffet and, last but not least, will eliminate the placement on the same plate of both fish and meat. In addition, Carême, the adept of the opulence doubled by spectacular culinary compositions, was the author of the so-called *pièces-montées*, sculptures made in detail from marzipan, sugar and fat, which, basically not edible, had only the role of decorating the table.

The list of Carême's four sauces will be refined and enriched with another sauce by Georges-Auguste Escoffier, later known as Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935), considered the father of modern cuisine. He will look at the German sauce as a cadet of the *velouté*, after which he will add the tomato sauce, the Dutch one in his book *Le guide culinaire*. Thus, *the Béchamel Sauce* or the *white sauce*, rich, creamy and

¹⁸¹ Nicole Jankowski, *How a Destitute, Abandoned Parisian Boy Became the First Celebrity Chef*, in "CravingBoston", 16 Jan. 2017 (<http://cravingboston.wgbh.org/article/20170116/how-destitute-abandoned-parisian-boy-became-first-celebrity-chef>).

¹⁸² Michael Krondl, *Sweet invention: a history of dessert*, Chicago, Chicago Review Press, 2011, p. 212–213.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 209.

velvety, will get it of three ingredients, butter, flour and milk. *The velouté sauce* is close to *the Béchamel*, with the difference that, instead of milk, chicken, beef or fish soup is added. Of course, there is no shortage of butter and flour in equal parts, and the soup gradually adds to a thin composition, a sauce which has the role of eating dishes of meat or seafood. For *tomato sauce*, oil and onion are used, which will not be fried, but soaked, everything filled with a few garlic, to which, of course, tomato paste is added. *The Dutch sauce*, reserved for special occasions, has the task of completing special dishes such as asparagus. Finally, *the Spanish sauce* is a brown sauce with a special flavor, obtained by caramelizing in oven (separately) the bones of beef, vegetables (onion, garlic, carrot and leeks), placed in a flavored water with laurel leaves, pepper and savory¹⁸⁴.

Like his predecessor, Escoffier began his career at an early age, but in very different conditions. He will debut at thirteen in his uncle's restaurant, *Le Restaurant Français*, famous in Nice at that time. The status of nephew did not benefit him at all, not being hired in his work, so he will learn from the beginning what discipline means – even severity –, aspects that he will appreciate all his life, including when he becomes Cesar Ritz's business partner or when he will become the Legion of Honor Officer¹⁸⁵. At the age of nineteen he is invited to Paris, where the owner of the modern *La Reine Blanche* restaurant - later known and famous as *Le Petit Moulin Rouge* - will give him a post and where he will catch the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), ending with France defeat and the abdication of Napoleon III, respectively with the victory and unification of Germany around Prussia. There, on the front, Escoffier thought of the need to conserve food, being the first *chef* to initiate such an initiative, first only for vegetables and sauces. In fact, he was not a soldier, but had the task of cooking for Marshal Bazaine and for his headquarter, cantoned with troops near Metz, where he would surrender on Oct. 27, 1870, following Marshal Mac-Mahon, which had already capitulated on 31 August of the same year. Under these circumstances, Escoffier spent half a year in German prison, stating that, after two months, he would become *chef de cuisine* of Marshal Mac-Mahon, who was also in Prison in Wiesbaden¹⁸⁶.

Returning after war to Le Petit Moulin Rouge, he will marry the poet Delphine Daffis, the publisher Paul Daffis' daughter, who will help Escoffier publish his first and only volume of poems *Les Fleurs en Cire*¹⁸⁷. The two spouses will move to Monte Carlo to spend the winters at the Grand Hotel in the Principality, where Escoffier became the *directeur de cuisine*, and the summers at the *Hotel National de Lucerne*, Switzerland. Now Escoffier creates sophisticated dishes in honor of time personalities, one of them being Australian soprano Nellie Melba (1861-1931). The new product,

¹⁸⁴ <http://timeloveandflavourness.com/tipstricks/cele-5-sosuri-de-baza-din-bucatarie/>

¹⁸⁵ <https://bacaniaveche.ro/gatiti-si-mancati-sanatos/escoffier-1831> On 11 November 1919, French President Raymond Poincaré rewarded Escoffier with *the Legion of Honor* (James Kenneth, *Escoffier: The King of Chefs*, New York, International Publishing Group, 2006, p. 249–253).

¹⁸⁶ Lothar Gall, *Europa auf dem Weg in die Moderne. 1850–1890*, München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1989, p. 61; Hajo Holborn, *Deutsche Geschichte in der Neuzeit*, vol. II, Frankfurt am Main, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1981, p. 452.

¹⁸⁷ Georges-Auguste Escoffier, *Les Fleurs en Cire*, Paris, Bibliothèque l'Art Culinaire, 1910, 94 p. with illustrations.

from 1893, was called the *Peach Melba* dessert, made from peaches served on vanilla ice cream, all set in a metal pot, between two swan wings sculpted in ice. Remaining in the musical sphere, we mention the beef preparation *Tournedos Rossini*, in honor of the composer Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868). Instead, in the memory of *Jeannette's* crew, a ship trapped in the ice of the North Pole, where the whole crew has perished, Escoffier prepares *Chaud-Froid Jeannette*, a specialty of chicken breast and *foie gras*. Another dish, from frog legs, was *les cuisses de nymphe à l'aurore*, a gourmet creation in honor of the prince of Wales, in other words, the Royal heir to the British Crown¹⁸⁸.

Gastronomy and diplomacy

Perhaps this should be called a truffle chapter - those luxury foods, called *diamonds of the earth*, because of their rarity - as gifts in the diplomatic exchanges of the Savoy dynasty. The first documentary attestation of the use of these edible mushrooms as a gift dates back to 1380, when a few local magnates offered to the wife of Count Amadeus VI of Savoy (1343-1383), Bonne de Bourbon – Bona di Borbone in Italian (1341- 1402) – a unique gift, truffles. The wife was an important personality in the epoch, not necessarily through contracted marriage, but also through heredity, being the daughter of a duke, Peter I of Bourbon, and the sister-in-law of King Charles V of France¹⁸⁹.

Conscious of the value of these edible mushrooms, the House of Savoy, becoming the Ducal House in the meantime, will turn them into diplomatic exchange instruments, at least between 1730 and 1830. Because of the perishability of truffles, the transport of such gifts was limited by the length of the roads that could be traversed. Even the most appropriate conservation methods, at that time, did not ensure that they were kept for more than ten days or no more than two weeks. Under all circumstances, it seems that Vienna was the favorite destination, since between Torino and the Habsburg capital the distance was covered in about ten days. And if, theoretically, receiving a gift involves a response with another gift, then we can understand why the truffles (*tartufi*) offered by the Savoyards have become the constituent elements of diplomatic exchanges and, as a consequence, of political relations. In the 1670-1730 documents concerning the exchanges with the neighboring kingdoms or seniorities, the truffles do not yet appear, the most common *bagatelles*, being a kind of wine of Piedmont, *unfortunately unspecified*, then *rosolio* (a sweet liquor with flavors among other, orange, vanilla coffee), Mondovi jam,

¹⁸⁸ <https://bacaniaveche.ro/gatiti-si-mancati-sanatos/escoffier-1831>

¹⁸⁹ Rengenier C. Rittersma, *A Culinary "Captatio Benevolentiae": the Use of the Truffle as a Promotional Gift by the Savoy Dynasty in the Eighteenth Century*, in Daniëlle De Vooght, *Royal Taste. Food, Power and Status in the European Courts after 1789*, 2011, p. 31–56, la p. 31

fromage de Noël, Piedmont tobacco, etc. All of this had great demand in the kingdom of France, the Dukedom of Milan, Papal Rome, Switzerland or the British Isles. In addition, wine and liqueur were appreciated at the Court of Louis XIV of France, or that of Charles II of England (1649-1685), nicknamed the *cheerful king* for his hedonism and for his entourage¹⁹⁰. And if we remember France, it is worth mentioning that the mother of King Charles II was Henrietta Maria, the sister of King Louis XIII of France.

Over the centuries, Savoy, favored by its geographic position and a mighty army, not only increased its territory, but it was demanded by its neighbors – France, the Habsburg Empire, etc. – in direct or inter-related conflicts. But the failure of the Savoyards to be loyal to the alliances, sometimes changing them even during armed conflicts, did not allow them to find their place at the table of after-war diplomatic arrangements. Later, however, under the Franco-Savoyard peace treaties (April 11, 1713) and Spaniolo-Savoyard (13 April 1713) in Utrecht, the Savoy duchy will receive from Spain the island of Sicily, the Duke of Savoy becoming king of Sicily. Subsequently, through the Treaty of London in 1718, the new King was to receive Sardinia in exchange for Sicily¹⁹¹. As a consequence of the negotiations, Spain will return the island of Sardinia to the Habsburg Empire on 4 August 1720, and the Empire will hand over to the Savoy House on August 8, 1729, in exchange for the island of Sicily. From that moment on, we are not talking about the Duchy of Savoy, but about the Kingdom of Sardinia led by kings from the Savoy dynasty. One of them, Carlo Emmanuele III (1730-1773), participated in the *war of succession* at the Austrian throne (1740-1748), and by the peace of Aachen in 1748, to which the kingdom of Sardinia joined, the king was rewarded with part of Milan's duchy¹⁹². This is how, in January 1737, a noble young man in Piedmont with experience in post at the Hague was named in Vienna as an ambassador by Carlo Emmanuele III. The ruler Luigi Girolamo Malabaila de Canale, the new ambassador, considered that truffles would be the best gifts. The advantage of the Savoyards was also due to the fact that these products were unconditionally accepted, being considered essential elements of the *bien-être*, of *douceur*, so desired or sought by the high society since then. In addition, around 1780, Paris will show interest in this product, which was said to be extremely expensive to be found exclusively at the evening meals of the elite of that time and the crowned heads¹⁹³.

Instead of conclusions, we consider this chapter as an insight into the fascinating world of fine French cuisine, as well as an invitation to the wonderful world of the history of culture, which also includes gourmet culture.

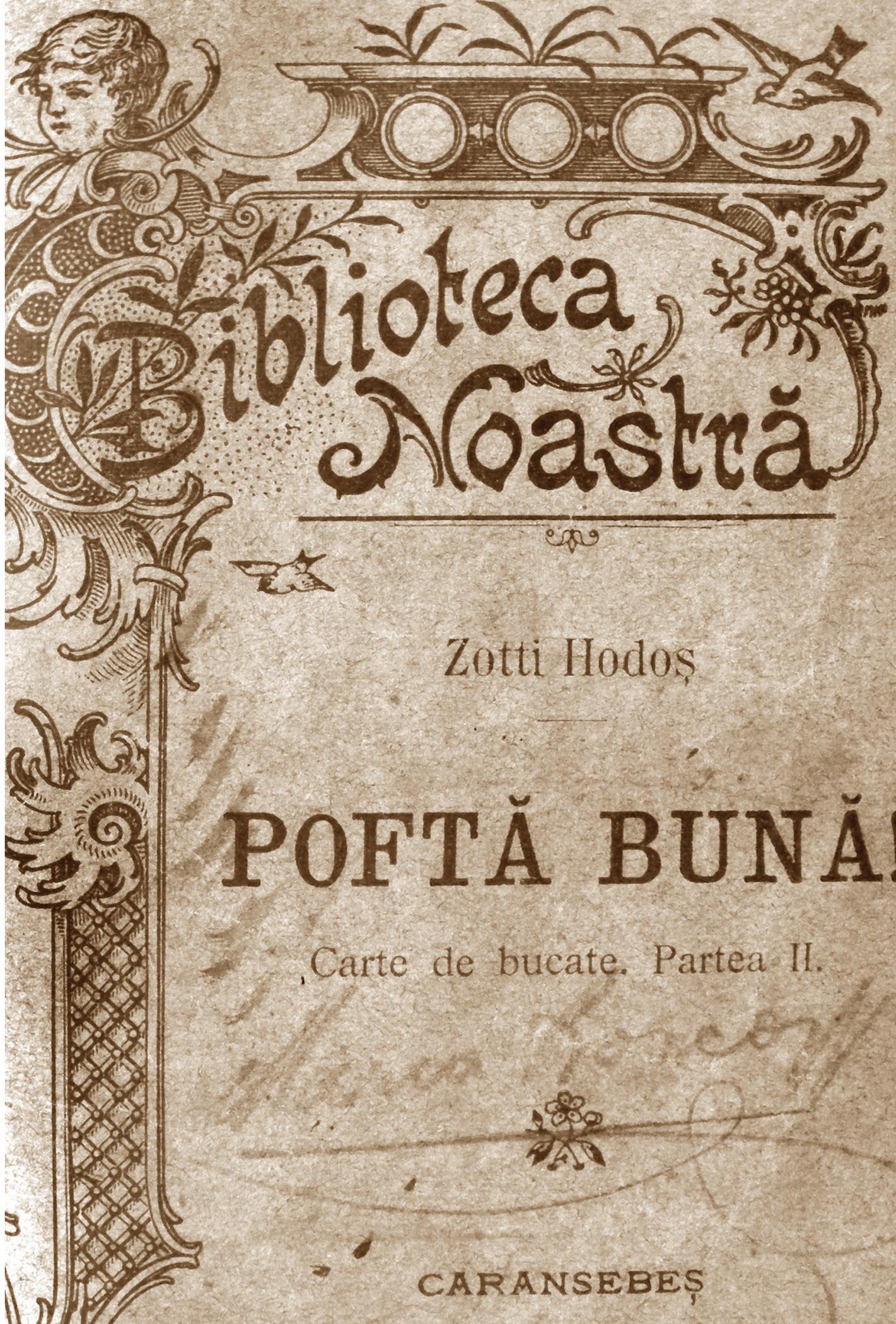
¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 33–35.

¹⁹¹ Marcel D. Popa, Horia C. Matei, *Mică enciclopedie de istorie universală* [A small encyclopedia of world history], Bucharest, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983, p. 672.

¹⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 667.

¹⁹³ Rittersma, *op. cit.*, p. 42.





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Siebenbürgische
Küche.

Von
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Sechste Auflage.

CHAPTER III



The Habsburg Empire, Transylvania and Sibiu: history and gastronomy

Fine cuisine in the German world and in the Habsburg Empire

The German world of the Middle Ages was not a unitary one, either politically or gastronomically. The plurality of political formations before and after the Westphalian Peace of 1648, a peace that sanctioned the fragmentation of the German world, with monarchic states of various dimensions, respectively with free cities in the north, reflected on many plans, including culinary. As a general look, Hansa of the German cities of the North was completed by the Holy Roman Empire, an empire which, even from its appearance in the Middle Ages, was a pluralistic one - not to forget that at one time the emperors wore among many other titles, that of king of Bohemia, and Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul) went to audience at Rudolf II in Prague, not in Vienna¹⁹⁴.

As a result of urban development on the northern seaside, Hansa or *the Hanseatic League* was established in the 13th century, including several cities such as Bremen, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Hamburg, Lüneburg, etc. It was a military-commercial alliance of the North and Baltic Seas urban centers, active and influential between 1282, the year of its foundation, and 1669, the year of its last conference held in Lübeck¹⁹⁵. From a culinary perspective, the world of the Hanseatic League

¹⁹⁴ Ioan-Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan, *Istoria Transilvaniei [The history of Transylvania]*, Cluj-Napoca, Edidura Școala Ardeleană, 2016, p. 109–116.

¹⁹⁵ Victoria N. Bateman, *Markets and Growth in Early Modern Europe*, London, New York, Routledge, 2012, p. 18–21 and 189; cf. Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, London, Routledge, 1999.

was based, first of all, on local products, but later, thanks to a vast international trade, this world will be able to capitalize on its rich palette of foreign influences or exotic ingredients. Note that the change was not solely due to spices, as local cuisine was enriched with new ways of preparing and preserving food. For example, North Sea fishermen have adopted the methods of salting fish, so salted herring has become a basic food in hanseatic cuisine¹⁹⁶.

With regard to the Empire, the death of Conrad IV in 1254, the last emperor of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, and the death of his son, Conradin, at the age of sixteen, duke of Suabia, the king of Jerusalem, and the pretendent of the title of king of Sicily¹⁹⁷, led to an *interregnum* to mperial throne for a period of nineteen years. It is true that King Ottokar II of Bohemia (1253-1278) from the Přemysl dynasty was the ruler of Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, but he did not have the imperial power because he failed to get it because, in 1256, Richard de Cornwall was elected at the imperial throne¹⁹⁸. Finally, the election of Rudolf von Habsburg in 1273 ended the *interregnum* and, at the same time, it raised to an imperial rank a dynasty that would rule almost uninterruptedly, being deposed only with the disappearance of the Austrian Empire in 1918. Emperor Carol IV of Luxembourg (1346-1378) - *rex Romanorum*, king of Bohemia and emperor of the Holy Empire - will clarify, and codify the rules for the election of the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation by the famous *Golden Bull* of 1356. The role of this genuine medieval constitution with thirty-one chapters was a double one. First, it was intended to eliminate papal influence in the policy of the German Empire, the Roman Pontiff thus losing the right to examine candidates for the imperial throne, and consequently to make the final decision on election. Secondly, the document gave the seven electors the authority to elect the Emperor with a simple majority (four to three). The document designates the Princes-Elector, clarifying their succession, according to the right of primogenity (the firstborn rule)¹⁹⁹.

Note that at the end of the seventeenth century, there were forty-three laic principalities and thirty-three ecclesiastical ones with the right to vote in the Imperial Diet²⁰⁰. The later evolutions over the centuries will cause the Holy Empire to be liquidated in 1804 under the Bonapartism blows, and the Austrian Empire, heir to the Holy Empire, to lose Lombardy in 1859 and Venice in 1866 in favor of Italy, to be defeated by Prussia *in the seven-week war*, the political consequence being the emergence of Austro-Hungarian Dualism in 1867. In these coordinates, Austria -

¹⁹⁶ *The Chronicle of the Hanseatic League* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20140529145132/http://www.european-heritage.org/germany/m%C3%BCnster/hanse/chronicle-hanseatic-league-continued>)

¹⁹⁷ Ioana Curuț, „*Ad eruditionem multorum*”. *The Latin Version of the Book of Apple as a Philosophical Protreptic*, in „*Philobiblon*”, *Transylvanian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research in Humanities*, Vol. XXII, nr. 1, Cluj–Napoca, 2017, p. 19–34, at p. 25–27.

¹⁹⁸ Nancy Goldstone, *Four Queens; the Provençal Sisters who ruled Europe*, London, Pinguin Books, 2008, p. 213.

¹⁹⁹ 1000 ani – Momente de referință din istoria universală [*1000 Years - Reference Moments in World History*], translated: Claudiu Crețu, Olivia Negrea, Oradea, Editura Aquila, 2008, p. 186.

²⁰⁰ Jiří Louda, Michael Maclagan, *Lines of Succession. Heraldry of the Royal families of Europe*, London, 1991, p. 225–227.

multicultural, multi-ethnic, divers-confessional – misses the chance of German unification in favor of Prussia²⁰¹. In a book from 2015, titled *The Habsburg Dynasty Saga: From the Holy Empire to the European Union*²⁰², a book published by the writer and journalist Jean des Cars (Jean Marie de Pérusse des Cars), we come across the following remark: *if there is a dynasty that embraces Europe, that is the House of Habsburg. The author refers to the prodigious destiny of the Habsburgs [who] begins in a minor key in the 11th century in a fortress located in the Swiss canton of Aargau, catches wings in 1273, with the unexpected choice of Count Rudolf of Habsburg as Emperor of the Holy German Empire, and ends his monarchic epic in Schönbrunn on November 11, 1918, when Charles IV [official: Charles I of Austria] signs the act of abdication*²⁰³.

The policy of dynastic matrimonial strategies made the Habsburg House not only a dynasty - Imperial in the Holy Empire and royal in Spain with its Latin American colonies - but also one of the great powers of those glorious centuries of this dynasty. Just a few examples: Emperor Leopold II of Habsburg (1790-1792), Maria Theresia's son and Joseph II's brother married Maria Luiza, the daughter of Charles III of Borbon (the Spanish branch of the Dynasty of Bourbon), king of Naples and Sicily (1735-1759), then king of Spain (1759-1788). Leopold's sister, Caroline, married in 1768 to Ferdinand I of Bourbon, the king of the Two Sicilies. We remember the well-known marriage of Maria Antoinette, Maria Theresia's daughter, with King Louis XVI of France, queen executed through guillotine, in 1793, during the bloody days of the French Revolution. A generation later, after a first marriage with Carolina Augusta, the daughter of Maximilian of Bavaria from the Wittelsbach dynasty, the last emperor of the Holy Empire, Francis II of Habsburg (1792-1804) - Francis I as emperor of Austria (1804 -1835) – will bring in front of the altar Maria Theresia of Naples and Sicily, the daughter of Ferdinand I of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In the next generation, Emperor Ferdinand I (V) of Austria (1835-1848) will marry Maria Anna, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel I, king of Sardinia (1802-1821), from the Savoy dynasty²⁰⁴.

All of these dynastic strategies have had a number of consequences, including the sources of exchanges or gastronomic loans at the level of the elites, in other words, in the universe of *fine cuisine*. In a recent text it is stated that through carefully *thought-out intermarriages and wars, the Habsburgs have ruled [in fact, influenced] territories far from their realm, such as the current Ukraine [...]*²⁰⁵. If we

²⁰¹ Constantin Ittu, *Dynastic Loyalty and South-Transylvanian Local Identity in the Danubian Monarchy through a Monument dedicated to Maria Theresia in Vienna* at the National Congress of Romanian Historians, Cluj-Napoca, 25–28 August 2016

<http://cnir.conference.ubbcluj.ro/sectiuni-cnir/supusii-impairatului-popoarele-din-monarhia-dunareana-intre-loialitate-dinastica-si-identitate-nationala-secolele-xviii-xx/>

²⁰² Jean des Cars, *Saga dinastiei de Habsburg. De la Sfântul Imperiu la Uniunea Europeană [The Habsburg Dynasty Saga: From the Holy Empire to the European Union]*, București, Editura Trei, 2015.

²⁰³ *Ibidem, passim.*

²⁰⁴ Louda, Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 159–163.

²⁰⁵ David Whitley, *In the kitchen with Viennese history*, in "Travel", 22 January 2013 (<http://www.bbc.com/travel/story/20130117-in-the-kitchen-with-viennese-history>)

take into account that the history of medieval Poland also includes the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Union (1569-1764), a union that played a leading role in the region, then we can admit that the territory of the present Ukraine was influenced by the Habsburgs, not directly, but through the dynastic strategies. One episode: Sigismund III, from the Swedish dynasty Vasa, was the king of Sweden (1592-1599), respectively King of Poland and Great Duke of Lithuania (1587-1632), being the son of King John III of Sweden and his first wife, Polish Katarzyna Jagello. Although Sweden was a Protestant kingdom, Sigismund kept the mother's religion, being Catholic. Sigismund's first wife was the Archduchess Ana of Austria, and the second was the sister of the defunct, Constanta of Austria²⁰⁶. In this way, we can accept the assertion that the Habsburgs have influenced territories outside their direct sovereignty.

The Ottoman invasions of Europe have also left a culinary mark, and among the examples we mention *Apfelstrudel* (an apple pie), an Austrian version of an oriental delicacy that came on the Old Continent with the Ottomanic world, a version of the *baclava*. In its turn, chocolate, which has become a symbol of luxury and refinement in the Viennese capital, arrives in Europe from Mexico, because the Habsburgs were emperors of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation but also kings of Spain, Spain *where the sun never sets*, thanks to its colonies, from the American, to the Asian, with the Philippine archipelago as a colonial landmark. Chocolate was a typical Aztec drink but tastes different from what Europeans are used to. When they drank for the first time, the Spaniards swallowed it with sugar for both gourmet and medical reasons, and over time they added cinnamon, anise, almonds or hazelnuts²⁰⁷. From the very beginning, many stores will begin selling this Central American product, and the *Xocolatl Manufaktur* (or *Xocolat Manufaktur*) in the first district of today's Vienna - in other words, from the center - produced sporadically, or only three or four hours over a full year, the purpose being to familiarize those interested in the secrets of product preparation²⁰⁸. Nowadays, *Xocolat Manufaktur* specialists present in the workshops with up to twelve people the most modern and at the same time the most refined chocolate preparation methods, the techniques of obtaining a whole fan of desserts, those present being treated at the same time with the products of the house²⁰⁹.

²⁰⁶ Constantin Ittu, *heraldic vie și rolul ei social* [Living heraldry and its Social Role], Sibiu, Techno Media, 2008, p. 199–202.

²⁰⁷ Ken Albala, *Food: a Cultural Culinary History*, Chantilly, Virginia, 2013, p. 126.

²⁰⁸ Whitley, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

²⁰⁹ <https://www.wien.info/en/sightseeing/tours-guides/xocolat-manufaktur-workshop>

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But the period of dynastic matrimonial strategies mentioned by us in the ranks above is witnessing the emergence of a new element in the European gastronomic landscape - *the restaurant*. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, there is not a specific place where the person concerned - the potential customer, in other words - to come, to choose a place at a certain table, to opt for a particular menu, made up of many dishes, and even to orient for the price. The first to take this step in 1765 was Boulanger, the owner of the Paris *Champ d'Oiseau* Tavern in Paris, who offered all sorts of soups for "restoration" - *restauration*: from there the word *restaurant*. But the first restaurant, in the true sense of the word, appeared in London in 1782 and was Antoine Beauvilliers' *La Grande Taverne de Londres*, and here the menu contained many, but especially exotic, menus²¹⁰.

The French Revolution of 1789 resulted in the exile of many noble families, followed, not least, by their personal chefs. Instead, the revolution in question, abolishing the system of guilds - a system that strictly regulated both occupations and selective, even restrictive access to these occupations - enabled all those interested to carry out their work in their own choices, a situation on which they will also make use of chefs masters with imagination and talent. From now on, they will no longer be obliged to come exclusively to the tastes, fantasies or whims of the noble aristocracy, but will be able to direct themselves to a universe of their own. Parallel to this phenomenon, we are seeing in Europe the strengthening of the positions of the bourgeoisie, which has taken or is about to take the place of the nobility in politics and social life, a bourgeoisie full of money, always active or, in other words, always busy. It thus becomes the social class most suitable in the epoch to cultivate *the culture of the restaurant*, which comes up with inventive solutions but strict with time, place and gastronomic selections²¹¹.

When the Transylvanian Principality entered the Habsburg Empire, it already had a well-structured and well-articulated gastronomic landscape, and as an argument, we remember that the first known cookbook dates back to the 16th century.

²¹⁰ Whitley, *op. cit.*, p. 199–200.

²¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 200.

The Gastronomic Literature in Transylvania of the 16th and 17th centuries

In Transylvania, the Princely Court was formed with the appearance of the Principality. Even though Alba Iulia was the official residence since 1542, the prince did not live there permanently. It has long endured the medieval custom that he, along with his entourage, has to travel, spending a longer or shorter period in the main cities of Transylvania, not only at the meetings of the Diet. From a gastronomic point of view, these trips facilitated the knowledge and spread of the princely cuisine among the urban elites.

Already in the time of the Báthory family, the princely court had strong Italian features, and under Gabriel Bethlen (1580-1629; who reigned between 1613-1629) its international character became more pronounced. His wife, Katharina von Brandenburg (1604-1649), who for a short time (16 November 1629-28 September 1630) was the Princess of Transylvania, introduced German cuisine to the Transylvanian Court, and at the same time put the price on etiquette. An important place to practice fine cuisine was the fortress and the Fagaras domain, the domain of the wives of the Transylvanian rulers, a place of interference between the Center and Eastern Europe, where ambassadors and other important personalities were received. This is where Ana Nádásdy (wife of Stephen Mailat), Maria Christierna (wife of Sigismund Bathory), *Doamna Stanca* (wife of Michael the Brave), Katharina von Brandenburg (wife of Gabriel Bethlen), Szuszanna Lórántffy (wife of George Rákóczi) and Anna Bornemisza (wife of Michael Apafi I), leading most of them, the city and the fief with skill and dedication²¹².

The first (known) cookbook of Transylvania, *Chef's Science*, was written in the middle of the sixteenth century in Hungarian by the Chef of the Prince of Transylvania²¹³. The work has been preserved in two manuscripts, both with gaps, written and published in 1893 by Hungarian historian Béla Radvánsky²¹⁴. He also included festive menus from 1603 from a Princely Castle in Transylvania. The specialized literature on these manuscripts is vast, and their interest persisted from the end of the nineteenth century to the present day²¹⁵. The name of the cook's book

²¹² Judit Grapă, *Mesele princiare în Transilvania în secolele XVI și XVII*, [Princely meals in Transylvania in the 16th and 17th centuries], in "Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis" VI, 2017, p. 138–156, at p. 138–139.

²¹³ Referring to *Cook's Science*, I summarize the article by Lukács József, *Începuturile literaturii gastronomice în Transilvania* [The Beginnings of Gourmet Literature in Transylvania], in "Apostrof", XXIV, 2 (273), 2013, p. 15–19, at p. 15–17.

²¹⁴ Béla Radvánsky, *Régi magyar szakácskönyvek* [Old Hungarian cooking books], Budapest, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1893.

²¹⁵ *The Prince of Transylvania's court cookbook from the 16th century. The Science of cooking* (Translated Bence Kovacs; Editor Gwyn Chwith ap Llyr, © Glenn F. Gorsuch). <http://www.medievalcooking.com/etexts/transylvania-v104.pdf>

is not known because the cover of both manuscripts has been lost, but it appears from the text that he was the chief chef of one of the following princes of Transylvania: John Sigismund Zápolya (1540-1571, king of Hungary and the prince of Transylvania in 1570), Stephen Báthory (1533-1586, prince of Transylvania between 1571-1575, then king of Poland), Christophor Báthory (1530-1581, the prince of Transylvania between 1575 and 1581) or Sigismund Báthory (1572 - 73-1613; chosen in 1581, and ruling prince since 1588).

From some of the remarks and advice given by the chef, we realize that he was an elderly man at the end of his career, who wanted to convey to young generations his vast professional experience. He taught crafts from Mihály and Antal, the first being the former chef of George Bebek, one of the most important Hungarian aristocrats after the Battle of Mohács (1526), who died in 1567. Like the great chefs of the time, the author traveled long enough to become a master, being employed in several foreign courts in Central Europe. When describing how to decorate a deer, he says he saw this at the court of Kristof Ungnad, captain of Eger and a ban of Croatia (between 1578 and 1593). He also discusses recipes and events from the Emperor Rudolf II's (1552-1612) Court in Prague, which he appears to have personally known. He also had knowledge of Polish cuisine, and was also familiar with the culinary particularities of the Romanian elites in Moldova and Wallachia. Interestingly, it is also reported that at a royal wedding, after having finished their chores, forty or fifty *elders and honest chefs* were sitting at a table and discussing issues related to their job, a true exchange of experience *avant la lettre*.

As for the ethnic identity of the author, this is a Hungarian from Transylvania, a fact often mentioned in the pages of the cookbook. Explaining some recipes, it shows that *we, Hungarians*, are preparing dishes in a certain way, unlike Saxons or our *brothers Szeklers*, whose culinary habits are different from ours. The book contains about seven hundred and thirty recipes of sophisticated dishes and not only: two hundred and sixty-six dishes for the preparation of fourteen kinds of meat, the most beloved one being the beef, two hundred and ten recipes for the preparation of twenty-eight kinds of fish (native and imported), seventeen recipes for the preparation of crabs, oysters and snails, thirteen for the preparation of eggs, fourteen for the preparation of salads, twenty-seven for the preparation of mushrooms, twenty-seven for cooked dishes, twenty-one recipes for sauces, ninety-four for preparation of pastry and cakes. The vegetables used were parsley, carrot, parsnip, white, red and curly cabbage, peas, onion, sorrel, artichoke, asparagus, capers, hops, chicory, horseradish. Salt, vinegar, wine, honey, nuts, hazelnuts, parsley leaves, onion and, according to the weather, various spices such as pepper, ginger, nutmeg, cinnamon, cloves, etc., were used to season the dishes, the latter being used even in excess. By addressing professionals, the author does not indicate the quantities of ingredients or the step-by-step method, as is the case with modern cookbooks, but stops only on important cooking preparations. In recent years, recipes from *the Cookbook of the Chef of the Prince of Transylvania* have raised the interest of historians, gastronomy specialists, new senses, and tastes and flavors of the past,

which have materialized in festivals and gastronomic events, where some of them were brought back to life²¹⁶.

Anna Bornemisza (1630-1688), the wife of Prince Michael Apafi I (1632-1690), was the master of Fagaras Fortress from 1663 until 1688. She was a cultured woman with a library which, according to the inventory of the Apafi family in 1671-1676, it contained a hundred and four books kept in its library in Iernut. Among other things, the princiar library also housed a cookbook, as well as two *lictari* (jam, jelly) cooking books. These copies were not preserved, but they were supposed to have been the basis of the additions made by the editor Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis to the manuscript, after which, in 1695, he printed in Cluj The *Book of Cook's craft*, the first printed book of dishes from Transylvania, whose interesting history will be presented below²¹⁷.

Perhaps the Princess wished to raise the gourmet science of the Principality and organize events in which it was involved in the highest European standards, urging János Keszei to translate Max Rumpolt's *Ein new Kochbuch*, which appeared in 1581 in Frankfurt am Main, in the publishing house of Johann Feyerabend²¹⁸. Keszei made the translation into Hungarian between February and September 1680, the result of his work being known as *the Cookbook of Princess Anna Bornemisza*²¹⁹.

Marx Rumpolt was the chef of the prince of Mainz, Daniel Brendel von Homburg (1523-1582), and his work *Ein new Kochbuch* is the first manual for the training of professional chefs. Prior to arriving at the Electoral Court, Rumpolt worked for several princes, gaining experience and knowing the kitchens of Bohemia and Hungary. One year before the death of his employer, the master chef, at the request of several nobles, wrote his renowned cookbook containing two thousand recipes and was endowed with a hundred and fifty woodprints made by the Swiss-German artist Jost Amman (1539-1591). The book is a real jewel which only the very wealthy could afford. Designated exclusively for the nobles, *Ein new Kochbuch* offers advice on the organization of banquets involving the Emperor, the princes, the banquets of the nobility and of the city patricians. It also lists the duties of the dignitaries in such events, then provides advice on the supply of nobiliar courts and proposes menus of up to thirty sorts, prepared with expensive ingredients. The paper also contains tips on preparing and serving wines, beer, vinegar and other beverages. Written in the Catholic environment, the book is divided into menus for fasting days and days when meat consumption was allowed. Today's reader will be amazed at how many wild

²¹⁶ Ars Culinaria (Beatrice Ciută, Cătălin Anghel (coord.), Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2017; The Project *Bucătăria de la curtea princiară a Transilvaniei în secolul al XVI-lea* [The Kitchen from the Princely Court of Transylvania in the 16th Century], run at the Brukenthal National Museum in May-August 2018.

²¹⁷ Lukács József, *Începuturile literaturii gastronomice în Transilvania* [The beginnings of the gastronomic literature of Transylvania], in "Apostrof", XXIV, 2 (273), 2013, p. 15– 19, p. 19.

²¹⁸ <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/2-3-oec-2f/start.htm>

²¹⁹ Judit Grapă, ... *prima dată să căutam hrană pentru suflet și numai după aceea Dumnezeu ne dă și trupului sau despre bucătăria medievală a cetății Făgăraș* [... the first time to look for food for the soul, and only then God gives to our body or the medieval cuisine of Fagaras], in *Fragmente de istorie. Cetatea Făgăraș*, Muzeul Țării Făgărașului „Valer Literat”, Făgăraș 2017, p. 45–51, at p. 49–50.

animals and birds were hunted and consumed as delicacies - the beach stretches from what is consumed today (roebuck, deer, shrimp, droppings, pheasants) to beaver, squirrel, hedgehog, small birds, egrets, swans, cranes, peacocks, etc. Accessible online in digital format, those interested can be convinced of the high aesthetic quality of the work, and thanks to the University of Giessen project entitled *Monumenta Culinaria et Dialectica Historica. Corpus of culinary and dietetic texts of Europe from the Middle Ages to 1800. Corpus älterer deutscher Kochbücher und Ernährungslehren* the full text of it is also accessible online²²⁰.

Princess Anna Bornemisza's cookbook was published in 1983 at the Kriterion publishing house²²¹. Because I did not have access to it, I can not say whether it is the full text of Max Rumpolt's cookbook, translated by János Keszei, or just an adaptation, as was often the case in the years of Communism. *The rediscovery of the cookbook written at the demand of Princess Anna Bornemisza* [...] was the key element for organizing in 2017 a festival [in Fagaras] - *The Days of Medieval Kitchen* [...], which in the years to come will become a permanent one [...]"²²².

The first printed cookbook from Transylvania appeared in Cluj in 1695 and bears the title of *The small book of the cook craft*²²³. Using a modern term, we can say that it was a real *bestseller* that influenced the gastronomic landscape of Transylvania and beyond. The book was reprinted in Cluj in 1698, 1745, 1755, 1771, 1773, in Trnava in 1714, 1730, 1742, 1763, 1793, and in Kosice in 1763, 1771, 1774.

The book was written and printed by renowned printing master and letter writer Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis. Born in 1650 in Tăuții Magheruş, in Maramureş, he studied at Baia Mare and at the Reformed College in Aiud. In 1680, he went to Amsterdam, where he was trained as a printer and letters engraver. He etched letters not only of the Latin alphabet, but of the Hebrew, Greek and Georgian alphabet. The printing house of the University of Oxford was endowed with letters engraved by the Master from Transylvania, and Cosimo III of Medici, great prince of Tuscany, ordered the set of letters for the printing house in Florence. The masterpiece of Misztótfalusi Kis was the printing in 1685 of three thousand five hundred copies of the Bible in Hungarian. In 1689 he returned to Transylvania, settling in Cluj, where he took over the printing house of the Reformed Church (Calvine), printing until 1693 about one hundred volumes. He died in 1702 in Cluj.

In 1695 he edited and printed *The small book of the cook craft*, a work with a long and descriptive title, as it used to be in the Baroque era. The book is divided into two main chapters, *Meat-Day Meals* and *Fasting-Dishes*, a strange thing, considering that at the end of the seventeenth century, most of the inhabitants of Cluj were Protestants, to be more precise, Unitarian, Calvinists or Lutherans. As early as 1530, in *Confessio Augustana*, the Protestants tainted their opinion about the fasting, in the sense that they did not reject it, but argued that body discipline must always be

²²⁰ <http://www.staff.uni-giessen.de/gloning/kobu.htm>

²²¹ Lakó Elemér, *Bornemisza Anna szakácskönyve 1680-ból*, Bucureşti, Kriterion 1983.

²²² Judit Grapă, ... *prima dată*, p. 51.

²²³ Referring to *The small book of the cook craft*, I summarize the article of Lukács József, *op. cit.*, p. 15– 19, at p. 18–19.

done, not only on certain days. The division of the book into the two chapters leads to the conclusion that it was written in the Catholic environment despite the fact that it was suggested that it would be the work of a lady from Targu Mures, Zsófia Dobos, the sister of Transylvanian Calvin bishop Mihály Tofeus. Researchers in the field question the fact that the lady would have ever written a cookbook.

Researcher András Varga studied a manuscript kept in the collections of the ELTE University in Budapest (E 73), representing a text copied in 1693 in Cluj, a copy made after a cookbook written at the Franciscan monastery of Șumuleu Ciuc. The manuscript investigated by András Varga is almost identical to the book printed by Misztótfalusi Kis²²⁴. The cookbook was probably written in the last quarter of the seventeenth century by a person from the convent who knew the cook's job well, hoping it would be printed at the monastery's printing house, which did not happen. A copy of the manuscript arrived in Cluj, where it was copied in 1693, noting, however, that it originated in the Ciuc Clastrum.

On the cover page of *The small book of the cook craft*, printed in 1695 by Misztótfalusi Kis, he states that it is an added volume, a statement supported by the fact that, along with the prescriptions contained in the E 73 manuscript, he took twenty-nine recipes of preparations and forty of prescriptions from other sources. Most likely, these sources were the cookbook and the two books of *lictaries*, recorded in the Apafi family inventories of 1671-1676.

Unlike the previous two cookbooks written for the Princely Courts, *The small book of the cook craft* was printed to help ordinary people, guiding them how to cook two or three tasty dishes. For certain preparations, the author offers several variants, some more elaborate and more expensive, with reference to the Princes Courts, and some simpler and cheaper. If there are Italian, German, French, Polish, Czech dishes in *the Cookbook of the Principal Chef of the Prince of Transylvania*, written almost a century earlier, in *The small book of the cook craft*, there are relatively few takeovers from the international cuisine. The three books presented in this chapter are not only interesting but also important sources for studying the evolution of Transylvanian cuisine in time, a kitchen of Central European extraction, which has taken over and adapted recipes from many other regions.

Food at the celebrations of the commanding generals in the Records of the Magistrate of the City of Sibiu during the reign of Emperor Charles VI

Since the beginning of the 16th century, Transylvania was at the border between two great empires: Ottoman and Habsburg, whose conflicts and power oscillations reflected on the status and situation in the province. *Diploma*

²²⁴ Varga András, *A Tótfalusi-szakácskönyv forrása* ['The sources of Tótfalusi's cookbook'], in „Magyar Könyvszemle”, 124 (2008), no. 3, p. 312–318.

Leopoldinum of 1691 was the act by which the Transylvanian Principality was directly subordinated to the Vienna Court following the military and political successes against the Ottoman Empire.

The *Diploma Leopoldinum* had the status of a constitution for Transylvania for a century and a half. By this act, the dignity of the governor was also established, being the emperor's deputy, the chief executive, the one managing the province. The Governor was chosen by the Diet and confirmed by the emperor, but more often he was named by the emperor among the candidates proposed by the Diet. In most cases, the governors were Catholic personalities from outside the province, but there were exceptions such as Baron Samuel von Brukenthal (1721-1803, governor between 1777 and 1787), who was not only a Transylvanian Saxon, but also Lutheran.

Count George Bánffy II (1746-1822, governor between 1787-1822), the follower of Brukenthal, and Imre Mikó (1805-1876, governor in 1849 and 1860-1861) were also Transylvanian. Along with the governor of the province, the commander-general of the imperial troops, who sometimes also served as governor, was a very important figure. The governor's residence was originally in Alba Iulia, then in Sibiu and from 1790 until 1848 in Cluj. The Governor administered Transylvania together with the Gubernium, at the direction and under the supervision of the Vienna Court and the Aulic Chancellery of Transylvania. In 1867, the governor's job was abolished.

With the Austrian administration, numerous high ranked military from illustrious families came to Transylvania, bringing with them the manners and culinary customs of Central and Western Europe, enriching and completing the local dowry. The records of the Magistrate of the City of Sibiu during the reign of Emperor Charles VI (1685-1740; emperor between 1711 and 1740) are important historical sources for illustrating the luxurious and refined way of life practiced by commander-generals and their entourage, refinement that had its price.

The first gastronomic mention in the Magistrate's records refers to General Commander Stefan von Steinvile, who commanded the imperial troops in Transylvania between 1710 and 1720. As a bracket, let us remember that on November 4, 1715, the commander general, along with Governor Sigismund Kornis (1677-1731, governor of Transylvania between 1713-1731) and the architect Giovanni Morandi Visconti, would set the foundation stone of the Vauban fortress from Alba Iulia²²⁵. Besides, Visconti was not only the designer of the named citadel, but in 1699 he designed the first (known) plan of the city of Sibiu.

Even in times when he was not in the city, the Magistrate of Sibiu served the general commander with various culinary extravagances or came to meet them. Thus, on June 23, 1713, it is recorded the sending of 17 pieces of artichokes to Alba

²²⁵ <https://vizitezaalbaiulia.ro/iata-istoria-cetatii-alba-carolina-si-cum-a-fost-renovata-aceasta/>

Iulia²²⁶. We do not know if, at that time, the vegetable, the expression of the distinction and the richness of those who consumed it, was cultivated in the Transylvanian principality. Later, at the end of the eighteenth century, we find it in the garden (or in the orangery) of Avrig's property of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal²²⁷. In the same period, more precisely in 1781, a Hungarian author, Zaharias Huszty, attested the cultivation of the artichokes (*Cynara scolymus*) and *Cynara humilis*, a thistle species used in the preparation of cheese, on the territory of Hungary²²⁸.

Around a decade away from the artichoke episode in 1723, Count Lothar Joseph von Königsegg (1673 Vienna-1751 Vienna) was raised to the rank of Field Marshal and General Commander of Transylvania, a post he held until 1726. In the list of city accounts for the period September 30 - October 13, is the purchase of large quantities of food for the marshal and his entourage, in a variety and impressive quality. Besides pork, beef and lamb, geese, clapons, turkeys, calves, young pigeons, wild pigeons were served also, wild ducks, trout, smoked tongue, ham, kidney, marrow. Meat products were seasoned with different vegetables such as artichokes, asparagus, capers, cauliflower, green peas, mushrooms, radishes, cucumbers, onions, garlic, parsley, spinach, celery, chicory, cress, ginger, asy mouth, andive. The list of spices is also long and refined - saffron, macis (nutmeg or musk), nutmeg, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, ginger, bay leaves, coriander, rosemary, - the fact shows us that in Sibiu the ingredients necessary to implement the *haute cuisine* principles were well known. In the same list we also find cane sugar, used to prepare desserts, along with lemons, raisins, almonds, figs, dates, pistachios, edible chestnuts, chocolate. Coffee, black tea, fruit syrups, candied and fresh fruit have completed the list of spending during the reference period²²⁹.

After the death of Count Karl Tige, commander of Transylvania between 1726 and 1729, on October 1, 1729, Count Franz Anton Wallis (1678-1737) was appointed to the same position. On this occasion, the Magistrate of Sibiu organized a welcome banquet in honor of the Count and his wife. Unfortunately, as in previous cases, there were no records of the banquet and menus served, but only the food and expense lists. However, compared to those consumed in 1723 on the occasion of Lothar Joseph von Königsegg and his entourage, the list of food purchased for the banquet in Wallis' honor is much more modest and includes: a wild boar, lamb, sardines, trout, frogs, snails, various birds, spices, one hundred and eighty-two lemons,

²²⁶ Artichoke (*Cynara scolymus*) is a herbaceous plant species from the composite family originating in the Mediterranean. In the mid-fifteenth century, the Florentine merchant Filippo Strozzi imported it from Sicily and then spread it to France and the United Kingdom. Until the French Revolution it was a sign of wealth and a high social status.

<https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Artischocke>

Heinrich Herbert, *Der Haushalt Hermannstadts zur Zeit Karls VI. B. Die Wirtschafts-Rechnungen*, in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge, 24. Band, 3. Heft (ed. de Vereins-Ausschuss), Franz Michaelis, Hermannstadt 1893, p. 470.

²²⁷ National Archives Sibiu County, Brukenthal Collection. CD 1-5, inv. 86, no. 53, 1784-1802.

²²⁸ Zaharias Huszty, *Versuch über den Menschen in Ungarn*, in *Ungarisches Magazin* (ed. Karl Gottlieb Windisch), Band 1, Heft 2, Pressburg 1781, p. 191.

²²⁹ Heinrich Herbert, *op. cit.*, p. 472-473.

candied fruits and other sugars, and among vegetables: beans, asparagus, white and red cabbage, green lettuce, cress, chicory, leeks, garlic²³⁰. Besides, it is difficult to compare the two events because they took place at a very different time and the number of participants is unknown.

The lists presented unquestionably demonstrate that during the eighteenth century, Transylvania was from a culinary point of view, or from the fine cuisine ingredients point of view, synchronized with Central and Western Europe.

Regulations on organizing weddings (Sibiu 1730 and 1755)

The Saxon society functioned from the beginning according to strict rules, rules that assigned to each social segment specific rights, but related to the duties. With the adoption of the Lutheran Religious Reform in the middle of the sixteenth century, the Saxons have internalized or forced themselves to internalize their ethos, placing great pride in temperance both in terms of clothing and display of luxury and abundance wedding food and baptism. Evidence that temptations persisted despite the large fines paid in case of non-compliance with regulations is that they were renewed from time to time and got tougher sanctions. Clothing regulations were established in Sibiu in 1677, 1689, 1757 (according to which the population had been divided into nine classes) and in 1760, and those on the organization of weddings in 1547, 1688, 1730 and 1755²³¹. It should be noted that towards the end of the seventeenth century and the next, respectively with the penetration and spread of the ideas of the Enlightenment and Viennese fashion in Transylvania, the tendency of disobedience to the old rules is manifested.

In the preamble *to the New Sibiu Regulation for the organization of weddings* of 22 December 1755 (*Neues Hermannstädter Hochzeit Regulament, in der Stadt Buchdruckerey, druckte Sámuel Schärđi*) there is talk of the need to issue this act, as the officers and the magistrate of the city found that over the years, of 29 December 1730, the regulations were often violated or, more precisely, almost forgotten. The ceremonies, especially the weddings, are celebrated with great fast and waste of food, which usually has to be bridged, in line with the difficult times that society is going through. The new regulation limits the number of guests to a maximum of thirty pairs, pairs that must be just close relatives of the bride (Art I). Urban society is divided into three categories, of which the first is allowed to serve invitations with ten dishes, the second with eight, and the third class is entitled to only six kinds. The latter is forbidden to treat guests with pastry (*Pasteten*) and cakes (Art III). Even the

²³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 471.

²³¹ <http://www.roland-giesel.de/hcronik.htm#8>

most important citizens, such as the *Officianten*, the councillors (*Ratsherrn*), the noblemen (*Edelleute*), and the patricians, are forbidden to serve candied confectioners (*Confect*), the only deserts being allowed are almonds in sugar, raisins, *Zuckerbrot* (a kind of cake filled with a sugar cream butter and cinnamon)²³², other bakings (*Gebäck*) and fruits. At the normal citizen's weddings (*bürgerliche Hochzeiten*), fruit, cake, *Hanklich* (henclis - Saxon desert, made from leavened dough with egg, cream and butter filling)²³³ and donuts are served as dessert. For this category is also forbidden to treat guests with coffee (Art IV).

The regulation has not only established the maximum number of guests, but also prohibited bridal parties such as bachelors (*Freund-Ausschenken*) or bachelorettes. Grooms were allowed to invite as many young people as they wanted to dance with on the first day of the wedding, young people feasting with steak and baking, while on the second day the dance was reserved for relatives (up to thirty pairs) served with beef dishes (*Rindfleisch-Speise*) and steak (Art V). The regulation also establishes the number of people called to supervise the good work of the kitchen and cellar. In the case of upper classes, both brides were entitled to two, and the lower class only to one. This provision was motivated by the fact that, under the pretext of supervising household staff, many people were invited to whom they were offered packed food, which causes more damage than if several pairs were invited (Article VI) . The new Regulation prohibits the organization of weddings on Fridays and Sundays (Art VII). In addition to their own servants, upper classes can also hire two, and the third class just one (Article VIII). It is forbidden to take silver dishes and tableware, as well as armchairs (*Sesse*), the use of which is only allowed for families possessing such objects (Art IX). The regulation also sets the number of musicians - namely, between four and six for the wealthy, and between two and three for the weddings of ordinary townspeople. All events must be finished before midnight (Article X). In the case of baptisms, the regulation prohibits the organization of festive dinners, as well as eating food, wine, sweets (*Confect*), chocolate and lemonade, as well as sending packages of food and cakes to relatives and friends. Wealthy families are allowed to serve coffee (XII).

The Commission, which is responsible for ensuring compliance with the Dress Code, is also responsible for supervising compliance with the Wedding Organizing Regulation. The committee chairman had to be notified of those who plan to organize a wedding, and he is the one who approves the request (XIII).

The new regulation of 1755 is clearer, more structured and more permissive than the one issued a quarter of century before (December 29, 1730)²³⁴. Then, the wedding was allowed only for one day (1), summer until eleven, winter until ten (13). The remaining food from the feast had to be consumed only by the family, namely the parents of the bride, brothers and sisters, and their spouses (Article 2). On Sunday when a marriage is announced, after the lithurgy, the father in-law, together with a relative, must present themselves to the chairman of the commission for

²³² <https://backen-mit-jens.blogspot.com/2016/09/zuckerbrot.html>.

²³³ <http://laancuta.blogspot.com/2012/04/hanklich.html>

²³⁴ *Herrmannstädtisches Hochzeits-Regulament*, Johann Barth, Hermannstadt, 29. Dezember 1730.

approval of the list of guests and menus to be served (Article 5). As far as the number of guests is concerned, it is limited to a maximum of twelve pairs, decreasing, according to the prestige of the bride's family, to a minimum of six. If foreign officers live in the house (until the barracks were built, the army was accommodated in the homes of the citizens), they are also allowed to participate in the wedding. In exceptional cases one or two pairs of foreigners are allowed (Article 6) and the number of dishes is limited to seven (Article 7). As in 1755, the regulation of 1730 prohibits the lending of silver dishes and tableware (Article 8). For desert, it is forbidden to all categories of citizens to eat candied fruits (*candierte Zucker confituren*), allowing upper classes to offer biscuits, raisins, almonds, and for ordinary citizens only local fruits.

It is clear from the two regulations that in the 18th-century Sibiu society weddings were celebrated with a small number of guests, a number which, even in the case of notables, could not exceed sixty persons. Upper classes enjoyed refined dishes and desserts, such as pastry and cakes, forbidden foods for ordinary townspeople. The number of dishes served was large enough to satisfy all the guests, despite the fact that those with high social prestige were allowed to offer much richer meals. Both regulations totally prohibit the treatment of guests with products with a high sugar content, namely candied fruits, proof that sugar was still an expensive food and consumed in small quantities. Desserts were usually sweetened with honey and/ or added raisins. We also remember that in 1755, in Sibiu, the consumption of coffee had already started.

A cookbook from 1749 with strong impact on the fine cuisine in Sibiu

The Brukenthal National Museum's Library keeps one of the most important Viennese cookbooks from the middle of the eighteenth century, which comes from the personal library of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal (1721-1803). It is about the book published by Viennese publishing house Leopold Johann Kaliwoda (1705-1781), *Wienerisches bewehrtes Kochbuch* (Viennese Cookbook with verified Recipes), published by Ignaz Gartler, the first edition of which dates back to 1749.

The copy kept in Sibiu is quite used, missing the cover and the title page, which is why, in the catalogs of the library, it was recorded with an unknown author. It is not known whether the book was purchased by the Baron or whether it was brought to Sibiu by one of its Viennese chefs. Fortunately, the first page of the book was preserved, showing that it appeared in 1749 at the Kaliwoda publishing house, under the privilege and high patronage of Empress Maria Theresia. These data were

sufficient to identify the author, the work being accessible online in digital format²³⁵. The large number of editions and reeditions proves that it is a famous and very popular book. In 1804, fifty-five years after the princeps edition, it saw the twenty-fifth printing edition, enriched with recipes and practical tips by Barbara Hikmann.

In view of the great wear of the book in the famous library of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal (1721-1803), we can say with certainty that in the kitchen of the palace in the Great Square, delicacies were prepared according to the recipes proposed by the author and served to the baron, his close friends and his guests. Because the recipes proposed by the Viennese author were sophisticated, but not extravagant - almost all the ingredients used in their preparation being available in Transylvania - fits well with wealthy patricians from this remote province of the Empire. We are therefore convinced that the *Wienerisches bewehrtes Kochbuch* was present not only in the Brukenthal Palace but also in numerous houses of the Sibiu and Transylvanian elite, influencing largely the fine cuisine of the German environment in Transylvania.

Today, almost two hundred and seventy years after the collection of recipes appeared, many of the preparations offered by Ignaz Gartler could satisfy the tastes of refined gourmets and others, which because of the combination of ingredients seem strange to us, would be worth trying and why not, brought back to life.

Being designed for the Catholic environment, where the dietary prescriptions for days and periods of fasting are much milder than in the Orthodox environment, the Romanian reader will probably be surprised that the fasting menus contain milk and dairy products, fish, crayfish, shells and eggs, being forbidden only the consumption of hunted meat, birds and domestic animals.

Regarding the quantities of ingredients necessary for preparation of recipes, the author sometimes fails to indicate them, probably counting on the chef's experience and skill. When the quantities are indicated, the author uses the usual *Loth* (about 17.5 g), *Vierting* (equivalent to 8 Loth and 140 g respectively) and *Pfund* (the equivalent of 4 Vierting, respectively 560 g)²³⁶. Liquids are measured with *Seitel or Seidel*, which in Vienna was equivalent to 7/20 liter (350 ml), while a *Groß-Seidel* was about 1 ½ liters²³⁷.

For today's reader of the German language, Gartler's book is a real linguistic delight because it contains a number of archaisms and Austrian words, the latter used until recently in the German spoken in Transylvania²³⁸.

Many of the recipes proposed by Ignaz Gartler - from soups to meat and desserts - were taken over in the common kitchen of the Transylvanian Saxons and can be found in Elise Fröhlich's *Die siebenbürgische Küche* (The Transylvanian Kitchen) first edition in 1897, in Sibiu. For example, at the Sibian author, the wine soup exists in two versions much simplified compared to the Viennese recipe of

²³⁵ <https://books.google.ro/books?id=rctiAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA11&lpg=PA11&dq=Maurachen+was+sind+das&source=bl&ots=OApIaTCDH&sig=LuGyo3b-nwR18-5ARt4wX-Xk97U&hl=ro&sa=X#v=onepage&q=Maurachen%20was%20sind%20das&f=true>

²³⁶ [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lot_\(Einheit\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lot_(Einheit))

²³⁷ [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seidel_\(Einheit\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seidel_(Einheit))

²³⁸ *Karfiol* instead of *Blumenkohl* (in standard German), *Paradeiser* instead of *Tomaten*, *Kren* instead of *Meerrettich*, *Fisolen* instead of *Bohnen*, *Faum* instead of *Sahne* etc.

1749²³⁹. During the presentation of the historical book, we will also highlight other important food take-overs in Transylvania.

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If we look at the contents of the cookbook that we undertake to analyze²⁴⁰, we find that it is structured on six sections (*Absätze*), the first, *Von unterschiedlichen Fasten-Suppen* (about various fasting soups), proposes thirty-two of such preparations. Vegetable soups are made from celery, cauliflower, green and dry beans, green and dry peas, and green herbs (spinach, asparagus, parsley leaves, ginger and tarragon) and many kinds of mushrooms. Along with vegetable soups, we find soups of sour-cream, egg yolk, wine, beer, but also fish, caviar and crab. The creamy consistency of the product is achieved by adding a dressing made from flour with yolk, sour cream, roux, simple or with onion, as well as by adding white bread crumbs, baghette and buns. It is worth mentioning that some soups, such as almonds or wine, are sugar-sweetened.

Almond soup



Scrape almonds according to the amount of soup you want to cook, take the middle of bun and moisten it into hot milk. Put almonds and buns into a fine sieve, pass them through the strainer, pouring hot milk over them. Grease a casserole, pour the composition into it and let it boil. Add sugar, a slice of butter and lightly salt to taste.



Wine soup

Mix a small amount of flour with cold-wine in a bowl, then add a few whole eggs, followed by twice as many yolks as eggs (whole). The composition is mixed well. In another bowl mix two measures of wine with a measure of water and boil. The hot liquid pours over the first composition, continuously blending and adding sugar to taste.

Season with mace (Muskat-Blüte)*, cinnamon and saffron, gently squeeze and add a little butter. It is served with croutons.

* The nutmeg is the big seed like a round nut, of a native American shrub (*Myristica fragrans*) used as a spice. One of the nuts' shells, as a red-orange fiber mesh, dried and pressed whole or ground, is used as a spice even more refined than the nut. It is marketed as (fr.) *macis*, also called nutmeg or muscat flower (fr. *fleur de muscade*; germ. *Muskatblüte*) see <http://www.biaplant.ro/articole/nucsoara-condiment-exotic-si-medicament.html> accessed May 15, 2018.

²³⁹ Elise Fröhlich, *Die siebenbürgische Küche*, Hermannstadt, Wien und Leipzig, ed G. A Seraphin, the 6th edition, 1911, p. 18 and 302 (*Brocke mit Wein und Rosinen und Weinsuppe*)

²⁴⁰ I didn't use the book from the Brukenthal library, but the digital version, accessible online, from The National Library of Austria/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, 303.400 A) *Bewehrtes Koch-Buch. In sechs Absätze vertheilet. In welchem zu finden: wie man verschiedene Speisen von allerhand Wild-Prät, Fleisch, Geflügelwerk, Fisch und Garten-Gewächsen, wie auch Torten, Pasteten und anderes Gebackenes niedlich zurichten könne. Wegen guter und sicher gestellten Eintheilung dient jedermann, besonders der in der Kocherey sich übenden Jugend.* Verbesserte sechste Auflage.

The ingredients of Ignaz Gartler are missing at least three vegetables found frequently in our regular dishes, namely potato (*Solanum tuberosum*), tomato (*Solanum lycopersicum*) and pepper (*Capsicum*). Although at the time of the book's appearance the *potato* had come to Europe for some time, where due to its interesting white and purple flowers it was regarded as a decorative plant, its cultivation as food began only in 1684 in Lancashire, in 1716 in Saxony, in 1728 Scotland in 1738 in Prussia and in 1783 in France²⁴¹. One of the oldest recipes that uses potato as food is found in the book of Honorius Philoponus (the pseudonym of the abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Seitenstetten, Kaspar Plautz) *Nova typis transacta navigatio*, printed in Linz in 1621. The work relates to the activity of the missionary of the Benedictine monk Bernardo Buil, who accompanied Christopher Columbus on his second trip to the island of Hispaniola (Haiti). The monk describes the plants, animals, and habits of the people in those places, inserting in his book both the image of the potato plant and the recipe for the preparation of salad from its tubers: : *Salatam ex his sic conficies. Sume has Bacaras sive Papas mundas mallefactas in rotulas scinde, adde oleum, acetum, piper, sal, vel saccharum et gusta*, which text, in English would sound as follows: Boiled potatoes are peeled, cut off the broths, add oil, vinegar, pepper, salt or sugar to taste²⁴².

If, in Gartler's kitchen, the potato did not find its place, Jacob Melin's cookbook, published in 1791 in Graz, is present in three recipes, of which two desserts - a soup and a pudding - and as garniture for a beef steak in vegetable sauce²⁴³.

The tomato, related to potato and also brought from the New World, has been known in Europe since the mid-sixteenth century when it was grown as an ornamental plant. The resemblance of its fruit with apple made it appear in the literature of those times under names such as *mala peruviana*, *pomi del Peru*, *poma aurea*, *pomme d'Amour*, *pomum amoris* sau *poma amoris fructo luteo* - names that indicate the aphrodisiac qualities that were assigned. The popular vegetable has made it quite difficult for us to go to our kitchens, proof that in 1873 at the *Universal Exhibition in Vienna* it was still presented as a culinary curiosity. But soon after the world event, we find it in the cookbooks (ordinary ones), being used for the preparation of sauces, soups and salads²⁴⁴. The affirmations for Central Europe appear to have been contradicted by Christ Ionin's *Romanian Kitchen Cookbook*, published in Bucharest in 1865, at the end of which there is a recipe of *stuffed tomato*²⁴⁵.

²⁴¹ <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kartoffel>

²⁴² <http://www.ubs.sbg.ac.at/sosa/bdm/bdm0712.htm> (Das Buch des Monats der Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg, Juli 2012: Caspar Plautz, *Nova typis Transacta Navigatio. Novi Orbis Indiae Occidentalis*. Linz, 1621).

²⁴³ J. M. [Jacob Melin], *Gräzerisches durch Erfahrung geprüfetes Kochbuch eingerichtet für alle Stände*, 2. unveränderte Auflage, Verlag Andreas Kienreich, Grätz, 1791, p. 70-71 (Eine Erdäpfelspeise); p. 98 (Erdäpfelwandel); p. 169-170 (Erdäpfel-Rindfleisch). https://books.google.ro/books?id=3FiqjgEACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=ro&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 309.632-B).

²⁴⁴ <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tomate>.

²⁴⁵ Ionin, Christ, *Bucătăria românească* [Romanian kitchen]. 1865, editor Simona Lazăr, București, Editura GastroArt, 2018, p. 62 (stuffed tomatoes).

The pepper is also part of the *Solanaceae* family and is native to Central and South America. Taken to Europe by Christopher Columbus, it was used from the beginning as a spice, partially replacing the pepper, also proven by the name *peperoni* or *Cayenne pepper*²⁴⁶. From the Iberian Peninsula, peppers arrived in Africa and Asia, and then reached the Balkan Peninsula under Ottoman rule, and from there to Central Europe, which explains the name of *Turkish pepper* used by some authors. Although in the mid-eighteenth century the pepper was not an unknown plant, Ignaz Gartler did not use it in its recipes. At the end of the eighteenth century, more precisely between 1794 and 1796, the German naturalist Count Johann Centurius von Hoffmannsegg (1766 Dresden-1849 Dresden)²⁴⁷ traveled for scientific purposes in Hungary, where he wrote to his sister about society, places, customs, as well as about unknown foods. Thus, exploring in 1794 Brangavar/ Baranyavar, near the town of Pécs, nowadays Branjin in Croatia, tells her that he tasted for the first time *Turkish pepper*, that is, hot pepper with which the stuffing, minced meat in cabbage rolls were prepared. The condiment seemed extremely hot but appropriate in those unhealthy places to prevent fever illness²⁴⁸.

After the breakthrough in the world of acclimated plants in Europe after the discovery of the American continent, let us go back to *Wienerisches bewehrtes Kochbuch*.

The second section of the recipes, entitled *Von unterschiedlichen Mehl-Speisen* (About various pastries), contains sixty-two recipes (No. 33 to 95) whose main ingredient is white flour. These are pasta, as well as other specialties made from the same basic ingredient. In the first category, we mention macaroni, noodles and spaghetti, and the second one a wide variety of *strudels* – prepared with cream cheese, cream, almonds, herbs or crabs - and *soufflés*. The dumplings occupied and occupy a significant place in the Viennese cuisine, being prepared with semolina, breadcrumbs, fish, almonds, apples, and asparagus.

To the reader's surprise, this section ends with two stuffed egg recipes – the first one is the simplest, the second more complicated - preparations that have nothing to do with the category of *flour* in which they were included.



Almond dumplings

Stir mixed small cut almonds, buns dipped in milk, freshly rubbed sparkling butter, 3-4 whole eggs, sugar to taste, sour cream, salt. Dumplings are shaped and fried until a golden shell is obtained. Can serve with a sweet sauce.

²⁴⁶ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paprika>

²⁴⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Centurius_Hoffmannsegg

²⁴⁸ Erika Pernitz, *Reisen im Königreich Ungarn im 18. Jahrhundert* (Dissertation, Universität Wien, Betreuerin Prof. Dr. Andrea Seidler), Wien 2008, p. 52.



Asparagus dumplings

Scald the asparagus and cut it small. Beat the sparkling butter and mix it with a few eggs, add moistened bread crumbs and the middle of a bun dipped in milk. Season well and add asparagus and sour cream. From the composition obtained, form dumplings and boil them in salted water.



Buns pudding

Rub 1/2 Pfund (about 280 g) of sugar with 8 whole eggs and 8 yolks three quarters of an hour. Add 8 Loth (140 g) of finely ground breadcrumbs, lemon zest, 3 Loth (52.5 g) of finely chopped pistachios and mix thoroughly. Pour the composition into a greased tray and bake at the right fire.



Stuffed eggs

Boil hard eggs, shell them off and cut them in two. Remove the yolks and chop them small. The fresh butter rub as foam, mix with yolks, add sour cream, seasoning, salt, add parsley leaves and raisins if you want. Fill the whites with the composition and place them in a greased bowl. Pour melted butter over eggs and sprinkle with breadcrumbs, add sour cream and sweet cream. Put them in the oven to bake.

The third section of the cookbook is entitled *Von unterschiedlichen Fischen, solche zuzubereiten*, in free translation: "About the way of preparing the various types of fish" and contains seventy recipes (No. 96 to 166). The large number of preparations in this category proves that, in the past centuries, the fish was more present in daily nutrition than today. Besides, the still unpolluted waters were rich in fish, and the variety of species was great. As a food allowed during days and fasting times, the fish could be consumed without restrictions. From the treasure of these recipes, we read the following:



Luce with horseradish and sardines

Clean the luce and boil it. Mix the shredded horseradish with finely chopped almonds, sardines, a little garlic, salt and sour cream. Add zest and juice of a lemon, poppy, fresh butter and a little pea bouillon (from dried grain) to give it the desired consistency. Pour the composition over the luce and serve.



Luce in almond sauce with horseradish

Clean the luce, cut it into pieces, boil or fry the fish. Make the sauce in the following way: the almonds crushed and the buns dipped in hot milk are passed through a fine strainer, add sugar, rose water, butter and chopped horseradish. The sauce is served by the fish.



Sturgeon in sweet soup

Boil the sturgeon, from the pea bouillon (dried grains), prepare a good soup, adding roux with onion, wine, vinegar, lemon zest, raisins and crushed almonds, season with cloves and add sugar to taste. Pour the soup over the sturgeon and serve it.

It should be noted that almonds are a basic ingredient in Viennese cuisine of two hundred and seventy years ago, used in all categories of preparations, from soups to fish, game to pastry and baking. We also highlight the fact that some peas soup is used as a basis to make sauces consistent. Among the spices, cinnamon, cloves and nutmeg are in the first places, added in almost all dishes, whether sweet or salty, soups, meals or desserts.

If, in the first three sections, the author proposed preparations according to the canons of the Catholic cult, the fourth, entitled *Von unterschiedlichen Fleisch-Speisen*, is devoted to various dishes made of meat and contains a hundred and twelve recipes (No. 167-279). The meat-based recipe is the hunted one - from quails, pork, wild pigeons, ducks and wild geese, to deer and bock (lack of wild boar recipes) - as well as birds and domestic animals: clapon²⁴⁹, chicken, pigeon, turkey, duck, goose, calf, beef and pig. In fact, like all publishers, Gartler offers very few recipes of pork. Most recipes in this section deserve to be reproduced, but as this is not possible, I chose only a few, which seemed to me interesting and representative.



Snipe soup

Get beautiful ones, take out their intestines, chop them small, fry them in butter, bread and cream. Take slices of bread and roll them in sour cream. Brush them with the mixture of roasted intestines and place them in a tray and bake them. Stir and cut them. Prepare a good beef broth* and boil in it two fried buns, then pass the liquid through a sieve. Add the meat in soup and serve with toasted bread

slices. * The beef broth is obtained by boiling the beef and bone together with the vegetables, after which the liquid is squeezed and used in sauces and soups.

The recipe of snipe (*Scolopax rusticola*, lat.) soup contains in its first part the famous *Schnepfendreck*, in French *pain de bécasse*, a paste in the preparation of

²⁴⁹ Clapon is a castrated and fattened cock in order to get a light and very tender meat. In the past, the clapons were indispensable on the tables of the wealthy.

which is used, together with other ingredients, part of the bird's intestine together with its entire contents. The paste was coated on bread slices, which were then fried in the oven. Together with elaborate filled pastry, *Schnepfendreck* was considered a delicacy of great refinement, consumed only by those with wealth. From this, the proverbs *Schnepfendreck und Pasteten sind dem Bauer nicht vonnöten* ('The snipe and the pastry are not to the peasant's taste') were born in the German linguistic space, or *Was teuer ist, geht weg, wär es auch nur Schnepfendreck*²⁵⁰ (what is expensive passes quickly, even if it's just a snipe shit). The Romanian authors Christ Ionnin and Zotti Hodos have taken over in their cookbooks recipes for cooking snipe²⁵¹; in the interwar period, the preparation was still appreciated by refined gourmets. In Sanda Marin's cookbook, published in the first edition in 1936, the preparation is under the name of *Sitar Intestines*²⁵². Today, the preparation is almost forgotten, being part of the history of gastronomy.



Calf schnitzel in lemon juice

From the back leg of the calf cut thin slices, salt them and add on them little bacon, roll them in breadcrumbs and flour and fry them until they get brown. Put on a tray some butter, put the schnitzels in the tray, squeeze the lemon juice on top, cut lemon zest and sprinkle it over the slices, add sardines and sour cream, season with nutmeg, leave to boil several times, then serve.

The recipe is interesting because in its first part it describes the preparation of the famous Viennese Schnitzel (*Wiener Schnitzel vom Kalbfleisch*), a name that can be found for the first time in 1831 only, in the cookbook of Maria Neudecker *Allerneuestes allgemeines Kochbuch*²⁵³. The difference between the recipe proposed by Gartler and the subsequent recipes of Viennese schnitzel is that in the eighteenth century, the flesh was coated only in breadcrumbs and flour, not in a beaten egg. The legend says that the Viennese schnitzel would be a variant of the *Costoletta alla milanese*, imported at the Viennese Court by Field Marshal Radetzky in 1849. We must not believe the legend because in the German linguistic space the *pané* was

²⁵⁰ <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schnepfendreck>, quoted after Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon, Hausschatz für das deutsche Volk*, Leipzig 1867.

²⁵¹ Christ Ionnin, *Romanian kitchen*, p. 23. (*Snipe stuffed in the pan: Take the intestins out of them and make a stuffing with bacon, parsley, the brick of raw egg yolk, pepper and salt, fill their bellies with this stuffing, put them in a pan with slices of fat with thick boullion and 50 drops of white wine*); Zotti Hodos, *Enjoy your meal! Cookbook, Part II, Caransebes, Diecezian Press, 1900*, p. 29-30 (*Sitari, fried snake - Fried as any bird, anointed with butter or covered with bacon, are given to the car or in the pan. The same way of cooking is for the woodcock. The intestins are not thrown away, they are chopped, fried in fat with onion, salt and pepper, then they are anointed on toasted break and served by the steak.*

²⁵² Sanda Marin, *Carte de bucate* [Cookbook], f. I, f. a., p. 111, receipt no. 371.

²⁵³ Maria Anna Neudecker, *Allerneuestes allgemeines Kochbuch*. Prag 1831, p. 48-49; <https://books.google.de/books?id=FDNZAAAACAAJ&pg=PA48#v=onepage&q&f=false> (*From a calf pulp cut some pices the size of a hand and the thickness of a finger. Beat the meat well, salt it and roll it in a beaten egg and then in breadcrumbs. The pieces of meat are fried slowly to penetrate well. Then place it on a plate and pour melted sardine butter above*).

used in the Middle Ages²⁵⁴, as we have seen above, the Viennese calf schnitzel had entered the cookbooks almost two decades before the alleged import. The Viennese Schnitzel, an element of the imperial gastronomic treasure²⁵⁵, has been taken over in the international cuisine, being a very popular dish nowadays.



Deer back in currant sauce

Boil the deer back in water, wine, vinegar, onion, bay leaves, rosemary, lemon zest. Put it in a bowl and sprinkle it with crumbs of black bread, sugar, cinnamon, lemon zest. Pour melted butter over and leave it in the oven until the crust will have a beautiful brown color. The sauce is made from fresh or conserved currants. Fry the bread crumbs very finely in butter, pour red wine over breadcrumbs, add currants and lemon zest and leave to boil. Arrange the deer on a plate and serve with sauce. The deer meat first boiled and then fried in the oven can also be served with sardine sauce, cloves or pepper.



Beef with gooseberry

Boil the beef. Fry the bread crumb in butter and add the gooseberries, then a good beef broth and let it boil. Add spices, fat and sour cream. If the gooseberries are too sour, you can boil them first in water and use only enough to get a soft sour soup. Serve them with the meat.

In Gartler's cookbooks, fresh and conserved gooseberries and currants - in the form of a compote, jam or jelly - are used to cook soups, sauces, but also for tortes and cake filling. Here, I would recall that several decades ago, in all the gardens of the Transylvanian Germans, and implicitly those in Sibiu, such shrubs were growing, and their fruits were used in recipes similar to those in the book in question. With the massive migration of the Saxons, the appearance of urban gardens has changed, meaning that in most cases new owners with a different culinary culture have given up shrubs (often fruit trees) in favor of vegetable cultivation. Among the almost missing plants in the Sibiu gardens is the rhubarb²⁵⁶, a herbaceous plant whose stems are used, such as currants or gooseberries, for the preparation of soups, sauces, jams and cakes.

²⁵⁴ Heinz Dieter Pohl, *Zur bairisch-österreichischen Küchensprache* in: „Onomasiology online“ 7, 2006, p. 16–33, la p. 29. <http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/SLF/EngluVglSW/pohl1061.pdf> .

²⁵⁵ Gabriela Salfellner, *The Best Imperial Recipes. From Tafelspitz to Kaiserschmarren*, Vienna, Vitalis, 2012, p. 34.

²⁵⁶ <https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revent>



Filled clapon

Take a good clapon or a turkey, and after it is well cleaned, salt it. Then prepare the stuffing: chop a small meat of calves, soak a bun in milk and squeeze it, add sardines, oysters, beef marrow, truffles, three eggs, season well, besides the usual spices add thyme. Mix the stuffing well, fill the clapon and fry it slowly into the oven. Prepare a brown sauce and serve.

The fifth section contains a patch of pastry and cakes, entitled *Wie man unterschiedliche Pasteten und Torten machen solle* (How to prepare different pastry and cakes; No. 280-318). Preparations from dough and filling, pastry were among the finest delicacies in the time. By going through the thirty-eight recipes (No. 280-318), we must admit that our forerunners had a good taste. Pastry was made of high-quality food and refined combinations, their preparation requiring time, energy and imagination. The dough used was tender or foil, without saving eggs, butter and sour cream. Fillings were prepared from fish, game, poultry and domestic animals, oysters, turtles mixed with vegetables, mushrooms, eggs, sour cream, bun soaked in milk, juice and lemon peel, and some kind of spices and aromatic plants.



Sturgeon pastry

Take fresh or salty sturgeon - the last one must be unsalted - and leave it for half a day in a aromatised water. Prepare a fresh tender dough and divide it into two. Lay the first portion of the dough in a tray and grease it well with butter, sprinkle over capers, lemon zest, rosemary, breadcrumbs and other spices. Cut the sturgeon in pieces, wipe it well and season it. Put it over the dough in the tray and seal with the second portion of the dough. Bake it at the right fire. Prepare a good sauce of capers or sardines and serve it next to the pastry.

At numbers 306 and 307 there are pastry receipes which, although prepared from different ingredients, keep both the birds' flavored intestines.

The section on cake preparation, *Unterschiedliche Torten zu machen*, comprises thirty-six recipes (No. 329-365), some only referring to the preparation of toppings for decorating the cakes. What the eighteenth century author proposes under the name of tortes, is called *pie* today, because in all these desserts, the fillings are not creams, but fresh fruits or jams or mixtures of jam with almonds or pistachio. Creams with butter or sweet cream (beaten and sweetened, also known as *crème chantilly*²⁵⁷)

²⁵⁷ A legend says that Louis II of Bourbon, Prince de Condé's (1621-1686), famous chef and *maitre d'hotel*, François Vatel (1625, 1631 or 1635-1671), created the whipped and sweetened cream at the castle Chantilly in 1671. The desert was prepared in honor of King Louis XIV on his visit to the Prince of Condé's castle from 23 to 25 April 1671. The information is not accurate and in the gastronomic literature it is claimed that this dessert would have been known about a century before Vatel and the famous banquet.

are completely missing. Noteworthy is the fact that nuts or peanuts are not used, but almonds or sometimes pistachios. Typically, the dough is made from butter, sugar, almonds, eggs and flour, the butter being rubbed for a long time with sugar and eggs or just with yolks, which is an hour-long operation. In some recipes for the dough growing is recommended to use yeast. Before baking, part of the tortes are decorated with bars or spirals of dough, and others, after baking, with white or colored coating, prepared from powdered sugar with egg white or rose water. For coloring and/ or flavoring were added lemon or orange, juice and zest or saffron, astragalus²⁵⁸, fruit juice, cinnamon, cloves or even spinach water.

The *Linzer-Torte* (cake of Linz, named by the city of Linz in Austria), recipe which was first noted in 1653 in the handwritten cookbook of Countess Anna Margarita Sagramona of Verona, appears in Gartler's book in three variants (329-331). The manuscript in question was discovered in 2005 by Waltraut Faißner, director of the Libraries of Museums of Upper Austria counties (*Bibliotheken der oberösterreichischen Landesmuseen*). The manuscript codex 35/31 is kept in the archives of the famous Benedictine Admont Monastery²⁵⁹. Over time, the recipe of the cake has remained virtually unchanged, being a beloved dessert nowadays.

The recipes of Gartler's chocolate cake, as well as that of Conrad Hagger's, *Neues Salzburger Koch-Buch*, published in 1718, are treated in the literature as a precursor to the renowned *Sacher Torte*. Created in 1832 by Franz Sacher (1816-1907), the cake's name is a true brand of the Austrian capital²⁶⁰, and is included in the list of imperial delights²⁶¹. We did not know exactly when it was first prepared in the kitchens or confectioneries in Sibiu, but we find the recipe in the popular cookbook of Elise Fröhlich²⁶², as well as in that of Zotti Hodoş²⁶³.



Linzer torte with cinnamon

3 Viertel (420 g) of butter, 9 yolks, added one after another, ½ Pfund (280 g) of almonds crushed, ½ Pfund (280 g) of powdered sugar together with 2 Loth (35 g) of crushed cinnamon, mix for a whole hour, then add 3 Viertel (420 g) of fine flour. Everything mixes well. The obtained dough is divided into two. Grease a form of cake, in which the first part of dough is placed, dough to which is applied a layer of currant jam. From the second portion of the dough a grid or spiral is formed over the jam dough. Bake at the right fire. Prepare a sugar coating and apply it above.

²⁵⁸ Astragalus is a genus comprising about two thousand plant species of the Fabaceae family, the Faboideae subfamily. It is used in the preparation of decoct by boiling in water, but it is also added to soups, as well as for making medicinal preparations.

²⁵⁹ https://www.bmnt.gv.at/land/lebensmittel/trad-lebensmittel/speisen/linzer_torte.html

²⁶⁰ <https://www.sacher.com/original-sacher-torte/>

²⁶¹ Gabriela Salfellner, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²⁶² Elise Fröhlich, *op. cit.*, p. 185 (Chokolade-Torte à la Sacher).

²⁶³ Zotti Hodoş, *op. cit.*, p. 182 (Tortă Sacher)



Chocolate cake

Rub a Viertel (140 g) of butter, add six yolks, one after the other, beat the foamed whites and add them to the composition. He also puts 12 Loth (210 grams) of crushed almonds, 1 Viertel (140 grams) of powdered sugar, lemon juice, 5 Loth (about 100 grams) of chocolate, 1 Loth (17.5 grams) of cinnamon. Take some form of cake, grease it, wrap your bottom with wafer sheets and bring it to the right fire. Prepare a sugar coating and serve.



Astragalus coating

Take root powder of astragalus, mix with water or rose water. Let it rest until the astragalus melts. Then squeeze through a cloth and add so much sugar that the composition can be stretched with a knife. This coating is prepared one day before use for homogenization. It is recommended that prior to use, the coating pot is heated in hot water, thus simplifying the application on the cake.

The sixth and last section of the book is titled *Von unterschiedlichen Backereyen, wie auch aufgeloffenen Köchen und eingemachten Sachen* (About different cakes, soufflés, puddings and preserved things), which contains about one hundred and fifty-four recipes (366 to 520). We learn about different ways of making pancakes, gingerbread, donuts, rolls, Gugelhupf²⁶⁴, but also puddings and rice or semolina puddings with the addition of fruits such as apricots, strawberries, apples, plums, gooseberry, currants, quince, but also almonds and pistachios. Gugelhupf, like the Sacher and Linzer tortes, belongs to the culinary treasure of modern Austria, the recipe of the first desert being almost unchanged from that published by Gartler²⁶⁵.

All these desserts were flavored, after the case, with cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg or macis, saffron, juice and lemon zest. Soufflés or pudding recipes can also be prepared with fish, crayfish and vegetables. The section also contains fruit salads and salads of raw vegetables such as lettuce, cress, chicory, chervil - with the addition of fish and/ or crayfish, as well as salads from boiled vegetables (artichoke and cauliflower). From the category of canned foods, we mention the dog-rose (*Rosa canina*) jam paste, the jams prepared from a multitude of fruits, the jelly of gooseberry, jelly of quince, jelly of currants, jelly of lemon flowers and cornflowers,

²⁶⁴ *Gugelhupf* is a kind of sweet bread specific to the former Habsburg Empire, which was taken over in the provinces that were part of it. The cake is baking in a special shape, conical with oblique grooves. The recipe was taken over by Ionnin, *op. cit.* p. 42 (*Cuglof: 340 drams of flour, 10 drams of salt, 8 whole eggs, 80 drams of butter, 80 drams of small raisins without seeds, mix everything with warm water, add beer yeast as an egg size, be careful the dough stays soft and bound, greases with butter a shape and pour the aloft inside, lets sit here until it grows good, then bake it in the oven*). In the book of Elise Fröhlich, *op. cit.*, p. 140-141 there are six different recipes of the beloved cake.

²⁶⁵ Gabriela Salfellner, *op. cit.*, p. 58. (Katharina Schrott's Gugelhupf is prepared with 170 g butter, 140 g sugar, lemon zest, 4 eggs, 40 g unpeeled almonds, 40 g raisins, 200 g cottage cheese, 280 g flour, 1 baking powder, butter and flour for greasing the shape).

as well as, the fruit juices prepared with wine. It is interesting to note that, in the *pancake* section, not only the fruits were dressed in dough and roasted in oil, but also some flowers, such as those of elder and roses, then powdered with sugar and hotly served.



Other type of yeast donuts

Prepare 1 Pfund (560 g) of flour. Mix in a bowl three eggs with three yolks, $\frac{1}{2}$ Seitel (175 ml) of sour cream, two tablespoons of dissolved yeast, salted and prepare a not too hard dough. Take $\frac{1}{2}$ Pfund (280 g) of butter, spread the dough and grease it well with butter. Pack the dough and beat it. Repeat the operation three to four times, like any soft dough. Then lay the dough with the finger thick dough-roller and cut circles with a glass. On half of the circles put raisins, finely chopped almonds, sugar and cinnamon, and cover them with the rest of the circles, sticking the edges with egg. Grease the donuts with the egg. Put them in a greased tray and let them grow in the warm.



How to make a gugelhupf

For the preparation of a gugelhupf put in a 3 Viertel (420 g) of butter or fat. Whipped well until it becomes foamed. Add eight whole eggs and sixteen yolks and mix well. Then add four tablespoons of yeast, 1 Seitel (350 ml) of milk, $1\frac{1}{2}$ Pfund (840 g) of fine sived flour, a little salt and raisins. Beat the dough well, grease the shape of gugelhupf with fat and fill it half. Let the dough rise in a warm place. Bake at constant temperature. Serve gugelhupf powdered with sugar.



Apricot Soufflé

Put a Viertel (140 g) of fresh butter in a bowl and rub it sparkling, add a row of four whole eggs and six yolks in a row, add $\frac{1}{2}$ Viertel (70 g) of crushed almonds and rub half an hour. Then add $\frac{1}{2}$ of Pfund (280 g) of apricot jam and rub again for half an hour, add the juice and the lemon zest, pour the composition into a tray and bake at medium temperature.



Quail salad

Cut large and beautiful quails in two and clean them of peel and seeds. Boil them in good sweetened wine until they are soft enough. Remove them and pour them with pistachios and almonds, add some Spanish cherries. Flavor the wine with lemon zest, cinnamon and cloves, put it on fire again and let it simmer until it thickens. Then squeeze it and pour it over the quails.

The cookbook analyzed here deserves transcription and translation in its entirety, being not only a bibliophile rarity, but also an important source for the gastronomy history researchers. Many of the dishes cooked in the middle of the 18th century have survived in the international and Sibiu cuisine, in their original condition or with minor modifications, to the present day.

Walking through the „Transylvanian Eden”. Baron Samuel von Brukenthal's gardens in Avrig

The name of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal is generally associated with the homonymous museum and the passion for collecting of its founder. Rarely there is mentioned another great passion of this complex personality, passion that fits in the spirit and taste of the epoch - the interest for ornamental gardens and modern and efficient agriculture. The baron's passion for gardens and gardening is explained by his firm connection with the earth, an important component of the lesser nobility, but especially his encounter with the refined Enlightenment culture acquired at the universities of Jena and Halle as well in the entourage of the Viennese Court. The entire cultural work of Baron von Brukenthal consists in the re-creation in Transylvania, the remote province of the empire, of the main strength lines of the Central European cultural space. *Maria Theresia's Vienna* - said Rosario Assunto- *still bears the aesthetic and cultural seal it received from the previous generation of emperors, whose trustworthy advisor in what we call cultural policy today, was Leibniz*²⁶⁶. Referring to the art of gardens, the same writer wrote that *Vienna cultivated the pompous and sumptuous gardens of Le Nôtre and his school, sweetening them with the Rococo grace*²⁶⁷. Brukenthal, deeply marked by both French and Leibnizian rationalism and English empiricism, has adopted an eclectic solution for his gardens in Sibiu and Avrig. He happily combined the representative function of the French and English gardens with the utility of the Dutch gardens.

The baron's biographers claim that he would have become a landowner competing with the Hungarian nobles, who, almost entirely, owned large properties, attributes of a high social status. Samuel von Brukenthal was determined to work through what others had acquired through birth, a project involving the creation of representative residences. The first step in this direction was through the purchase of gardens and hayfields near Sibiu and the construction of the "house of gardens" (*Gartenhaus*), located *extra muros*. The next step was the acquisition, at the end of the sixth decade of the 18th century, of three lots of land in the *hill of the Avrig church*, lots that were then arranged for the summer residence²⁶⁸. A longer stay of Brukenthal in Vienna made his work be continued by Adolf von Buccow, the commander general of Transylvania and the governor's deputy during the vacancy of the post (1762-1764). After the sudden death of the general (1764), it lasted four years (1768) until the status of the estate and the right of ownership were clarified.

²⁶⁶ Rosario Assunto, *Scrieri despre arta. Gradini si ghetari* [Writings on art. Gardens and glaciers], vol. II., București, 1988, p. 25.

²⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 44.

²⁶⁸ Georg Adolf Schuller, *Samuel von Brukenthal*, vol. II, München, 1969, p. 232.

Although living in Vienna, where he held the dignities of the President of the Transylvanian Aulic Chamber and the Empress Maria Theresia's secret counselor, Brukenthal was concerned about the transformation of the estate.

In 1774 he was appointed president of the government, which meant returning to Sibiu, which then was the capital of the Great Principality of Transylvania, and from 1777 until 1787 he was governor of this province. In all these years, despite the extreme demands of the function, he found himself in a position to personally take care of his beloved residence, transforming it into the *Transylvanian Eden* that a series of eyewitnesses of the time speak of. During the summer, the Avrig residence was a place of recreation and meeting of the Transylvanian elite and foreign travelers, a place where - according to the secretary of the baron, Theodor von Herrmann - boredom never happened²⁶⁹. Sophisticated and exciting discussions, park walks, symphonic concerts, dances and social games were among the tastiest ways of pastime.

Of the five gardens of the property – listed in the inventory of 1803²⁷⁰ –whose surface was about 8 ha, only three were artistic, the other being utilitarian. The inventory included: the French garden, the *Triangel garden*, the pheasant garden, the English garden and the Dutch garden. At the time, the German word of *Triangelgarten* designated a semi-circular garden, cut in the middle, by a relatively wide alley, and on both sides of the latter were arranged triangular layers of flowers and shrubs. Such an arrangement is generally at the end of a French garden.

The hill that descended from the palace to the Olt meadow was terraced, and the French garden was arranged in the axes and the width of the mansion house. Thus, from the balcony of the central building could be admired the garden, finished in *Triangel*, and in its prolongation, the natural landscape. The central garden of Avrig combines features typical of the Versailles Park, which were replicated at Schönbrunn, namely: the monumental staircase, waterspout fountains, water basins, hermitage, glorette, artificial ruins and so on.

The presence in the personal library of Baron von Brukenthal of two treaties on gardens and gardening, one in French, *Ecole du jardin potager*, 1752, another in German, C.C. Hirschfeld's, *Anmerkungen über Landhäuser und Gartenkunst*, 1773 (a treaty about the art of English gardens) proves his scientific interest in this field. Certainly, the books served them as a source of inspiration for his own gardens.

After the French garden, Brukenthal started to arrange the English one. In this kind of gardens, human intervention on nature is less visible, the artificial being used to mimic and simulate natural spontaneity. The gardeners managed to alter the sunny meadows with shady places created by towering trees, and through the channeling of the Avrig river, they created meanders and playful cascades.

The Dutch garden, a combination of beautiful, exotic and utilitarian, satisfied the need of vegetables and fruits to the family and the governor's suite; the surplus was sold. The great geographic discoveries have expanded the knowledge of Europeans,

²⁶⁹ *Aus den Briefen des Gubernialsekretärs Johann Theodor von Herrmann* (mitgeteilt von Julius Gross), in „Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde“, v. 23, Sibiu, 1890, p. 405–406.

²⁷⁰ Brukenthal Library, *MS 89*, 1803, p. 97 a.

familiarizing them, among other things, with new species of ornamental and edible plants. At the time, interest in botany was very high, and possession of new or rare species and varieties added social prestige. Another important concern at the time was the improvement of fruit varieties and animal breeds. This originates, on the one hand, in the mercantilism of the time, and on the other, in the trust of the man of the Enlightenment in his creative forces, in his demiurgic vocation. All this was done in Avrig, the property being considered, according to current terminology, as an agricultural research center, with experimental, horticultural and zootechnical farms.

In the eighteenth century, the high society, cultured and refined, required everything to serve them [...] „*the instruction or pleasures of odors and meals*”²⁷¹. "And today it impresses the richness of ornamental and edible plants grown in Avrig gardens and greenhouses, recalling the opulence of the Flemish still lifes in the baron's art gallery. Many of the delicious vegetables and fruits, represented in the paintings of the Dutch and Flemish masters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were also growing in the baron's gardens. Asparagus, artichokes, cauliflower, cabbage, Brussels sprouts and various aromatic plants were processed in the kitchen or sold. There were no delicious European and exotic fruit varieties missing at the table. For example, in the spring of 1788 trees were planted, belonging to 95 varieties of pear, 40 varieties of peach, 17 apple varieties. Approximately 1000 lemons and oranges grew in the orangery, more specimens of dates, pineapple, nutmeg, coffee, almond, and carob. Among the decorative plants in the orangery are mentioned several species of aloe, cacti, myrtle, jasmine, mimosa and other twenty exotic species, and in the French garden flowers like carnations, roses, primates, verben, daffodils and others, enchanting the eyes and smell of the owners or the guests²⁷².

In the following we will give some insight and appreciation about the domain of Avrig and the memorable things that are there. The first testimonies come from the letters of the gubernial secretary, Theodor von Herrmann, who in 1778 and 1779 spent much time at the Avrig estate. In August 1778 he says: [...] *All the gardens are in an exceptional state and are thriving, especially since the arrival from Vienna, two months ago, of the gardener of His Excellency, who brought some of the most rare plants and shrubs of North American origin. His Excellency is making the greatest effort possible to bring the best and most perfect kinds in the field of flowers, fruits and vegetables for the kitchen [...] In the garden of Avrig, especially in the English one, we found many new things, and the pineapples are extraordinary*²⁷³. And in the following summer, more precisely on July 6, 1779, Theodor von Herrmann has only words of praise for the beauty of the gardens and for the delicious fruits growing either in the open air or in the orangery: „*Due to its beauty, the garden here could be called, from hundreds of points of view, the Transylvanian Eden [...] The long alleys of fruit trees, planted in the secondary gardens and in those for the kitchens, begin*

²⁷¹ Rosario Assunto, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

²⁷² Direcția Județeană Sibiu a Arhivelor Naționale, Colecția Brukenthal. CD 1-5, inv. 86, nr. 53, 1784–1802.

²⁷³ *Aus den Briefen des Gubernialsekretärs*, p. 405–406.

to enrich us with delicious fruits. Besides that, the garden has reached the highest degree of beauty, by placing, at the exit, a graceful gloriolite, through the pineapple and peach greenhouse, next to the first. Except for the cherries that must be brought from the city, we have delicious seasonal fruits and daily we have a melon on the table that is tastier than those we ate at St. Veith from the imperial gardens of pleasure. In a couple of weeks, their place will be taken by the pineapple, which, this year, are abundant [...]. Besides countless plants that are never removed from the greenhouse, we also have a coffee tree, rubber trees, tragant²⁷⁴, various herbs and a lot of aloe²⁷⁵.

Christoph Ludwig Seipp of Hamburg, who spent a few years in Sibiu as theater director, did not fully share von Herrmann's enthusiasm about Avrig's residence. In 1793 Seipp wrote: *The castle is a summer home of a wealthy family. The garden, for Transylvania, is exceptional, but merchants from Augsburg, Frankfurt and Hamburg have more beautiful houses and parks.* After such a neutral and dry account, Seipp appreciates the refinement of the creator of these places, recognizing that „as you descend from the terrace, evidence of the owner's good taste already appears. Your eyes are drawn in all directions, so you forget to stop and look in detail at the fruits from the farthest corners of the world, which are here next to each other²⁷⁶”.

A few years later, in 1797, the English nobleman John Jackson, who began his journey from Eastern India, heading for Europe, visited the Sibiu and its countryside. In addition to the appreciation for Brukenthal's art gallery and library, the English nobleman used laudative words for the domain half mile from Sibiu. There he noticed especially what was closest to his soul, namely the English garden²⁷⁷. Among the foreigners who visited Avrig, there was the Walachian boyar Dinicu Golescu. The first visit took place during the Baron's life in 1802, the boyar returning twenty-four years later, when the owner was no longer alive. Though pleased with what he saw, Golescu remarked that things had worsened: *This is the estate of Baron Brukenthal, whose garden has one on the first place gardens I saw, with very beautiful sets, large stone stairs on those sets, with ponds, flowing water flowing through many places of the garden, which make a beautiful cataract. [...] Rich trees with fruits, both from those places as well as strange ones, which must be brought to the greenhouse in winter [...] And all this is quite low of what was twenty-four years ago when I first saw it*²⁷⁸. After the Baron's death - as the Wallachian boyar had remarked - the residence of Avrig had declined and never regained its brilliance until today.

²⁷⁴ It is about *astragalus*.

²⁷⁵ *Aus den Briefen des Gubernialsekretärs Johann Theodor von Herrmann* (mitgeteilt von Julius Gross), in *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, vol. 23, no. 2, Sibiu 1891, p. 422–425,

²⁷⁶ Christoph L. Seipp, *Reisen von Preßburg durch Mähren, beyde Schlesien und Ungarn nach Siebenbürgen und von da zurück nach Preßburg*, Frankfurt, Leipzig, 1793, p. 270.

²⁷⁷ Esq. John Jackson, *Landreise aus Ostindien nach Europa unternommen im Jahre 1797 auf einem wenig besuchten und bekannten Wege durch die asiatische und europäische Turkey, Siebenbürgen, Ungarn und Teutschland*, Berlin und Hamburg 1804, p. 167.

²⁷⁸ Dinicu Golescu, *Însemnare a călătoriei mele, Constantin Radovici din Goleşti făcută in anul 1824, 1825, 1826* [*Notes from my travelling, Constantin Radovici of Goleşti made in year 1824, 1825, 1826*], Bucureşti, 1977, p. 16–17.

Eating habits, meals and conviviality in the second half of the 18th century Sibiu

The Conrad von Heydendorffs' were one of the most important Saxon noble families, which, from the 17th century until the end of the 19th century, gave Transylvania cultured people, high clerks and officers. They were related to several illustrious families such as von Baußnern, von Klockner and von Brukenthal. At the end of the nineteenth century, over four thousand letters and a *in quarto* volume of one thousand seven hundred and forty pages were found in the family archive, representing the journal of Michael Conrad von Heydendorff the Elder (1730-1821, further by Michael I). The journal was published in 1867-1884 in the *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, the journal of the *Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, and the epistles in 1894, in the same publication. While the journal is written exclusively in German, the letters are written in German, French, Latin and Hungarian. Both categories of documents are rich in information, providing an ample picture of the baroque lifestyle of the nobility living in a conservative geographic area which was undergoing a process of modernization. The information lies on a *continuum* from the personal ones - with joy and everyday worries - to the great troubles of the Empire, Transylvania and the *Saxon Nation* during the two emperors, Maria Theresia (1740-1780) and Joseph II 1780-1790).

From the wealth of information, I extracted a few of the gourmet preferences, conviviality, lunches, dinners and banquets. Most of them come from Michael I, who, as an employee of the gubernium, lived far from home, from Medias, living for years in Sibiu, away from the family. From the end of 1790 to August 1791, as a representative in the Transylvanian Diet, he lived in Cluj. During his stay in the town, he was accompanied by his son Michael II (1768-1857). He regularly wrote to his wife about his activities, including also meals. Interesting letters were also written by other family members, namely the two sons of Michael I, Johann Peter (1765-1836) and Michael II (1768-1857), as well as Carl von Heydendorff (1735-1797), his younger brother, an army officer and general.

The social life of the Sibian elites, capital of the Great Principality of Transylvania, took place in almost closed circles. People often met, enjoyed meals together, and each member of the group became a host. The food was refined, but consumed with measure. Along with delicacies such as fish, game, traditional Transylvanian dishes were also served. The dishes were sprinkled with good wines, mostly native, the von Heydendorff family owned vineyards near Medias and Moşna.

Michael I, who, because of his professional duties, was away from home for long periods of time, was delighted to receive preparations cooked by his wife, Susanna Catharina. The first mention of the dishes sent by Susanna Catharina is

found in the letter of May 11, 1786. Among other things, the writer thanked his wife for the stuffed cabbage, ensuring that they would be eaten with dear guests whom he had invited for May 12, 1786. He also informed her of the menu he would serve, namely: a green soup – a kind of cream soup prepared from many greens – then beef with sauce, stuffed cabbage and asparagus, both received from Medias as well as roasted lamb²⁷⁹. Cooked beef in combination with sweet-sour sauces such as gooseberry, currant and sour cherry, but also with horseradish or mustard sauce, was considered a delicious dish.

On July 1, 1786, Michael I once again made the host offices for several friendly pairs, to whom they served a rich lunch. After the event, he was pleased with the fact that, although he did not have his wife next to him, he had presented himself honorably, and his friends were delighted with what he had served. The menu consisted of two kinds of soup, beef with horseradish and gooseberry sauce, cabbage with ham, chicken with rutabaga, trouts from Avrig, crayfish and roasted lamb. The dessert was made of ricepudding, Gugelhupf with raisins, cookies, snacks, pralines and cherries²⁸⁰. Gugelhupf, which appears in the Romanian gastronomic literature under the name of guguluf, is a cake specific to the German linguistic space (Austria, southern Germany, Switzerland, Alsace) and spread throughout the Habsburg Empire. It's a muffin prepared with a lot of butter, eggs and raisins. The cake has an appetizing shape because it bakes in a deep conical tray with diagonal ribbing.

In the letter of November 23, 1786, the high official reported about an organized lunch not only for the pleasure of socializing, but also because the event had a certain political issue. In July, Emperor Joseph II had his last visit to Transylvania, and his attitude indicated that there would be great changes. As usual, this time the dishes were also refined and welcomed by guests. According to the host's statement, the menu consisted of a brown soup - for which meat and vegetables are caramelized to receive the dark color and then boiled with red or white wine - beef with horseradish sauce, cabbage with sausages, chicken in lemon sauce, trout, goose steak, and as dessert: cookies, apples, honey, plums, grapes, chestnuts, donuts and coffee.

In contrast to the rich meals of the provincial elites, there were the gastronomic habits of Emperor Joseph II, an ascetic, for whom food was just a means of preserving life. During his third visit to Transylvania (July 1786), on the way to Galicia, the monarch made a break at Prundul Bârgăului. There, Lieutenant-Colonel Carl von Heydendorff, brother of Michael I., an officer in the 2nd Regiment, was in charge of including the area in the military border. Hoping that the Emperor would pay him a visit, the officer was interested in the sovereign's food preferences. Although he was informed that His Majesty wished to eat only cherry sauce, the

²⁷⁹ Seraphin, *Aus den Briefen der Familie von Heydendorff (1737–1853)*, in „Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde“, vol. 25, Hermannstadt, 1894. p. 318–319 (the letter from 11 May 1786, Michael von Heydendorff I Sibiu, to his wife Susanna Catharina, Medias).

²⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 323 (the letter from 1 July 1786, Michael von Heydendorff I Sibiu, to his wife).

officer also prepared beef. In his letter to his brother, Carl von Heydendorff was delighted that he had succeeded in satisfying the sovereign's tastes²⁸¹.

Johann Peter von Heydendorff (1765-1836), the first son of Michael I, accompanied Baron Samuel von Brukenthal at the end of 1787 in Vienna as a personal secretary. On December 5, the young man celebrated his birthday with some of the conationals, and at the party, among other things, was consumed polenta with milk, a dish prepared to relieve their homesickness²⁸².

When Michael I arrived in Cluj in December 1790, as representative of the Saxons in the Diet, he had a few days of home-made supplies, which contained stuffed cabbage, clapon steak, apple, and wine from Băgaciu²⁸³. At the end of January 1791, he received new supplies from his wife and reported: *I have eaten the rabbit together with your brother, Straussenburg, Beddaeus²⁸⁴, Seiwert²⁸⁵ with Misch (Michael II.). From the nearby "tracteur" we ordered only soup and salad, which we ate with the rabbit. The cake and plum pie were excellent. The clapon and the Indiar²⁸⁶ I will eat tomorrow night with Soterius²⁸⁷, Rosenfeld²⁸⁸, Fronius²⁸⁹, Drauth²⁹⁰ and your brother...*²⁹¹. All the mentioned characters were delegated by Sibiu and Brasov in the Transylvanian Diet.

On February 3, 1791, the group of Saxon delegates met at von Straussenburg's (temporarily) domicile in Cluj to enjoy together a capercaillie and other delicacies that had been sent to him from Bistrita. Within the group of Saxon delegates, the custom was that the one who had or received special food would share it with his friends. In July 1791, Susanne Catharina again came up with the opportunity to send her husband home-made dishes. In the letter accompanying the package, she talks about steak, smoked and cooked meat, wine, bread and products from her own garden²⁹².

The second son of Michael I, Michael II, accompanied his father to Cluj in 1790, and after several months spent there, he became homesick and wished to eat like home. Thus, on April 15, 1791, he tells his mother that he really wants to eat a slice

²⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 334-335 (the letter of 24 July 1786, Lieutenant Colonel Carl von Heydendorff, Prundul Bargaului, to his brother Michael I).

²⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 379 (the letter of 7 December 1787, Johann Peter von Heydendorff, Viena, to his father Michael I).

²⁸³ *Ibidem*, 1894, p. 485 (the letter of 14 December 1790, Michael von Heydendorff I, Cluj, to his wife).

²⁸⁴ Joachim Bedeus von Scharberg (1746–1810), gubernial secretary.

²⁸⁵ Johann Friedrich Seivert (1755–1832), the grandchild of Baron von Brukenthal, gubernial secretary.

²⁸⁶ turkey

²⁸⁷ Johann Michael Soterius von Sachsenheim (1742–1794), gubernial counselor.

²⁸⁸ Johann Friedrich von Rosenfeld (1739-1809), 1781 judge, from 1783 mayor of Sibiu, from 1786 gubernial counselor.

²⁸⁹ Fronius Michael (1727-1798), he held several positions in the administration of the city Braşov and of the guberium, 1790-1791, deputy in the Transylvanian Diet.

²⁹⁰ Georg Drauth (1729-1798), teacher and priest concerned with the reorganization and modernization of education.

²⁹¹ Seraphin, 1894, p. 500 (the letter of 31 January 1791, Michael von Heydendorff I Cluj, to his wife).

²⁹² Seraphin, 1894, p. 545 (the letter of 13 July 1791, Susanna Catharina von Heydendorff to his husband Michael von Heydendorff I).

of *Hanklich* (hencleş). The hanklich desire was so great that he wrote to his sister, Susanne Friederike (1761-1822), praying her that if their mother would not feel able to satisfy his wish, she would bake him the cake. As a reward, he promises his sister to bring her a cookbook as gift²⁹³.

In Cluj, Michael I spent time not only in the Saxon circles, but also in those of the Magyar, generous and wasteful nobility, compared to his Saxon colleagues. Thus, the delegate had to adapt himself to a new way of life. In this idea, on January 13, 1791, Michael II wrote to his mother: *Yesterday, Dad had a meal at Count Bethlen Paul and the uncle at Kemény. The fashion here asks you to return in a good mood from such a society. These gentlemen respected the custom of the place, returning home drunk. When I come home, I'll tell you what they were like... Here you have to get used to drinking, otherwise you are losing your honor*²⁹⁴.

The two Heydendorffs, Michael father and son, also found that the proms in Cluj did not resemble those of Sibiu, as evidenced by the event organized by Countess of Bethlen on February 23, 1791. The noble lady knew well what the rank and the representation were, launching the most grandiose event that the Sibians had ever attended, comprising six hundred and fifty guests. The fast and the abundance in the Countess's house surpassed everything they had seen before. To their amazement, they found that even the maids of the gallery were served with coffee from silver pots. The wine was at discretion, because for the guests were two barrels of white and red wine at their disposal. During the progress of the prom, more plates were filled with fresh cakes, and fifteen buckets of lemonade and twenty buckets with almond milk were prepared²⁹⁵.

At the beginning of August 1791, the Diet session ended and with it also the stay of the two Heydendorffs in Cluj. In the letter from August 6, Michael I informs his wife that he will return home with a larger group of colleagues, made up of the deputies of Brasov, who should be properly received and served with fine dishes. The epistolist expresses the conviction that his wife will be pleased to be a perfect host, as he has always known her. To be everything all right, he gives her some precious tips. He addressed his son-in-law, Georg Schuster, the request to require fish, crayfish and game, and to welcome the guests on the limits of Mediaş with a *banderium* of ten to twelve young men on horses²⁹⁶.

These were just a few aspects of how the 18th century Transylvanian elites ate and enjoyed meals. The life of this social class was rich, according to the epoch of Baroque, but far from the display of wealth and prosperity of the Central and Western European towns.

²⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 523 (the letter of 15 April 1791, Michael von Heydendorff II Cluj, to his mother Susanna Catharina)

²⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 494 (the letter of 13 January 1791, Michael von Heydendorff II, Cluj, to his sister, Susanna Friedericke).

²⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 510 (the letter of 25 Febr. 1791, Michael von Heydendorff I, Cluj, to his wife Susanna Catharina).

²⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 548 (the letter of 6 August 1791, Michael von Heydendorff I, Cluj, to his wife Susanna Catharina).

Moments from the Café and Confectionery Culture in Sibiu

The fashion of cafés began to spread in Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century. In Vienna, the first café was opened in 1685. The legend says that after the release of the city in 1683, the Ottomans fleeing would have abandoned a bag of coffee, and so the inhabitants of the Habsburg Empire would taste for the first time the wonderful brewing, which then imprinted it with their personal note. Since then, *Kaffeekultur*, the café culture is so identified with the city's tradition that in 2011 it was included in the UNESCO list of intangible heritage²⁹⁷. The fashion of this pleasant way of spending time is fast spreading in Transylvania, so that Viennese cafés are opened in Sibiu in the first half of the eighteenth century. Under an order of the Magistrate of 1738, it appeared that at that time there were several such places, which were required to cease activity because of the spread of the plague epidemic. In 1771, former theater director Livio Cinti opened a café in *Großer Ring* (Great Square), the central square of the city, at number 5 in the Baron Möhringer (the current Blue House) building. In 1790, in the calendar of that year, a true tourist guide was edited and printed by the famous Sibiu printer Martin Hochmeister, several cafés are mentioned, located both in the Upper and Down Town. There were three cafés in the Great Square: the one of Karl Münstermann, at no. 330, one of Gänger, at no. 103, as well as the one entitled *Zu den drei Mohren* (To the Three Moors'), at number 120. Then in *Heltauergasse*, Cisnădiei Street (today N. Bălcescu Street), at no. 178, there was the *Bei den sieben Kurfürsten* Café (At the seven electoral princes), in the Small Square at 406, the Storch's café was opened, and in *Burgergasse* (no.466, Ocna Street), the *Zu den drei Marokanern* ("To The Three Moroccans")²⁹⁸. All of these places served chocolate, coffee, tea and rosoglio. Perhaps for those who attended cafés, rosolio - a kind of liqueur - was very important, because the City Magistrate had given Johann Baptist Trevas of Trieste a reduction in customs duties for its import²⁹⁹. The entertainment offered to the guests was the billiards, the cards and the trick-trac (backgammon), as well as the reading of the newspapers³⁰⁰.

As we saw above, cafés did not serve confectionery and pastry, and sweets houses appeared several decades after cafés, so no such place was mentioned in the Hochmeister Calendar. This does not mean, however, that the Sibians had to give up sweet delights, since in 1776 the confectioners Anton Geist and Sebastian Wirth were

²⁹⁷ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wiener_Kaffeekultur

²⁹⁸ Cornel Lungu, Liliana Popa (eds.), *Hermannstadt im Jahre 1790/ Sibiu în anul 1790*, edited and printed by Martin Hochmeister, Sibiu, Honterus, 2015, p. 132

²⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 132, n. 103.

³⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 132.

mentioned, and in 1790 Jakob Buchenröder, who resided in *Sporergasse* (today General Magheru) at 329, and Magdalena Wirthin, perhaps the widow of Sebastian, in *Heltauergasse* (N. Bălcescu Street) no. 180³⁰¹. The confectioners were not native, but probably came from Vienna. *Confectioners, unbeaten in the preparation of the finest cakes according to Viennese recipes, were favored in granting the citizenship of the city* (otherwise, it was very difficult to get for those who did not bring significant benefits to the city). *Originally cataloged as fashionable whims, confectionery products were quickly appreciated by Saxons*³⁰². At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Swiss, D. Gaudenz, settled in the city, whose elegant confectionery was really preferred by the Sibians for half a century³⁰³.

Since the mid-19th century, the Sibians have had more and more places where they could enjoy a good coffee and fine sweets. In the Great Square no. 12 was the famous confectionery of Alois Wohlgemuth, whose mother, Susanna, prepared on *Kleine Erde* (Filarmonicii Street) the finest delights³⁰⁴. Near the Theater (now Thalia Hall), on *Wiesengasse* (Tipografilor Street) no. 19, A. Correni owned a fancy confectionery later bought by A. Berger. In the 1860s, two very popular venues competed: *the Janda Confectionery* in Great Square no. 15 and that of F. Klaus of *Heltauergasse*³⁰⁵. One of the most frequented places was the *Frentz Confectionery*, located at corner *Heltauergasse/ Honterusgasse* (N. Bălcescu Street, corner with Al. Papiu Ilarian Street)³⁰⁶. *Cáfe Lázár* on the *Bretterpromenade* (the Promenade of Piața Unirii), opened in 1860 and functioned until the 1890s, quickly became a meeting place for many city figures, a place where fine drinks were served, the press and politics were discussed at the billiard game³⁰⁷. It is interesting to note that in an advertisement published on May 19, 1888 in the daily *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt*, *Cáfe Lázár* tempts the feminine public with ice cream and *Eiskaffe* (perhaps coffee frappé) served in a special veranda dedicated exclusively to the beautiful sex (*Damenveranda*), giving ladies the opportunity to frequent the place without being disturbed by the indiscretions of the other sex³⁰⁸. At the opening of his confectionery in *Heltauergasse* (N. Bălcescu str.) no. 20 on May 1, 1888, Victor Bunyevacz also addresses potential clients through an announcement in the Transylvanian daily *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt*, the most important German-language newspaper that appeared in Sibiu between 1874 and 1941. The confectioner emphasizes the fact that he can satisfy the most refined tastes and at the same time honors orders for confectionery and pastry products of all categories.

³⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 201.

³⁰² Angelika Schaser, *Josephinische Reformen und sozialer Wandel in Siebenbürgen, Die Bedeutung des Konzivilitätsreskriptes für Hermannstadt*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1989.

³⁰³ <https://povestisasesti.com/2013/07/28/povesti-dulci-de-odinioara-cafenele-si-cofetarii-in-sibiul-vechi-partea-i/>

³⁰⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁰⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁰⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁰⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁰⁸ Advertisement Café Lázár, in „*Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt*“, no. 4390, 19 May 1888, p. 502.

He also offers monthly subscriptions to 3 florins for coffee and a confectionery-pastry product.

The famous *Julius Boda* confectionery was located in the Great Square no. 13, corner with *Heltauergasse* (N. Bălcescu Street). Conscious of the importance of advertising, Julius Boda has often popularized his offer, both in daily newspapers and in calendars, or in *Adressbuch*, the address book of Sibiu. In the latest, in 1901, the confectioner, after listing the *candy, the birthcakes, the cream cakes, the chocolate, the peanuts, the almonds, the ice cream, the creams, the parfaits*, all made in high quality and with a perfect taste, he also suggests that they can be get for unbeatable prices³⁰⁹, and on February 24, 1904, reports to the honored readers of the aforementioned newspaper that he opened a subsidiary in *Heltauergasse* (N. Bălcescu Street) no. 61, corner of *Hermannsplatz* (Piața Unirii), *offering daily fresh cakes and birthcakes, fine candies, ice cream, coffee frappé, milk coffee, chocolate, fine liqueurs and selected wines.*

Another place chosen and frequented by the city's personalities was the *Habermann Palace* - (becoming *Hotel Bulevard, Continental Forum*). The right wing of the current Hotel Continental Forum dates from 1876 and was named *Palais Habermann*, after the owner's name, beer manufacturer Johann Habermann. *The Habermann Cafe* had the opening to the Promenade. On the corner of the building to ASTRA Park, on 3 June 1884 the Great Habermann Beer Hall was opened. Around 1910, the building was bought by the Orthodox Church, who in 1912 decided to build a hotel on the corner of *Mühlgasse* (Șaguna Str.) near the *Habermann Palace*. The hotel was inaugurated in March 1914, bearing the name *Europa Hotel* between 1915 and 1923³¹⁰.



Hotel Europa, former Hotel Bulevard, nowadays Hotel Continental Forum (1916)

³⁰⁹ *Adressbuch der k. freien Stadt Hermannstadt* (herausgegeben vom Bürger- und Gewerbeverein), IX. Jahrgang, Hermannstadt 1901, p. XXI.

³¹⁰ <https://povestisasesti.com/2013/07/28/povesti-dulci-de-odinioara-cafenele-si-cofetarii-in-sibiul-vechi-partea-i/>; <http://www.razvanpop.ro/2010/05/30/istoria-orasului-nostru-sibiu-36/>.

The impressive *Unicum building* in *Quergasse* (Tribunei str.) was built in 1901 in the style of the *Jugendstil (art nouveau)* and hosted a café, a restaurant and a theater hall, including the famous *Hermanniazimmer*, Hermania Choir Hall. The café has remained a very popular place and an important artistic center, the city's people meeting here at the restaurant, the café or at the theater shows or concerts. There were also dancing poms and dancing evenings. Emil Kirscher, the owner of the building, also had a sausage factory and an inn. He was the son-in-law of Johann Kessler, the owner of the largest slaughterhouse and a sausage factory in Sibiu³¹¹.

Until the opening of the new *Römischer Kaiser*, in 1895, the *Moeferdts Café* in the building of the Army Corps Command (*Corpskommando*) in *Heltauergasse* (N. Bălcescu str.) no. 6 was the largest in the city center and also the most luxurious. In addition to local publications, German foreign newspapers such as *Neue Freie Presse* and *Wiener Journal* could be read here. In the Great Square, at the beginning of *Sporergasse* (General Magheru Str.) No. 2, there was *the Seiser Cafeteria and Confectionery*, owned by Oskar Seiser. He also had a coffee shop in *Saggasse* (Turnului str.) No. 12, and one in 1911 in the *Erlenpromende* (Sub Arini Park), open from May 1 to October 15, where cold snacks, wine and beer were served in addition to confectionery and weekly military music concerts.

Alfred Seiser was the owner of a confectionery in *Bodenkreditanstaltsgebäude* (old office of the Agricultural Credit Bank) in *Sporergasse* (General Magheru str.) and a subsidiary of *Elisabethgasse* (9 Mai str.) no 25, opened in 1901, as we find out from an advertising published in the *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt*.

*The Promenade in Sibiu was once a distinguished boulevard, a parade spot where the whole flower of the good world was displayed. It appeared in 1791, being located between the Haller Bastion and the Big Tower, then extended to the Cisnădie Tower Gate. The upper part of the Promenade, surrounded by flower gardens and alleys with shady trees, was the favorite meeting place for both, children, young people and people in the high society*³¹². At the beginning of the twentieth century, in the modern-sibian landscape, there is also the confectionery on the Promenade, which is rented by Viktor Müller. Here you could choose from a refined range of beverages and sweets. Starting in 1920, the Promenade concerted every Wednesday evening with the Sibiu Orchestra, under the baton of Alfred Novak³¹³.

During *belle époque* (late 19th century, beginning of the 20th century), Sibiu, also called the Small Viena, experienced one of its most beautiful periods, characterized by prosperity, a very effusive social and cultural life, a distinguished atmosphere. All this will be interrupted with the outbreak of World War I, which would bring about poverty, an acute shortage of food, illness and death.

³¹¹ *Ibidem*

³¹² *Ibidem.*

³¹³ *Ibidem.*

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Before going to the confectionery and cafés of the interwar period, I will stop on a *belle époque* cookbook, the first edition of which appeared in 1897, me being the holder of the sixth edition, that of 1911, an added and revised one³¹⁴. Elise Fröhlich, author of *Die siebenbürgische Küche. Ein Kochbuch für deutsche Frauen* (Transylvanian Cuisine, A German Cookbook for women), appeared in Sibiu, Vienna and Leipzig, was a lady from the Sibiu high society, who wanted to meet young housewives not only with savory recipes, but also with useful tips³¹⁵. The subtitle of the book should not amaze the readers, since then the Transylvanian ethnicities organized each of their own political, social, cultural, etc. lives, using their own language. The kitchens of the Transylvanian Romanians, the Hungarians and the Saxons – although they had similarities, due to the influence of Central Europe, also show considerable differences³¹⁶.

The book, which contains more than 1400 recipes, appeared in excellent graphic conditions, with chapters being opened by beautiful jugendstil-vignettes and first letters.

The dessert part - because it is only related to the theme of this chapter - is very consistent (p. 127-247) and divided into six sections, including: butter dough cakes, strudels, leavened dough cakes, *puddings*, *sufflés*, tarts, numerous nuts, walnuts and almonds cakes, Christmas cakes, biscuits, cookies, *Teegebäck*, coatings, *toppings*, ice cream, creams and jellies. Many of these sweets, which were in the offer of time-made sweets houses, have delighted the tastes of many generations. Some of them have been baked uninterrupted for centuries – except for the two world wars and the last years of communism, when food shortages have become acute – and can be enjoyed in Sibiu confectionery nowadays.

Among the recipes we find some centuries old ones in the Habsburg Empire, like various types of *Gugelhupf* (p. 140, 141 and 324), *Linzertorte* (p. 191, 226, 229), *chocolate cake* (p. 325) *gingerbread* (p. 211, 212, 225), *Obers-Faum Rollen*, but also some of the more recent date, such as the *Sacher Torte* (p. 185) and *Indianer Krapfen* (p. 209-210). From the Central European space comes *Cremeschnitte* recipe (p. 205) - whose paternity is claimed by the Slovenes, Austrians, Hungarians and Poles - and *the Dobos Cake* (p. 186) was created in 1885 by the Budapest confectioner József C. Dobos, both desserts being still appreciated today³¹⁷. Under the name of *Russische Crème* (p. 241), in the book of Elise Fröhlich is the recipe of the famous *Russische elegante*³¹⁸, marketed, both in the Communist period and

³¹⁴ The cookbook belonged to my grandmother Anna Fiedler, born Wellmann (1892–1975), who got married in 1911, getting it as a wedding gift according to the tradition of that time.

³¹⁵ Elise Fröhlich, *Die Siebenbürgische Küche. Ein Kochbuch für deutsche Frauen*, Hermannstadt, Wien und Leipzig, 1911.

³¹⁶ In this respect, the comparison between the book of Elise Fröhlich and that of Zotti Hodos (Caransebes 1899, 1900) can be edifying.

³¹⁷ See the chapter "The Best Romanian Cookbook in the Empire". by Zotti Hodos, Caransebes 1900.

³¹⁸ <http://www.creeaza.com/familie/alimentatie-nutritie/retete-culinare/RUSSISCHE-ELEGANTE-TORTE993.php>

nowadays, as a *Fruit Cake*. Only a few decades ago, *Harlequin* (Arlechin), a multi-sheet fine cake (p. 159), *Non plus ultra* (p. 217), and *Vanille-Kränzchen* (p. 222), delicious snacks with marshmallow, respectively nuts marshmallow, *Nuss-Busserl* (a kind of macaroons, p. 218) and others, they could not miss the festive dinners. I could not find the origin of *Arlechin*, but on a culinary blog it is stated that in the interwar period, the recipe would have been taught in housekeeping schools, the cake spreading throughout the whole country³¹⁹. Its presence in Elise Fröhlich's book proves that it was created long before the technology of her preparation was taught in those schools.

As is natural, the book also contains local confectionery and pastry dishes, such as *Hanklich* recipes, the Saxon delicious dessert (p. 142-143), *Hiebes*, a cake from soft dough prepared with butter and sour cream, to which was added greaves, cheese or cottage cheese (p. 143-144), *Siebebürger Obstkuchen* (Transylvanian Fruit Cake, p. 156), *Heltauer Kuchen* (Cisnădie Cake, p. 226), *Siebenbürgischer Lebkuchen* (Transylvanian Gingerbread, p. 212) etc.

In conclusion, we can say that, despite the fact that those sweets are no longer popular, the old recipes have kept their charm and savor.

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In the *Address Book of Sibiu*, published in the Sibiu *Reclama* Publishing House (probably in 1936, according to a handwritten note *Pimen, 20 April 1936 Sibiu*), in the chapter *Confectionaries*, twenty masters of this art are mentioned³²⁰. Several of them owned confectioneries before the First World War, such as Francisc Bittner, whose business at Turnul Street no. 22 date back to 1871, Gustav Schintzel, had been owner on Elisabeth Street no. 57 of 1905 and Oskar Seiser, who had held three confectionaries before the war, now had the address in Regele Carol II Street no. 2. (former *Sporergasse*, today General Magheru str.). Of the twenty confectioneries, only three bear the mention "first rank", namely: *Bufnița* (Eule) Confectionery from Regina Maria Street (today N. Bălcescu str.) no. 51-53, whose owner was Adolf Gündisch, the confectionery of Virgil Bunea, the first with a Romanian owner, opened in 1934 in Regina Maria Str. no. 19, and *B. Embacher's Confectionery* at Ocnei Str. no. 33. Competition between confectioners must have been tough enough, as everyone is trying to attract customers by promising them the best quality products at affordable prices. For example, at *Bufnița* were offered daily fresh, *the most delicious cakes, biscuits, etc., etc., and consciously executed all sorts of orders. All products awarded with the golden medal*³²¹.

The swan song of private confections had rung in 1947, when their owners transformed, through communist propaganda, into exploiters, and their businesses were soon to be nationalized. Initially appeared *the Cooperative of Confectionery Production 21 Decembre*, which had eight outlets, with its central headquarter on the

³¹⁹ <https://www.adihadean.ro/2015/11/prajitura-arlechin/>

³²⁰ *Carte de adrese a Municipiului Sibiu*, Sibiu, Editura Reclama Sibiului, f. a., p. 117–118.

³²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 117

Molotov Str. no. 2. In the grace period until 1948, when state ownership was transferred, survived just the confectionaries of Sabri Cazimi from 9 May Str., the one of Oskar Seiser from Molotov no.2, the one of Felix Widmann on Tribunei str., Halil Isakovici bombonery and the confectionery on 9 May Str., the famous *Schinzel* confectionery on the same street, and also the one of Adalbert Tiboldy on the Turnului Str.³²².

And during the communist period, the Sibians liked to have a good cake and a juice at some of the confectionaries in the central area: *Macul Roșu*, *Trandafirul Roșu* or *Perla*. The *Macul Roșu Confectionery* is on the site of an old and famous Sibian confectionery, that of Alfred and later Oskar Seiser. The entrance and the service point were at General Magheru Str. no. 2, in the same building as the *Mocca* bar, and the dining room in the Great Square House no. 12. Since the end of the 19th century, *Bodenkreditanstalt* (Agricultural Credit Bank) had its headquarters in this house until 1907, when it moved to its new headquarters, the building of the current town hall. The place was not a pretentious one, but the products were of good quality until the last decade of the communist period when, with the food crisis, almost all the ingredients necessary for the preparation of the desserts had disappeared. In the summer, in front of the house were sold vanilla and cheese rolls, *Éclair* or *Choux à la Crème*, ice cream and juices. The confectionery survived after 1990, turning into a confectionery-pub, then just a pub³²³.

The history of *Trandafirul Roșu* is, to some extent, part of the history of the neighboring restaurant, *Bușnița (Zur Eule)*, which had this name since 1922. Under the name *Zur Eule*, the owner of the building on Balcescu Str. no. 51-53, Adolf Gündisch, owned a restaurant, a café and a confectionery, the latter being presented in an interwar advertisement as: *the best-known confectionery in all the special products of this branch*. Until the beginning of the 80's of the last century, at *Bușnița*, after the nationalization becoming *Trandafirul Roșu*, the cakes were quite diverse and good, and here they could be relished: *Éclair* and *Choux à la Crème*³²⁴, *amandine* and *Bucharest* – both being cakes created during 1960s – *savarin*, fruit cake, *Doboș* cake, *crèmesnit*, apple pie, etc. *Trandafirul Roșu* resisted until the mid-2000s, the space being then a clothing store, and now a Samsonite products store³²⁵.

The *Perla Confectionery* was opened on 31 May 1976, occupying space in two buildings in the Great Square. Part of it was in the house whose owner was in the seventeenth century Valentin Frank von Frankenstein. At the end of the nineteenth century, Berthold Frenzt's café was here. The second body of the confectionery is in the building with the façade towards N. Bălcescu str. no. 2. Here, on the square side, was Julius Boda's famous confectionery café, followed in the interwar period by that

³²² <http://www.tribuna.ro/stiri/eveniment/pe-cand-sibienii-se-indulceau-in-oras-vechi-cofetarii-sibiene-i-123703.html>

³²³ <http://www.tribuna.ro/stiri/eveniment/pe-cand-sibienii-se-indulceau-in-oras-la-macul-ro-su-unde-stia-lumea-ca-merg-navetistii-125457.html>

³²⁴ <https://www.welt.de/icon/essen-und-trinken/article163447665/Wenn-es-beim-Baecker-genau-ein-Produkt-gibt.html>

³²⁵ <http://www.tribuna.ro/stiri/eveniment/foto-pe-cand-sibienii-se-indulceau-in-oras-trandafirul-ro-su-la-cativa-pasi-de-pacea-125896.html>

of Oskar Seiser. The *Perla* was the queen of the Sibiu confectionery, a decent, elegant place with a special atmosphere. Those who had lived in the interwar period and had the opportunity to travel abroad, *Perla* reminded them of similar locations in the Central and Western European capitals. It was a place that impressed by good taste and decency, and the products served were of very good quality, but also significantly more expensive than in other confectionaries. Generally, they were prepared according to French and European classical recipes, as well as local recipes of the 1960s. Fruit salad, profiterol and coffee frappé were among the delights of *Perla*. The end of the Ceausescu era, with all its shortcomings, marked this confectionery, which could no longer maintain the high standards that characterized it. Like other traditional confectionery in Sibiu, *Perla* disappeared in the years after 1989³²⁶.

The disappearance of most of the confectionaries that functioned during the Communist period does not mean that confectionery-pastry products are not produced or consumed anymore. New ones have been opened and many new laboratories appeared, the wide range of products offered to the public being diverse, from recipes already part of the tradition of the place, to new, innovative products, prepared by foreign and exotic recipes. The year 2019, when Sibiu will be the *capital* of the "European Gastronomic Region", will also put the confectioners in front of some challenges, giving them the opportunity to demonstrate their professional and artistic craftsmanship.

³²⁶ <http://www.tribuna.ro/stiri/eveniment/pe-cand-sibienii-se-indulceau-in-oras-la-perla-se-trage-plasa-124293.html>



Confectionery Julius Boda (about 1900)



Café Habermann (1900)

Restaurant-café Umicum
(1901, 1910)





Café-confectionery from Sub Arini Park (1905)

„The best Romanian Cookbook in the Empire” Poftă bună! (Enjoy your meal!)

by Zotti Hodoș, Caransebeș, 1900

The name Zotti Hodoș I met on the occasion of browsing the periodical *Telegraful Român*, in search of commercial advertisements. In no. 69 from August 31 (13 September), 1921, the public was announced that: *The first part of the best cookbook of Poftă bună [Enjoy your meal], by Zotti Hodos, just appeared. This part contains 162 recipes for: soups, assietes, meat and sauces - at the end of the book also menus for common days and holidays. The book costs 6 lei. For sale at the Archdiocese Bookstore in Sibiu and other bookstores*³²⁷.

In just two months, more precisely in no. 84 of the same periodical, the announcement would have been reiterated and completed, and this time it was said about two other parts of the work: *At the Archdiocesan Bookstore in Sibiu, no. 45 Măcelarilor Street, the best cookbooks are available for sale under the title Poftă Bună by Zotti Hodoș. Part I for 6 lei, Part II for 10 lei, Part III for 10 lei. Plus postal fees 2.50 lei*³²⁸.

Continuing searches on internet³²⁹, I realized that the author had been publishing since the end of the previous century. In 1897, at the Caransebeș diocese printing house, in the series *Librăria noastră*, whose director was the author's husband, Enea Hodos, came the comedy *Intocmai*. In 1899, at the same printing house and in the same series, she would publish the first part of the earlier mentioned cookbook, an editorial event reported in the *Tribuna Poporului* from Arad on 22 June (4 July): *Appeared in the " Our Library " Enjoy you meal!" the cookbook by Zotti Hodoș. We draw the attention of the readers to this book, which contains under 420 numbers over 600 recipes, namely the best recipes of practical and modern cuisine. This book can be used in any household. The book includes both the simpler recipes and the more complicated ones: soups, arssietes, pastry, meat, jellies, national and French steaks, cakes, ice cream, teas, liqueurs, etc. The price of 70 cr. plus porto 5 cr. is being sold at Mrs. Zotti Hodoș Caransebeș*³³⁰. The next year (1900) was to show the second part of the collection of receipes.

In 1914, the year of the outbreak of the First World War, the author published, this time at the Archdiocese Publishing House in Sibiu, a new book dedicated to the culinary arts *Masă ieftină [Cheap meals]*, according to the times to come.

³²⁷ *Telegraful Român*, LXIX, 69, 31 August (13 September) 1921, Sibiu, p. 4.

³²⁸ *Ibidem*, LXIX, 84, 23 November (6 December) 1921, Sibiu, p. 4.

³²⁹ <http://www.biblacad.ro/bnr/brmautori.php?aut=h&page=320&&limit=20>.

³³⁰ *Tribuna poporului*, III, 120, 22 June (4 July) 1899, Arad, p. 4.

<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/44697770.pdf>

Unfortunately, no public library in Sibiu holds the writings of Zotti Hodoş. I was lucky to find the second part of the cookbook *Enjoy your meal!* (Caransebeş 1900) in the library of a friend she had inherited from her grandmother³³¹. Before moving on to the analysis of this bibliophile rarity, however, it is necessary to give some information about Hodoş couple. Enea Hodoş (1858, Roşia Montana-1945, Sibiu) was the descendant of an illustrious family of Transylvanian intellectuals, folklorist and writer, a corresponding member of the Romanian Academy since 1904. In 1877 he enrolled at the University of Vienna, where, as a Scholar of the *Transylvania* Society, he attended the medical courses for four years. In 1880 he left this faculty, attending the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy in Budapest and then in Vienna. On his return to the country, Enea Hodos was a teacher at the Romanian girls school in Sibiu, and from 1889 until 1905 he was a teacher of Romanian and Hungarian at the Theological and Pedagogical Institute in Caransebeş.

Due to misunderstandings with the archpriest, he left Caransebeş in 1905, settling in Sibiu, where he would live until his death in 1945. He was absent from the city only between 1919-1920, during which time he was entrusted with the organization of the Normal school in Sighetu Marmăţiei³³². If Enea Hodos's life and work are known and researched, we only have to make assumptions about Zotti. From the genealogy of the Hodos family, available online³³³, we find out that she was the daughter of the Transylvanian leader Gheorghe Secula (1839-1884) and Iudita Secula, a family of identical values and ideals with her husband's family. Also from the online genealogy, we find out that Zotti and Enea Hodoş had a daughter, Astra, married to one of the sons from the first marriage of Constanţa Hodoş (born Taloş). Zotti certainly was well educated, speaking, alongside the Romanian language also Hungarian, French and German. Probably she attended a higher school of girls in Vienna, a school where *fine cuisine* and elegant manners were part of the school's curriculum. From the recipes proposed in the cookbook, we realize that she was a good acquaintance of the international cuisine, especially of the Central European, but also of the French, English and Romanian with Balkan influences. Our hypothesis that she was educated in Vienna is supported by the multitude of German words used to designate or explain ingredients or preparations - *Markbein* - marrow, English muscle - *Lungenbraten*, Fine oil-*Tafelöl*, breadcrumb-*Brösel*, nutmeg-*Muskatnuss*, German cabbage - *Kohl*, Spinach- *Spinat*, Green peas-*Erbsen*, Steak-*Holzfleisch*, Almond pudding-*Mandelkoch*, butter dough- *Butterteig*, sheet dough- *Blätterteig* etc., as also a recommendation of the famous Viennese restaurant Riedhof³³⁴, where it was served such a good steak, so that it could not be forgotten the whole life³³⁵.

³³¹ I would also like to thank Liliana Popa, a reputed archivist from Sibiu, who made available to me the cookbook.

³³² https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enea_Hodoş

³³³ https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Familia_Hodoş

³³⁴ <https://www.wien.gv.at/wiki/index.php/Riedhof>, accesat 17 May 2018.

³³⁵ Zotti Hodoş, *Pofta buna!* [Enjoy your meal!], , Part II, Caransebeş, Diecesan Typography, 1900, p. 72. (*Nowadays, it is no longer a habit to bring boiled filet to the table when we have guests. However, those who remained faithful to the customs of the elderly, sees gladly on the table a tasty boiled filet, garnished with a lot. In particular, who ate at the Riedhof in Vienna, do not forget the goodness of it his whole life*).

Not knowing what year Zotti Secula was married to Enea Hodoș, we can only assume that the idea of writing a cookbook appeared in Sibiu when her husband was a teacher at the Romanian girls' school. After the middle of the nineteenth century, girls' education had become a priority in the Romanian society in Transylvania, in social and economic progress. The acquisition of solid knowledge in the field of culinary art, namely familiarization with fine, foreign and indigenous cuisine, were indispensable for a future lady who was supposed not only to lead a household but also to represent. Serving rich, tasty, elaborate meals with foreign names could help increase the family's social prestige. Therefore, Zotti Hodos's work came out of necessity, coming to fill a gap.

If in the *belle époque* there were enough gourmet literature in the Transylvanian cities in the Hungarian and German languages, in the Romanian language was almost non-existent. In our researches we did not find any Romanian cookbook appearing in the Austro-Hungarian Empire before or concurrently with the one written by Zotti, despite the fact that in no. 2 of 1909 of the magazine *Luceafărul*, at the "Mail of the Editor", a lady Lucia R. of Timișoara said: *the best cookbook of Romanian dishes is Enjoy your meal! by Mrs. Zotti Hodoș, which appeared in the new edition and can be ordered directly from the author in Sibiu, Kapgasse*³³⁶.

The copy from 1900, which I had the pleasure of going through, carries the characteristics of its age and the footprint of the generations of housewives whom passed through their hands. It is very worn out, some pages are broken, some are missing (missing pages 39-65, 246-251 and the last few). Although these gaps are regrettable, they are not an impediment to deciphering the specificity of this book.

Suggesting on one hand, expensive and sophisticated recipes - pasta, clapon and stuffed pheasant, game in elaborate sauces, cakes and other fine desserts - and, on the other hand, simple, inexpensive recipes, the book addresses both elite, wealthy ones and middle class with limited possibilities. The book is structured in ten chapters (I. Soupes, II Assiettes, III Meats and Sauces, IV Vegetables, V Steaks, Garnish, Salads, VI Cakes, Coffees, VII Pies, Candies, VIII Creams, Parfaits, IX Ice Creams, X Sweets, compotes, different beverages), followed by all-day menus and festive meals (both for all seasons), with explanations and table of content.

Like other authors of cookbooks, Zotti Hodoș takes in her collection verified recipes from family members (from her mother, mother-in-law and her sister-in-law), friends and acquaintances, always noting the source's name for each recipe. So, names as: Judita Secula, Ana, Cornelia, Eugenia, and Lucretia Hodoș, Ada Bălaș, Maria Ghidiu, Olivia Vuia, Sofia Pap, Amalia Lazici, Emilia Mureșanu, Sidonia Maior, Elisaveta Curta, Ida Faur, Letiția Onciu, Netta Călcianariu appear.

The price of the book, mentioned in both the Hungarian currency, 56 creițari, and in Romanian currency, 70 bani, could indicate that the author wanted to be acquired not only by the Romanians in the Empire, but to circulate also in Romania. The intention seems manifest when, for recipe no. 286, she explains, in a footnote the fact that *jumară*, according to the province in which it is used, designates

³³⁶ *Luceafărul*, 2, 1909, p. 48.

different foods: *In Romania it is beaten eggs fried in butter or fat. In Transylvania and elsewhere, jumară are the remains of fresh pork bacon, cut pieces, roasted and squeezed of grease. In our recipe, the word jumară is used with the last meaning*³³⁷. At the recipe no. 174, *Ghiveci*, taken from Lucretia Hodoș, after listing a series of vegetables known in Transylvania, continues with the eggplant, okra and leeks, emphasizing *that the latter are mainly in Romania*³³⁸.

Regarding the quantities of ingredients necessary for preparation of recipes, Simona Lazăr, who edited the book of Christ Ionnin from 1865, makes an interesting remark: *the indications for ingredients do not always take into account [...] as it weighs in many cases, the price of the ingredients being the one indicated. [...] Zotti Hodoș tells you to put yeast of two crețari or flour of 15 crețari [...] in fact, this very detail in the writing of recipes gives us valuable information, that at the end of the 19th century, in Banat and Transylvania, prices were constant and at the same level throughout the country, so housewives did not risk to mistake the recipe*³³⁹.

As I said above, the cookbook *Enjoy your meal* contains recipes from Transylvania and Banat, recipes from international cuisine as French, English, Central European - German, Austrian, Hungarian - but also recipes from Romania, of Balkan or Byzantine influences. In the case of recipes of Banat and Transylvania, the author sometimes uses regionalisms for the designation of ingredients - cucuruz, curcubată, poame, blid, slobozeală - or corrupted words from other languages (caralabe, from Kohlrübe or Kohlrabi; pasteturi from Pasteten; a șpecălui, from spicken).

Among the Transylvanian dishes we can mention *Transylvanian Cabbage, Cabbage as in Cluj, Pork ribs as in Turda, Scoverzi etc.*, and from the international cuisine *Boeuf à la mode, souce de fricassée, stewed Roastbeef, english Biftec, Rostbraten à la Eszterházy, Netzbraten, Nickles-Pickles* and others. The Romanian cuisine is present with *Romanian Pies, Salad from eggplants, Musaca, Musaca from eggplants, Eggplant slices with sour cream, Ciulama, etc.* Eggplant preparations were later taken over by the Germans in Transylvania, this vegetable lacking in their cookbooks at the turn of the century.

In the desserts chapter, tortes and cakes, predominantly are those of Central European origin. Some of these, such as *Kugelhupf, Linz Cake* and *Almond Cake*, are centuries old, and others are more recent creations. Thus, *Sachertorte* was created in 1832 by the Viennese confectioner Franz Sacher (1816-1907) and the *Dobos Cake* by the Budapest-based confectioner József C. Dobos (1847-1924) in 1885 at the occasion of the *Universal Exhibition* in the capital of Hungary. As a novelty in the confectionery industry, Dobos used as a filling for the seven sheets of cake a fine butter cream with chocolate, until then creams were only *crème pâtissière* or *crème chantilly*³⁴⁰. Another desert loved to this day, whose recipe is found in Zotti Hodoș's

³³⁷ Zotti Hodoș, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

³³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 99.

³³⁹ Christ Ionnin, *Buctaria romaneasca* [The romanian kitchen]. (First published 1865), București, Editura GastroArt, 2018, p. 87.

³⁴⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dobos_torte

cookbook called *Crème Pittah and cream*³⁴¹, is the *cremesnit*, in German *Crème-Schnitte*. The dessert was created in the Central European area, probably in the first half of the nineteenth century, but the name of the confectioner or the confectionery where it was prepared for the first time was not given. The author proposes the classic version of the recipe, consisting of two sheets filled with vanilla cream, but there are other varieties in which the cream is mixed with beaten whites or whipped cream, the last being the recipe of the famous *Ruszwurm* confectionery in Budapest (opened in 1827)³⁴². In another variation, the culinary symbol of the town Bled in Slovenia, the whipped cream does not mix with the vanilla cream, but it is stretched in a consistent layer over it³⁴³.

As we continue, would like to reproduce some recipes proposed by Zotti Hodoş, recipes specific to Banat and Transylvania.



Wine Soup (Fasting Soup), p. 6*

In the thinned wine with water, boil a few pieces of sugar, lemon zest, cinnamon, cherry, sour cherry or other dried fruits (the dried fruits first cleaned in warm water). We are serving it with toasted bread cut in cubes.

* At the transcription of the receipes was kept the grafik of the author.



Stuffed Rutabaga (Kohlrabi), p. 92

We take young rutabaga, especially the purple ones, we clean them from the shell, we cut them above in the shape of a lid. Remove the core with a teaspoon and leave them thinly ½ cm. The removed core is kept on a plate. When all is ready, we fry in a pot fat with onion, rice, minced meat, to which we add, after they cooled, an egg or two, pepper, salt and a part of the core removed. With this fill the rutabaga, put the lid on them, and after greasing a pan, we put the rest of the core on the bottom of the pan, then we arrange next to each other the rutabaga with the lid above, cover them with water or hot broth and bring them to boil. Until we boil them slowly, we make a thin crust of grease and flour, bruise a little onion and parsley leaves cut small. We collect this fry with cold water so that it does not become round dough, we give it salt and pour it over the boiling rutabaga. Cover them again and let them boil with the fry, but we often move the pan so that they do not stick to the bottom of the pan. When boiled, arrange them nicely in a bowl (plate), add to the sauce some sour cream and pour it over them.



Asparangus and cauliflower with sour cream, p. 93.

Both the asparangus and the cauliflower are cleaned from the wooden parts and boiled a little in salted water. Until they boil, fry in a saucepan some breadcrumbs in a spoonful of butter or grease. Drain the water from the asparangus (or cauliflower), put them in a greasy

³⁴¹ Zotti Hodoş, *op. cit.*, p. 178-179.

³⁴² <http://www.ruszwurm.hu/backwerke-im-bild/die-ruszwurm-cremeschnitte/>

³⁴³ <https://www.oetker.at/at-de/rezepte/r/cremeschnitten-aus-bled-mit-blaetterteig.html>

saucepan, sprinkled with the fried breadcrumb. Above we put one or two glasses of sour cream after the amount we prepare. It can also be prepared with less breadcrumbs, then it will be placed only on the bottom of the saucepan and above. If we have too little sour cream, we can thin it with a little broth (meat soup). At the oven we keep it a little while, just as it gives once or twice the wave. If the sourcream lowers and the asparangus or cauliflower is dry, this delicate dish is unsuccessful.

The asparangus and cauliflower are easier to prepare in Germany. There are served as soon as they are removed from salted water, sprinkled with fresh and hot butter. Many times it is made in two separate pots, in one the vegetables are boiled in salted water, and in the other one, in a cup the butter in which it gets hot.

Pumpkin can be prepared like cauliflower and asparangus. Clean the shell, cut in slices of the asparangus thickness and a few centimeters long, then boil in salt water and follow the receipt like asparangus and cauliflower.



Noodles with ham (jambon)*, p. 146

Cut from a noodle blanket square patches. We boil them in salt water, let them drain into a stream of cold water. We now make two layers of flour, egg yolk and wine. We stretch them thinly, then smear a pattern either in the form of a star, heart or another, we dump it with a dough layer with wine. We make a mixture with minced ham, sour cream and a little butter. We mix the noddles with the slices of ham and sour cream, put it in the form of dough and cover it with the second layer. We make a few stitches over the slices and put the noodles in the oven. When the bark is slightly browned above, we cut the noodles into the bowl and serve them whole. And simpler they can be prepared. Boil the noodles and drain them, fry in grease some small-grained ham. We add the cooked noodles, mix once, put sour cream in it and serve them.

* In the book of Elise Fröhlich, *Die siebenbürgische Küche*, Sibiu 1897 (6th edition, 1910 p. 31), there is a variation of this recipe, very popular nowadays in Central Europe. Fröhlich prepares *Schinken-Nudeln* with a single sheet of dough, which alternately places a layer of bacon and one of the noodles, over which pour two hundred ml of sour cream mixed with three beaten eggs and bake it for $\frac{3}{4}$ hour in the oven. The modern recipes of the preparation, accessible online, are derived from Zotti Hodoş's second variation, distinguished by more spicy flavor and the use of roasted onions, eggs, parmesan cheese and parsley leaves. <http://www.kimcookstheworld.com/austria-schinkenfleckerl/>



Noodles with meat, p. 146-147

We roast pieces of cow meat in grease, with salt, pepper and marjoram*. The meat can also be minced, then we give it soup or hot water to boil the meat until it softens. We stretch the noodles thicker than usual and then cut short and narrow. After we cooked and fried them, we used them as a garnish for the juicy meat, in which we put some sour cream, or we mix the boiled and drained noodles with the juicy meat.

* Marjoram: is a aromatic plant (*majorana hortensis*).

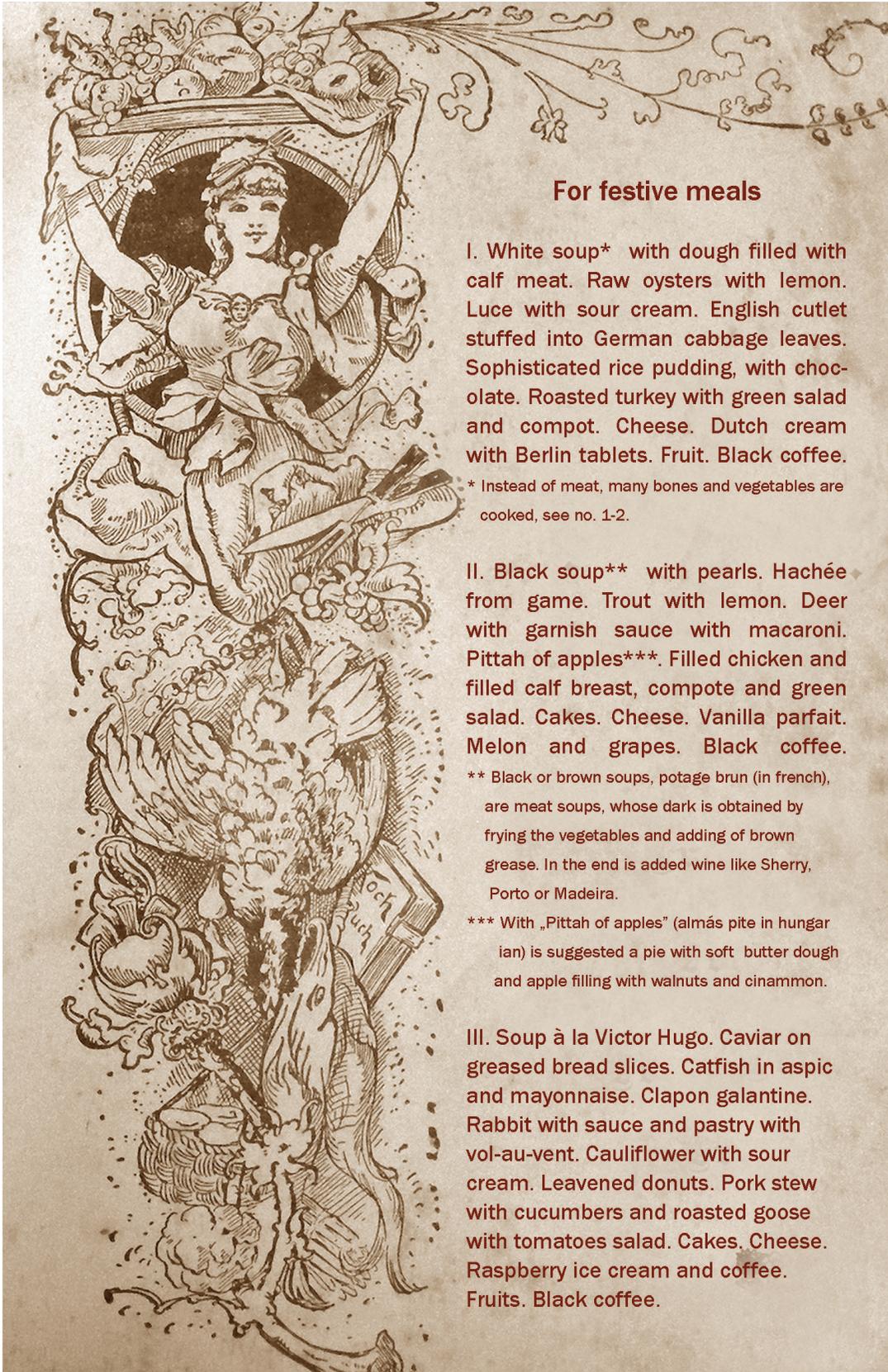


Bischofsbrod/ Bishop's bread (Ada Bălaș), p. 184

In a clean bowl, mix with a wooden spoon 1/8 kg of small sugar with 5 yolks until the foam is made, 1/8 kg of smoked almonds, cleaned and half of them cut long and half milled, are mixed in the bowl of eggs and sugar, add 1/8 kg of chocolate cut pieces, half lemon juice and zest, *zitronat for 10 crețari cut pieces*, one spoon of rum, with which we soak a spoon of breadcrumbs. The white beaten foam from the 5 yolks is mixed in the bowl with 3 tablespoons of white flour. The broad baking tray should be greased with butter or clean grease and sprinkled with flour. It is brought to baking. We cut it in thin sliced, when it's cold.

We believe that they might also be interested in the festive meals proposed by Zotti Hodoș, menus that constitute an indicator of the gastronomic refinement achieved by wealthy families at the beginning of the 20th century. Due to the missing pages, the recipes of some of the dishes, such as soup à la Victor Hugo, which we have not found in other cookbooks, are still unknown. With regard to meat, we note that game, calf, poultry and fish is favoured to pork.

In conclusion, we can say that *Enjoy your meal!*, Zotti Hodoș's cookbook was from the turn of the century to the first quarter of the 20th century the book of the Romanian ladies in Banat and Transylvania, contributing to a great extent both to the spread of the fine international cuisine and the wide-ranging knowledge of the regional one. Numerous reeditions prove the popularity of this book, which is used to this day.



For festive meals

I. White soup* with dough filled with calf meat. Raw oysters with lemon. Luce with sour cream. English cutlet stuffed into German cabbage leaves. Sophisticated rice pudding, with chocolate. Roasted turkey with green salad and compot. Cheese. Dutch cream with Berlin tablets. Fruit. Black coffee.

* Instead of meat, many bones and vegetables are cooked, see no. 1-2.

II. Black soup** with pearls. Hachée from game. Trout with lemon. Deer with garnish sauce with macaroni. Pittah of apples***. Filled chicken and filled calf breast, compote and green salad. Cakes. Cheese. Vanilla parfait. Melon and grapes. Black coffee.

** Black or brown soups, potage brun (in french), are meat soups, whose dark is obtained by frying the vegetables and adding of brown grease. In the end is added wine like Sherry, Porto or Madeira.

*** With „Pittah of apples” (almás pite in hungarian) is suggested a pie with soft butter dough and apple filling with walnuts and cinammon.

III. Soup à la Victor Hugo. Caviar on greased bread slices. Catfish in aspic and mayonnaise. Clapon galantine. Rabbit with sauce and pastry with vol-au-vent. Cauliflower with sour cream. Leavened donuts. Pork stew with cucumbers and roasted goose with tomatoes salad. Cakes. Cheese. Raspberry ice cream and coffee. Fruits. Black coffee.

The Restaurant *Römischer Kaiser/ Împăratul Romanilor* in Sibiu: History and gastronomy

The History of the Hotel and Restaurant *Römischer Kaiser/ Împăratul Romanilor/ Roman Emperor* in Sibiu means to go back the 16th century when, at the initiative of Magistrate Petrus Haller, the first inn was opened in the city. The opening of the inn in Sibiu occurred in a *troubled period*. The previous year, 1554, that of *plague*, which caused in the city over three thousand two hundred victims. The cemetery of the Evangelical Church, today the common courtyard of the church building and the Samuel von Brukenthal College, has proven to be not spacious enough for so many victims, which is why it has begun to create a new one outside the walls of the fortress. The drama of the situation has led the inhabitants to break the fortification wall between the current Gh. Lazăr str. and Filarmonicii str. for a *gate*, named *the gate of the corpses*, the funerals being made in the new cemetery located on the perimeter of today's County Hospital on Corneliu Coposu³⁴⁴ Boulevard. And because *a calamity never comes alone*, as an old proverb says, a strong fire broke out in Sibiu - that was at noon on March 31, 1556 - a fire that turned a whole part of the city into ashes. Not less than five hundred and fifty-six houses and three monasteries turned into ashes, to which were added eighty-one human victims, including the archpriest of Sibiu, Paul Binder³⁴⁵. The fury of the inhabitants was great, especially since the rumors said that the fire was an intentional one, since it erupted from three places.

The city council accused for this calamity Johannes Rott, the royal judge, who was killed by the furious crowd a day later on April 1³⁴⁶. Undoubtedly, the city recovered, that a century later, the Saxon humanist, historian and geographer Johann Tröster, in his book: *Das Alt- und Neu-Teutsche Dacia. Das ist: Neue Beschreibung des Landes Siebenbürgen* ("The old and new German Dacia, which is the new description of the Land of Transylvania"), appeared in Nürnberg of 1666, says about Sibiu: *Inside, this adornment of the Saxon cities is so ornamental enriched with imposing buildings, that, from the distance, the whole city seems to be red through the crowd of high roof tiles [...]*³⁴⁷. What could not have been mentioned by the author, but it is important for the economy of this essay, is the existence of stone houses from the fourteenth century. A document from Sibiu from 1408, reminds of

³⁴⁴ Gerhard M. Bonfert, *Zum "Römischen Kaiser"*. *Aus der Geschichte des ältesten Gasthofes von Hermannstadt. Bilder der einstigen Hauptstadt Siebenbürgens/ Hermanstadt/ Sibiu, Bad Wörishofen, 2007, p. 7.*

³⁴⁵ Emil Sigerus, *Chronik der Stadt Hermannstadt. 1100–1929*, Hermannstadt, Honterus-Buchdruckerei, 1930, p 8.

³⁴⁶ Johannes Rott (with the variety Roth) was royal judge between 1544 and 1566 (Bonfert, p. 8).

³⁴⁷ Constantin Ittu, Macarie Țuțuț, *E cruce ad lucem/ From cross to light*, Sibiu, Editura Andreiana, Editura Astra Museum, 2015, p. 123.

the existence of a stone house in today's Great Square, which Mathias Baldi bought and renovated, *on his expenses*. Later, in 1411, Mathias Tromenauer sold his stone house to Nikolaus Jenkowics for the sum of 1,000 guldens³⁴⁸. One of the old stone buildings of the city is the Lutsch House, in the Great Square corner to Magheru Str., which seems to have belonged to the Sibiu prepositure³⁴⁹. The initial construction, with a sharp Gothic roof and a dwelling tower - now known only from the existing illustrative material - seems to have been restored to serve as an *inn* - in fact, a place of accommodation - to the Hungarian kings when they came or went through the old Hermanstadt. Sold and then resold among private owners, the house will be purchased by the city in 1818 and demolished in 1830 to build another building on that site³⁵⁰.

The wooden houses in the Upper Town began to disappear from the urban landscape, proof being made by the decision taken in 1547 by the *Universitas Saxorum* (Saxon University, the political and administrative body of the Saxons), according to which the rural priests, willing to buy houses in Sibiu, were forced to buy wooden houses that they could rebuild after buying. These issues, which are not the topic of this study, were complemented by the appearance of the first *Fire Fighting Regulation in Sibiu*, dating back to 1570³⁵¹.

This was the case when the City Magistrate – who was not a person but a body of civil servants with an administrative role – decided to buy the house in Heltauergasse no. 127 and its transformation in an *inn*, which will be named *Turkish Sultan*. The proof of this can be found in the *Expenditure Register* for the years 1547-1767, an authentic mirror of the amounts used for fortifications, the construction or maintenance of buildings, fountains and streets³⁵². In the middle of the sixteenth century, as in the next two, the Sibians did not feel the need of an inn, because the custom was to stay with relatives or friends when they left the city or received guests. In addition, when Sibiu became the capital of Transylvania, the Saxons from the *Seven Chairs and Two Districts* settled in the houses bought in the city. For example, the delegates or deputies of Bistrița had their headquarters (*Herrenhof*) initially on Centumvirilor Str., then on Filarmonicii Str., where they had a building. Those in Rupea were booked on Centumvirilor Str., while the representatives of Mediaș and Sighișoara were living in a building on Mitropoliei Str., while the delegates from Brașov on Nicolae Balcescu Str.³⁵³.

With the transformation of Transylvania into a province of the Habsburg Empire, the Sibians were empowered to host the imperial troops - a matter clarified by the Blaj Treaty of 27 October 1687 - and the relations between the locals and the militaries or Austrian officers were not the most rosy. In addition, under the treaty mentioned, the elites were relieved of this obligation, the burden being passed on to other segments of the Siban society, where many houses were small, meeting only

³⁴⁸ Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p. 11–12.

³⁴⁹ Sigerus, *op. cit.*, p.1: 1191: *gründet die Probstei des heiligen Ladislaus in Hermannstadt*'

³⁵⁰ Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

³⁵² Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p. 14–15.

³⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

the needs of craftsmen families. The rents were small, and the city leadership was assaulted with countless complaints from both the hosts and the "guests"³⁵⁴.

In 1694, *the Aulic Chamber of Transylvania* was established in Vienna, the capital of the Empire, the principality being included in the economic and administrative system of the Habsburg Empire, with full rights and obligations towards the Crown. In this context the change of the name of the Sibiu inn *Sultan of Turks*, in the *Blue Star* occurred. The most illustrious guest of the newly-named inn was King Charles XII of Sweden (1697-1718), who, incognito, stopped in Sibiu on November 8, 1714, together with two companions, to rest and eat³⁵⁵. It happened a few years after the Poltava battle of 1709 when, after the Swedish king was defeated by the Russian armies in the famous *North War*, he was forced to seek refuge in the Ottoman Empire. He settled near Varnița, near Bender - now Tighina, the present Republic of Moldova - but, following the *Kalabalâk from Bender* in February 1713, (the fighting of Bender) he fell into prison with the Ottomans who wanted him not only leaving their Empire, but re-engaged in military hostilities against Russia³⁵⁶. After a period of imprisonment, the king headed to his native country and thus arrived in Sibiu that November 1714³⁵⁷. Over thirty years, the Dutchman Arnoldus van Lyndecker was forced, due to the harsh winter, to stay for two months at the *Blue Star* inn.

Becoming the capital of Habsburg Transylvania, Sibiu will be influenced by the Empire, meaning that, as Vienna's model, cafés and coffee-houses will open here as well. Local elites were going out on beautiful summer days in summer gardens, with eight o'clock in the evening being the closure time for all the gardens, inns and pubs of the city. Otherwise, consumers and owners were "invited" to serve the punishment. In addition, the orders of the commander-general, doubled by the provisions of the City Magistrate, looked at the clothing, the luxury, the wedding expenses, the *eating and drinking in excess*, etc³⁵⁸.

Any state that respects itself, empire or not, places emphasis transportation in order to link the capital with provinces for various reasons, from economic to political, administrative, cultural, educational or strategic. In this context, since 1754 a diligence has circulated between Vienna and Sibiu, and what interests us in the light of the chosen theme, is the arrival in 1772 in Sibiu of the Philipp Collignon from Luxemburg. Problems of adaptation did not seem to have occurred since the Saxon dialect is very close to Luxembourgish, a conclusion reached by the Jesuit Father Franz Xaver de Feller since that eighteenth century³⁵⁹.

³⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

³⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

³⁵⁶ <https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/aventura-otomana-a-regelui-suedez-karl-sau-kalabalakul-de-la-bender>

³⁵⁷ https://adevarul.ro/locale/zalau/foto-locul-carol-xii-lea-suediei-si-a-recapatat-fortele-razboiul-nordului-regele-fost-ospatat-mancaruri-alese-vinuri-scumpe-struguri-stafiditi-1_51ef9ab3c7b855ff566b2898/index.html

³⁵⁸ Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p.19.

³⁵⁹ Franz Xaver de Feller, born at Bruxelles in August 18, 1735, studied at the College from Luxemburg, after that, for two years, he studied Philosophy and Science at Rheims <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz15778.html>

Philipp Collignon hired the (*At*) *Blue Star* inn for six years with a rent of 250 guildens annually, in the first three years, respectively with 300 guildens annually for the rest of the period. The Luxembourg citizen not only knew how to improve the reputation of the inn, but also had the ability to put into practice a government order, *to prepare guest rooms for travelers*. Under the conditions of the influx of clerks and officers from the Empire coming to the capital of Transylvania - the province had already become a Grand Principality since November 1765 - the decision resolves a deficiency, the accommodation. Or, shortly after, an order from Vienna came to *furnish the city inn* [from str. Nicolae Balcescu of nowadays] *in such a way that it is not only a comfortable tavern, but also a house with the possibility of hosting strangers*³⁶⁰. We have no clear evidence that this order from 1772 was given in the perspective of the visit that Joseph II of Habsburg (1780-1790) was to make in Transylvania and, implicitly, in Sibiu in March 1773³⁶¹. It is certain that Joseph II (co-regent of 1765, during his mother's reign, Maria Theresia: 1740-1780) lived for several days at *The Blue Star* inn, renamed as *The Roman Emperor* after the name of this illustrious guest which it hosted³⁶².

Johann Theodor von Herrmann (1743, Brasov - 1790, Sibiu), who was in Sibiu as an official and later became secretary at the Aulic Chancellery of Transylvania in Vienna, tells his uncle, Major Theodor von Herrmann of Braşov, *that the Emperor came here last Friday, half to four in the afternoon* [ie at 15:30 - nn] *some of the housekeepers and luggage arrived a few hours earlier. Of the monarch's suite, there were about seven or eight simple, half-covered carts. Two surgeons, a secretary, a courier, a forager, a camerist, a confectioner who had nothing more to do than chocolate, two chefs, four lackeys, arrived in the service hall for the high guest. The Emperor crossed the Great Square to the new inn, "The Roman Emperor" in Heltauergasse, which was arranged very neatly*³⁶³. The letter, dated June 1, 1773, suggests that the inn was given the new name some time before the visit of the sovereign (May 28, 1773). In fact, Aulic Chancellery of Transylvania was aware of the imperial visit, as it appears from the letter of Johann Theodor von Herrmann to his uncle in Braşov dated 27 April and 4 May³⁶⁴. In order to better understand the domestic, Habsburg and Transylvanian contexts, the Aulic Transylvanian Chancellery (*Cancelaria Caesareo-Regia Transilvania-Aulica*) was a central governing body, active between 1694 and 1867, headquartered in Vienna, with the goal of connecting Vienna with the local Transylvanian authorities. The Chancellery was headed by a Chancellor, assisted by a number of Aulic Councilors, as well as by administrative staff of secretaries - such as Johann Theodor von Herrmann - law clerks, and the Chancellery's activity also materialized in reports submitted to the parties involved .

Joseph II stayed three times at *The Roman Emperor* - more specifically from May 28, 1773, when he was coregent, then May 31, 1783 and June 16, 1786, as

³⁶⁰ Emil Sigerus, *op. cit.*, p. 32

³⁶¹ <https://www.timponline.ro/legende-despre-calatoriile-imparatului-iosif-al-ii-lea-in-zona-bistritei-si-nasaudului/>

³⁶² Sigerus, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁶³ Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

³⁶⁴ *Idem*.

emperor from 1780 - in all three visits in Transylvania³⁶⁵. The behavior of the Emperor in Sibiu, which gave audiences to *The Roman Emperor*, was not a novelty for the subjects of the Empire. Receiving them with petitions at imperial audiences was a practice in use since Mary Theresia (1740-1780), but with Joseph II they took mass proportions, a sign of the full opening of the Imperial House. Because of the general fight of the age against superstition and ignorance, the emperor wants to free himself from the old narrative of mysticism and sacredness, appearing in front of the crowds first of all *as a human who is the remedy for human*³⁶⁶. His contemporary and adversary, Frederic II of Prussia (1740-1786), said of Joseph II that he had ruled his empire out of diligence³⁶⁷. *In the case of visits to Transylvania, we can speak of a true ritual of the journey, strictly adhered to: the preference for incognito, the prohibition of organizing festivities, and official meeting, staying in modest places (inns, peasant houses or parish houses) playing always for the services he benefited from*³⁶⁸.

The Roman Emperor will become a place most sought by the Sibian elites, if it was embarrassing to enter a place around 1760, about two decades later we encounter another mentality. The days and, especially, the beautiful evenings were a good opportunity to attend the cafés, where even low-cost refreshments could be consumed. Of course, there were also pubs where wine was drunk, the sale license for it was free in the city³⁶⁹. In turn, Collignon, a true businessman, obtained the approval to organize masked balls at *The Roman Emperor*, motivating the city's leadership to expand the building, by raising a dance hall. *In 1789, this room was extended, and as any reduta room, was also provided with galleries, lodges and a space for orchestra. "Reduta" - which characterizes the foreign origin of the amusement that took place here - was in the back wing and occupied the corner with Xenopol Street, back then known as Ballgässchen (Ball Str. Str. Balului)*³⁷⁰.

With the desire to recover his expenses, Collignon will organize four balls a week in winter, the entrance fee being 34 cr. on Sunday and 20 cr. during the week. Here, at the *The Roman Emperor* came the high society of Sibiu³⁷¹, while the rest of the social segments of the city were heading for *Calul Bălan* or to *La Lebăda*, to summarize only to these examples. In addition, Philipp Collignon offered his services outside the inn, offering what today would be called *catering*. Thus, when Baron Samuel von Brukenthal came to Sibiu in October 1774, as the special envoy of

³⁶⁵ Angelika Schaser, *Reformele iosefine în Transilvania și urmările lor în viața socială* [The Josephine Reforms in Transylvania and Their Implications in Social Life], Sibiu, Editura Hora, Sibiu, 2000, p. 45.

³⁶⁶ Lavinia Betea, *Psihologie politică* [Political Psychology], Iași, Polirom, 2001, p. 122.

³⁶⁷ Toader Nicoară, *Transilvania timpurilor modern (1680-1800) – Societate rurală și mentalități colective* [Transylvania of modern times (1680–1800) – rural society and collective mentalities] Cluj-Napoca, Dacia, 2001, p. 353.

³⁶⁸ *Michael Conrad von Heydendorff (1730–1821), o autobiografie*, [Michael Conrad von Heydendorff 1730-1821, an autobiography] in *Izvoarele răscoalei lui Horea*, seria B, *Izvoare narative*, vol I. (1773-1785) București, Editura Academiei, 1983, p. 26.

³⁶⁹ Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

³⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

Empress Maria Theresia, the Sibians received him with great success at Amnaş. In the latter town, the Magistrate of the City of Sibiu *served the baron's suite at three splendid meals under Collignon's agile eyes*³⁷².

Besides, in Sibiu - but not only here - the traditions of conservative life begin to be replaced by new forms of social manifestation, from fashion to behavior and not only. The traditional Saxon garments were replaced by *German clothing*³⁷³. Balls, concerts, such as the one organized by Countess Bornemisza on 19 March 1787, billiard parties or soupes, such as that offered by the Magistrate on May 11, 1790, when Michael von Brukenthal was chosen as the royal judge of Sibiu, were hosted at *The Roman Emperor* until 1791, the year of Philip Collignon's death. The business was run by his widow, Franziska, for four years, after which he was leased to Wagner and the merchant Albrecht³⁷⁴.

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *The Roman Emperor* became the favorite place for dancing and masked balls. Irritated, the theater director, Christoph Ludwig Seipp, who, during the masked balls, he came to play with the empty house, said *that all cities in the Empire, including the capital, Vienna, have weekly entertainment in two days. Only Sibiu has doubled the carnival period and enjoys the celebration four times a week*³⁷⁵. The case must be sought in the fact that Sibiu, at one point, the capital of Transylvania, housed an impressive military garrison - the second in the Empire after that at Wiener Neustadt - and the officers, under the influence of Viennese dance and music, were not willing to give up such entertainments. However, after the *fury* about dancing has diminished, even leading to the closure of some of the dancing halls in the city, *the Roman Emperor* remained the only dancing ring, but the space was also rented for other manifestations, such as, for example, the concert of February 26, 1861, offered by the Hermania Choir³⁷⁶.

In 1857, the city bought the Wayda house from the main street, with the purpose of expanding the *The Roman Emperor* building, and in 1873 the dance hall was having parqueted floors. A *noble mask ball* was held here every Thursday around 1877, and every Sunday was the *common masked ball*. The students ball - *one of the most animated and enjoyable balls of the season*³⁷⁷ - was followed by the masked ball of the Women's Association, then by the hunters, then the Musical Association and so on, the price of entry to all these being of one gulden. After the time of the masked balls passed, their place was taken by the picnic parties, which were gathering at *The Roman Emperor* families of friends. These families brought their

³⁷² Julius Gross, *Briefe des Gubernialsekretärs Johann Theodor von Herrmann an Karl und Michael von Heydendorf von 1. Juni 1773*, in "Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde", Band 23, Heft 1, p. 186.

³⁷³ Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

³⁷⁵ Laurențiu Rădvan (ed.), *Orasul din spatial romanesc intre Orient si Occident. Tranzitia de la medievalitate la modernitate* [The city of Romanian regions between the Orient and the Occident. Transition from the Middle Ages to modernity], Iași, Ediura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", 2007, 236.

³⁷⁶ Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁷⁷ Emil Sigerus, *Hermannstädter Fasching von 50 Jahren*, in "Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt", Hermanstadt/Sibiu, 2 February 1927.

food and drinks from home, the employees of both the inn and the personal staff were excluded, things that gave the meetings a high degree of intimacy³⁷⁸.

The 19th century witnessed an architectural leap in Sibiu, a series of medieval buildings, including fortification walls or gates of the city being demolished and replaced by modern buildings. Even the old *The Roman Emperor* did not resist the wave of changes, which was replaced in 1895 by the *hotel* of the same name. The project of the new building was approved by the *Hermannstädter Allgemeine Sparkassa* on June 12, 1894, the financing coming from the Bank's reserve fund, the construction being considered a stock corporation (*Aktiengesellschaft*)³⁷⁹. Regarding the restaurant, we find that there *was a large dining room, which, according to the taste of the Sibians, is separated by two glass partitions into a large room and two small ones. These, as well as the "special room", are illuminated by seven large lamps, and are also provided with ventilation and steam heating, providing space for fifty square tables*³⁸⁰. Steam heating was something new in Sibiu at the time, and it consisted of an installation with two huge boilers, an installation produced by the Viennese company Scholly. On the two floors of the hotel were the guest rooms, a bathroom on each floor, and the *water closets [...] were built exemplarily*. In addition, on the first floor, there was a bright seven-window room for closed meetings³⁸¹.

In his edition of September 7, 1895, the Sibian newspaper *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt* announced that *tomorrow, at 7 o'clock, "The Roman Emperor" hotel will be opened*³⁸², and in the September 10 edition came with details: *the Italian sky and the inviting air of the evening were auspicious and [...] the moonlight replaced the future illumination that will give the elegant courtyard of the restaurant the last blessing of a large city while the spacious arcades were decorated with floral arrangements*. Initially, the hotel does not have a café, but only a restaurant, but after that, a café will be arranged on the main street, where the Krasovsky fashion house was located³⁸³. As for the restaurant, it had an interior courtyard with a sliding ceiling and surrounded by arches, where guests could delight themselves in the summer. The courtyard was decorated with flowers and a spectacular fountain in the middle, surrounded by pillars, the tables were placed in niches, offering privacy. The military fanfare performed concerts here twice a week, in front of the most exclusive audience: elegant ladies in evening dresses, gentlemen in suits or uniforms, waiters dressed in tails and impeccably white shirts - an aristocratic world, after all the rules of the great Viennese society³⁸⁴.

³⁷⁸ Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 37–8.

³⁸⁰ *Der neue "Römische Kaiser"* in "Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt", Hermanstadt/Sibiu, 5. September 1895.

³⁸¹ Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

³⁸² *Hotel Eröffnung*, in "Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt", Hermanstadt/Sibiu, 8. September 1895.

³⁸³ Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

³⁸⁴ <https://povestisasesti.com/2013/07/28/povesti-dulci-de-odinioara-cafenele-si-cofetarii-in-sibiul-vechi-partea-i/>

Seven years after its inauguration, the *The Roman Emperor* was considered *the first-class hotel with forty-four guest rooms, a dining room and a restaurant in the courtyard with its arcades, omnibuses and own carriages*³⁸⁵. In a 1925–*Guide of Romania*, the hotel was recommended as a *house with old renown [...] with central heating, electric lighting, electric tram station [and] with telephone number 50*. In addition, on 24 April 1921, a taxi station was arranged right in front of the hotel³⁸⁶.

As far as the printed menus are concerned, they do not rise, from a graphic point of view, to those of other urban centers, beautifully decorated. For example, the menu of June 6, 1922, printed by Georg Haiser, *Schmiedgasse* (Faurului Str.) no. 21, consists of a single sheet printed on both sides, with spaces bounded by colored borders in a green hue, pleasantly visible and bilingual, Romanian and German. The menu was advertised, such as the *Stadtpark* sanatorium, where Dr. E. Eitel was a physician, and a *workshop for fashion umbrellas and hats*. Among the dishes are beans, fish salad, pudding *à la Linz*, stew *à la Mexico* and *Portuguese cake*³⁸⁷. The menu of July 22, 1933, which has no advertising, includes, among the specific types, *caviar with lemon, cutlet with wild sauce, catfish and roquefort with butter*³⁸⁸. On October 13, 1939, we found a fixed menu, the price of which was 34 lei, menu consisting of: soup, pork steak or vegetables, calf, and as desert *slice à la Linz or bisquits with chadou*. Dishes of choice were cold tongue with horseradish, marinated fish, cold fish with tartar sauce, fried carp in oil, peas *à l'anglaise*, Brussels sprouts, cabbage with duck, tongue with mushrooms, goose liver with mushrooms³⁸⁹.

The lunch list of February 17, 1942 includes cold wild boar with blueberry, *haché* with eggs, steamed pulp, to which is added the deer stew, smoked goose breast, pike in sardine sauce, Swedish salad, pudding Bratislava, macaroni with fried breadcrumbs. The evening list on March 2 has a fixed menu, one consisting of gooseberry soup, lentils with sausages or cheese with polenta, semolina or rice pudding. We also find fasting food, namely peppers, tomatoes, monk pots. In addition to the fixed menu, customers also had carp eggs, pumpkin with eggs, cauliflower with butter, coffee cream and *țigorie*, a form of *chicory*. From 1943, on April 30, we have a menu, printed in on one side, which presents *The Roman Emperor* as a luxury restaurant - and this was during the war: moonradish with butter, fried lamb with salad, chopped goose chest etc³⁹⁰.

There are at least two conclusions from the above lines: the first concerns the menus, in the sense that the *The Roman Emperor* presents itself with a European gastronomic fan, in which some accents of the French universe appear. It is not the first time in its history, but if, prior to 1918, the landmark was Vienna and its cuisine profile, in the period analyzed here, the interwar period, it is also noticed the influence

³⁸⁵ *Hermannstadt – Gasthöfe*, in "Führer durch Hermannstadt und Umgebung", Hermannstadt/Sibiu, 1902, p. 1.

³⁸⁶ Bonfert, p. 43.

³⁸⁷ Radu Teuceanu, *Meniuri de restaurant in colecția Bibliotecii Brukenthal* [Menus in the collections of the Brukenthal Library] in "Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane", Sibiu, XXV, 2018.

³⁸⁸ *Idem.*

³⁸⁹ *Idem.*

³⁹⁰ *Idem.*

of Bucharest, maybe not connected, but in any case inspired by France. The second conclusion concerns World War II, in which the shortcomings inherent in such a conflict are not reflected almost at all in the restaurant menus.

After the establishment of Communism in Romania, *The Roman Emperor* was expropriated on the basis of Decree-Law no. 119/1948, being managed as a state enterprise by the State Enterprise for Housing and Locals (ILL). Theoretically, specific activities have been interrupted, with the exception of trade unions' events, such as the textiles ball, car makers ball, etc.³⁹¹ In spite of the shortcomings in society, *The Roman Emperor* tried to resist, a successful attempt because the restaurant's cuisine was considered, in all those decades, to be one of the best, if not the best, of the city. A personality of those times was Heinrich Zeck (* 1928 in Sibiu), who entered as an apprentice at the restaurant in 1942 and worked there until his retirement in 1988. Over the past twenty years, he was a chef, who, in 1970, was awarded the title of *Master of Culinary Art* in Bucharest. He is the one who led the *Romanian Culinary Weeks* in Austria and Germany, and he also participated in international culinary exhibitions, being awarded the gold medal at Frankfurt/ Main in 1972 and 1976. It is to be noted that the culinary exhibitions were the equivalence of some Olympiads for chefs, and the medals obtained equals the Oscars in the movie world or the Grammy awards from the music world³⁹². During the last thirty years after the 1989 Revolution, *The Roman Emperor* remained a landmark in the Sibian culinary landscape, but not just a local landmark, but one sought by both tourists in the country and those from abroad. There were heads of states such as German presidents Roman Herzog and Johannes Rau, or Romania presidents, like Ion Iliescu and Emil Constantinescu, who enjoyed the culinary offer of *The Roman Emperor*³⁹³.



Cisnădiei Street (today N. Bălcescu) with The Roman Emperor Hotel (1912)

³⁹¹ Bonfert, *op. cit.*, p. 45-46.

³⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 49.

³⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

The Romanian culinary bibliography from the interwar period is enriched with new titles by some authors such as Lucretia Dr. Oprean, Maria General Dobrescu or Sanda Marin. Their books become extremely well known throughout the country, and even today they are found in family libraries. Lucretia Dr. Oprean, a household teacher at the "Regina Maria" High School in Cluj, *licensed in science*, published in 1935, *Bucătărie românească* at the printing house Ardealul. The book contains recipes from all Romanian regions, especially from Transylvania. She will also be the author of the *Buget rece cofetărie* [Cold Buffet and Confectionery book], whose second edition appears in the years of the war, more precisely in 1943, at the Printing House Luceafărul, Timișoara.

In her turn, Maria General Dobrescu publishes the *Bucătăria modernă* [Modern Kitchen] in 1927 at the Socec Book Publishing House in Bucharest, a book in two volumes, the first being reserved for *appetizers, soups, creams, borsch, sauces, egg dishes, fish dishes, molluscs, crustaceans, vegetables dishes, meat and game, preserving of vegetables and preparing canned vegetables, etc.* The second volume has *sweets* as the main subject and presents recipes of *biscuits, cakes, tortes, jams, sherbets, soft drinks, canned fruits, etc.* To remember a note on the third cover of the first volume, from which we find that the author was obliged to divide the vast material into two volumes, arguing as follows: *the publishing house refused to print in a single volume that would contain 1,000 pages, a work that is unusual to edit in our country.* In the first volume there is also a recipe belonging to Josef Strassman, the last master chef of the Royal Court of Romania.

Maria General Dobrescu has an impressive curriculum, being *a graduate from housekeeping upper school in Fribourg (Switzerland), the Vilvord School of Poultry Education in Belgium, and of Institution of housekeeping and farming in Laeken (Belgium),* and became a *school inspector of household education* - as we can see on the title page of the first volume³⁹⁴. In addition, the book is not the only contribution in the field, other titles being *O activitate în campania 1916-1919* [An activity during the campaign 1916-1919], an edition we find out that was exhausted at the date of the appearance of *the Modern cuisine*. There followed the *Bucătăria țărănească* [Peasant Kitchen], then the *Modern Kitchen: dishes*, information to the title that let us assume that it is the first volume. It followed *Arta culinară: Dulciuri* [Culinary Art: Sweets] and *Prin cămin spre civilizație* [Through the Household to Civilization]. She did not neglect the didactic side by publishing *Curs complet de gospodărie pentru clasele I-VIII inclusiv pentru școlile de curs secundar, liceal, profesional etc* [A complete household course for grades I-VIII, including for secondary, high school, professional schools, etc]³⁹⁵.

Another author of cookbooks is Sanda Marin (1900 Iași - 1961 Bucharest), the daughter of the academician Ion Simionescu, a geologist and paleontologist; she

³⁹⁴ Maria General Dobrescu, *Bucătăria modernă* [The modern cuisine], Bucuresti, Editura Librăriei Socec, s. a.

³⁹⁵ *Ibidem, passim.*

became known mainly by her *Carte de bucate* [Cookbook], the first edition which was printed at Cartea Românească Publishing House in 1936. Behind the pseudonym *Sanda Marin* was, for decades, a distinguished, cultivated and talented lady named Cecilia Marina Simionescu-Zapan. The book contained recipes from both Romanian cuisine but also inspired by the culinary landscape of other folks. The foreword of this first edition was written by the writer Păstorel Teodoreanu (1894–1964), a gourmet³⁹⁶.

The success of the book was due to the presentation style, the recipes being short and practical, *with no unnecessary snobbies, with ingredients at hand, including cheaper ones, plus the initiative to publish, for the first time, lists of menus adapted to the Romanian seasons*³⁹⁷. Reedited also during the Communists time, Sanda Marin's book was repeatedly shortened, for example, in the 1954 edition, out of a thousand three hundred recipes left eight hundred and fifty. The original recipes of this real lady have been altered due to censorship. Thus, some recipes, considered bourgeois, have been removed and some simplified. Moreover, the Communists changed the names of some preparations, so *the Béchamel Sauce* became *a white sauce*, and *the Napoleon cake* became *a marbled cake*. To be in tune with the austerity of life imposed on Romanians, party activists have replaced *the hen* with *half a chicken* in recipes. The book of Sanda Marin survived the passage of time and the author's name became the most famous culinary brand in Romania, and the reeditions proved to be a success³⁹⁸.

I remembered in the above rows Josef Strassman, the last cook of the Romanian Royal House. German by origin, Strassman was a student at Auguste Escoffier's school (Ritz-Escoffier), becoming, after several successful experiences in Paris, Rome and Athens, a cook in the restaurant of the famous Hotel Negresco in Nice, then at the Royal Court of Romania. When he arrived at the Court, *the menus were written in French, but since the 1930s, traditional Romanian dishes appeared. He was the one who, supported by Queen Mary, introduced the menus in Romanian language and especially the Romanian dishes*³⁹⁹. Josef Strassman created the *Caraiman cake* at Peleş Castle, both as a homage to the homonymous mountain and as a discreet gesture of respect for Prince Carol (the future king Carol II of Romania) who, giving up his succession rights, and hence the throne, was named Carol Caraiman. The same culinary specialist prepared for the Royal Family a few *lunches on the meadow*, deliberately avoiding the word *picnic*, so fashionable then and now. His talent allowed him to engage in brand events, such as the Princess Ileana's Wedding (1909-1991), July 26, 1931 with the Archduke Anton von Habsburg, Prince of Tuscany, or the anniversary of the inauguration of Peleş Castle in 1933.

³⁹⁶ <https://loreleimihalcea.wordpress.com/2014/05/13/enigmatica-sanda-marin-si-carte-de-bucate/>

³⁹⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁹⁸ https://adevarul.ro/locale/alexandria/cine-fost-fapt-sanda-marin-celebra-autoare-carti-bucate-In-timpul-comunismului-circula-legenda-priceputa-bucatareasa-fost-barbat-1_5630cf53f5eaafab2c1c1b3a/index.html

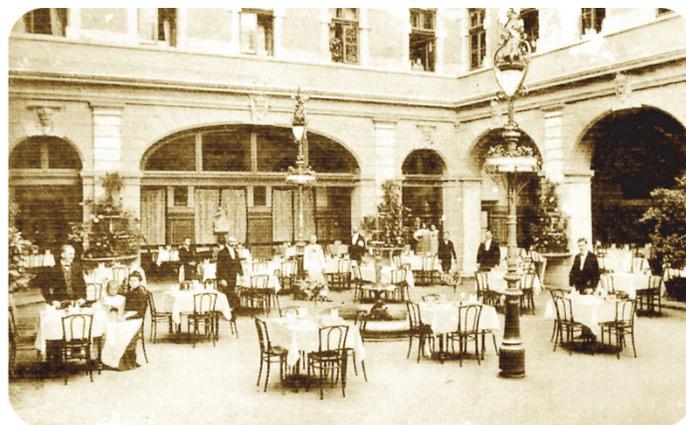
³⁹⁹ <https://gastroart.ro/2018/01/15/oameni-care-ne-au-schimb-gastronomia-povestea-fabuloasa-lui-iosif-strassman-bucatarul-regal-trimis-de-comunisti-la-o-cantina-muncitoreasca/>

Strassman remained a chef also during King Michael, but after the removal of the monarchy, he was considered a traitor, becoming a *paria* for the new regime, who sent him to a working canteen to *earn his retirement money, the years spent at the palace not being counted*. And so from 1948 until 1968, he will cook almost anonymously in a factory in Bucharest, and his return to the standards of *fine cuisine* is due to the President of France, Charles de Gaulle and the former chef of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Ion Radu, from Sinaia. De Gaulle is impressed by the table and wants to know the authors, and on this occasion, finding details from the life of the German expert in culinary art, proposes Ceaușescu to agree that Strassman will become the chef of the French Embassy in Bucharest, requirement instantly approved. The embassy kept him as a culinary consultant until he was 90, just four years before his death⁴⁰⁰.

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After 1989, and especially after 2007, when Sibiu, together with Luxembourg, was the *European Capital of Culture*, we witness radical changes in the local landscape, changes that touch upon the most diverse aspects of the life of the inhabitants of the old fortress – *young since 1191*, as it was written on a 2007 logo - including culinary aspects. The range of restaurants offers a multitude of products, from indigenous ones or only with local accents, to those with international, even exotic dishes. The deployment framework is a competitive one, typical of the century we live in and amateurs have the choice of a wide range of profiles and a generous range of products. Taking into account that in 2019 Sibiu becomes the *European Gastronomic Region*, this book is meant to be an invitation not only for visitors, tourists and passionates of the phenomenon, but also for those involved in culinary art, to try to discover the treasures of the past and to valorify them through an approach that we dare to call *gastronomic archeology*. *A gastronomic archeology approach to fine Sibian cuisine*.



The arcade garden - The Roman Emperor Hotel (ante 1918)

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibidem*.

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